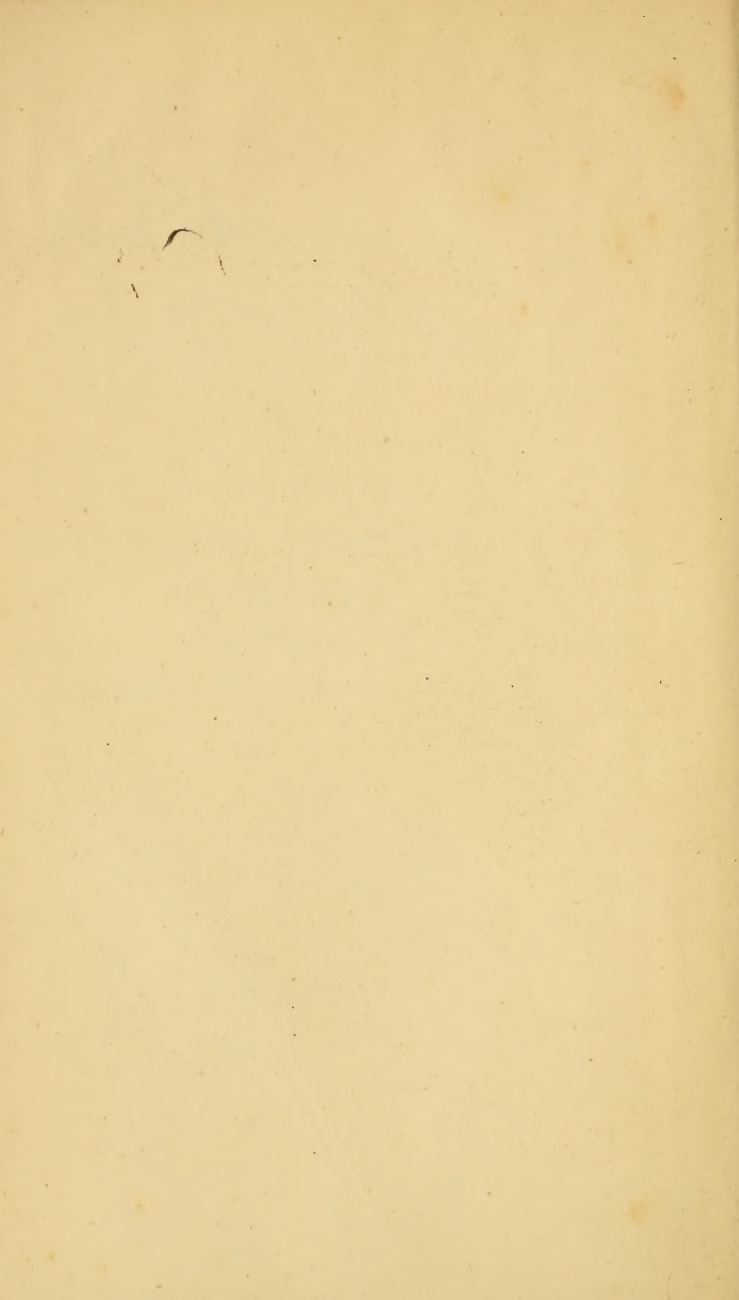


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VOLUME XIX.

Chrard's Gospel History.

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MDCCCLXIX.

THE GOSPEL HISTORY:

A

Benj B Warfield
Feb. - 1895

COMPENDIUM OF CRITICAL INVESTIGATIONS

IN SUPPORT OF THE

HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

BY

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MDCCCLXIX.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.



THE work, of which a translation is here offered to the public, has passed through two editions in Germany ; the first of which appeared in 1841-42, and the second in 1850. The translation is made from the Second Edition, and consequently presents the Author's more mature views on the subject of which it treats. The object of this work, in the Author's own words, is "to put into the hands of students and ministers a book in which they can find information respecting the present position and the history of the Criticism of the Gospels, and from which they can supply themselves with the necessary weapons of defence against the attacks upon the Holy Scriptures which are becoming more and more noised abroad." It is only what was to be expected, that, in carrying out this design, the Author should keep in view principally the wants of his own countrymen. Accordingly, the reader will find that Strauss and Baur, and others belonging to their school, have a very prominent place in the following pages. But he will also find, if we mistake not, that the great bulk of the work is of general, and not merely national interest and utility.

The work, as stated in the Translator's Preface, has been to some extent abridged in the translation. It is well that readers should understand that the abridgment has been effected by omission of less important portions, not by systematic condensation of the whole. What is omitted is chiefly matter of local or passing interest ; *e.g.*, some of the foot-notes, which would only have encumbered the pages, and elaborate refutations of the wild speculations of the more reckless members of the Negative School. Some of these speculations, like extravagant tales, have too little probability, and are too entirely destitute of sobriety and common sense, to interest the mind. They are dreary and tiresome, and one is impatient to get through them. The reader's impatience has been consulted, especially where it was most necessary to do so, *viz.*, in the Second Part of the work, which deals

with the Criticism of the Gospel Writings. The first chapter, particularly, of that Part, which contains the negative hypotheses to account for the origin of the Gospels, has been considerably abbreviated. However, what remains will give the reader a perfectly clear idea of the nature of these hypotheses, and of the Author's mode of refuting them. Speaking of the work as a whole, it is believed, in the words of the Translator, that "nothing has been omitted which could possess interest and importance to the reader."

It has been thought proper, in publishing this translation, to bring under the notice of students the principal contributions to the literature of the subject that have appeared since the publication of the original work. This has been done in a few foot-notes inserted at the appropriate places.

A. B. B.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.



EBRARD is already well known in this country from his admirable Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Epistles of John. The present work is one of the many vindications of the New Testament History, and the groundwork of our faith, which the attacks of negative theologians have called forth from men "valiant for the truth." It would have been presented before this to English readers, but for the feeling that it was undesirable to publish objections for the purpose of showing how they could be, and had been met. But the day for such caution is past; and the very same assaults are now made on English ground, and by English theologians, which have been both made and met in our sister Church in Germany. As Ebrard's work was intended to be polemical, it might be supposed that to present, as an antidote to English objections, replies to those of German critics, would be simply "beating the air." But though writing with the attacks of negative critics in his mind, and giving as he passes direct answers to various objections, the plan which Ebrard has pursued, is to examine and strengthen the defences of positive theology, so as to present a critical bulwark to critical assaults, rather than to exhaust his own strength and his readers' patience with minute replies to trivial objectors. For this reason, as well as from the fact that the negative criticism of England is for the most part a reproduction of the cast-off criticism of Germany, the work, we hope, will have the same worth here as in the land of its birth.

Ebrard's method, as described by himself, is the following:—"We shall seek first of all to settle the question, in the case of each Evangelist, whether the arrangement he adopted was based upon chronological sequence, or upon some topical classification. To this end we shall look first at the form in which the Gospels are written, and secondly at their contents. The latter will require a careful description of the various incidents, a comparison of the synoptical accounts, and a

notice of the objections of negative critics. We shall not commence, however, with a refutation of individual objections, but with a positive statement of the case as it actually stands, which shall contain within itself a reply to all objections. In every instance, therefore, we shall begin with the *facts* themselves, as gathered from an examination of the different narratives; and then, in support of the results obtained, adduce both psychological and exegetical proofs that, assuming the fact M to have occurred, it was possible for the different accounts M', M'', M''', to be written, *without any one of them containing an error*.—We shall then proceed to the refutation of special objections."

It has been thought desirable to *condense*, to some extent, in the process of translation. But we believe that nothing has been omitted which could possess either interest or importance to the reader. The work itself is essentially unaltered.

It is, doubtless, well for the Church, and above all for "ministers and students," for whom this work is chiefly intended, that the foundations of our faith should be often tried, whether by acknowledged enemies, or by "false brethren unawares brought in;" if only that we may be compelled to test their strength for ourselves, and so "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope that is in us." The result of such a season of trial in Germany has been unquestionably to strengthen belief, to quicken spiritual life, and to give an impulse to evangelical preaching. And it would betray a want of faith in the Spirit of God and the Great Head of the Church, to doubt that this will also be the effect of the fullest and most unfettered inquiry here. This translation is offered, in the hope that, in common with the works of English theologians aiming at the same result, though occupying somewhat different ground, it may help to lead back some who "have erred concerning the faith," and quell the fears of others who have begun to "tremble for the ark of God."

J. M.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

CRITICISM A NECESSITY.



THE very nature of Christianity involves the introduction of criticism into the sphere of theology. For if it be truly the redemption, ordained by God from all eternity, but brought to completion at a certain time and in a certain place; though the need of redemption must exist in every man, and therefore the postulate of redemption develop itself with more or less purity apart from the historical fact, yet this fact could never be made known to distant nations or succeeding ages in any other way than through the ordinary channels,—viz., oral tradition or written records. But these writings, together with their contents, necessarily come within the scope of the same *historical criticism* as every other monument of history. And the same questions must be asked and answered respecting authenticity, credibility, integrity, and age.

These questions, we are told, should be investigated *without bias*. The only meaning which we can attach to these words is, that there should be an entire absence of critical and historical assumptions; in other words, that the point in question should not be treated as if it were an axiom. But if it be really intended that the mind should be kept free from *religious bias*, we reply, that such freedom as this is impossible. Every man necessarily assumes a religious attitude of some kind, either positive or negative. He either believes in a living God, or in an unconscious process. He either feels a need of redemption based upon the fear of God; or he has no such feeling, because he does not charge himself with sin. *Tertium non datur*. Now it is nothing but superstition to pretend that a *positive* religious attitude exerts a decisive influence upon criticism, but not a *negative*. It is only to the man who feels his need of redemption that the fact of

redemption can possibly be clear; to every other man it will be sure to present itself in a distorted form. Hence a proper *religious bias* will tend rather to give freedom to the mind. And where, even before entering upon any critical investigation whatever, there is an *intuitive religious certainty* of the divine character of the biblical books, there will be all the greater calmness and impartiality, and consequently all the greater ability to maintain the desired freedom from historical or critical prejudice. It is well known that, even in cases where the materials at command have been insufficient, at least for the time, to establish the authenticity of a biblical book, this critical uncertainty has not in the least affected the religious certainty which existed before. And as the Christian Church does not need to *suspend* its calm believing use of the Holy Scriptures until critics have brought their investigations into their genuineness to a close (in fact, in a good sense they ought never to be closed), the Christian theologian may pursue his critical labours without the least impatience. His aim, therefore, so far as both kinds of impartiality are concerned, should be,—first of all, instead of affecting an impossible freedom from religious bias to please the folly of the age, to confess openly and honestly how far his views and interpretations of the sacred history are conditioned and determined by his religious bearing; and *secondly*, in the critical operations themselves, to look closely and mark well how far the process is carried on by purely historical and critical methods, and at what point the religious or dogmatical bias *necessarily* begins to exert an influence (and this in the case of the negative, quite as much as of the positive critic).

In the older period of theology the genuineness of the biblical books was not attacked; there was therefore no special reason for defending it (the hand of the apologetic critic wanted the requisite stimulus). Hence religious-dogmatic presuppositions and critical proofs met in immediate unity in the theological mind of that age. They were not required to distinguish how much could be proved on purely historical grounds, and how far religious bias influenced the process of proof. Then with Semler and J. D. Michaelis arose a school which brought to the task other religious and dogmatic presuppositions. This school, with its broader culture, rightly discerned the weakness of the older school; but, with great ignorance of themselves, assumed that the religious and doctrinal position of the critic influenced criticism *only* in these older theologians. The problem was only to cut away all influence of a *positive* religious point of view, and that they called being free from bias. That they themselves were influenced by a religious bias of a negative kind, they had not the least idea.

§ 2.

CRITICAL PROBLEMS.

It is a matter of great importance to keep the two branches of critical study perfectly distinct: viz., the *criticism of the Gospel writings*; and the *criticism of the Gospel history*. The former is occupied with the origin and authenticity of the four Gospels. It is the task of the latter to inquire whether the events recorded in the Gospels *can* have occurred, and really *did* occur.

Before noticing the course already pursued in relation to these two branches of criticism, let us observe more particularly the problems which had to be solved.

The criticism of the Gospel writings has to deal with the following data.—1. With reference to the *origin of the four Gospels*, we have different external accounts. Matthew, according to not a few testimonies, is the Greek translation of a Hebrew work composed by the Apostle Matthew. The authenticity of John is supported chiefly by early quotations, the validity of which has sometimes been disputed. Of the two apostolical Gospels, therefore, neither can be said to be supported by undoubted external testimony.—2. With regard to the *internal relation of the four Gospels to one another*, it is well known that John coincides with the rest only in a few points. The synoptical Gospels, on the contrary, have many incidents from Christ's life, and many of His words, in common. Yet even they differ as to the order and position of the same occurrences. The same incident is also narrated with variations of more or less importance; and words which are placed in one connection by one Evangelist are introduced by another on a totally different occasion. Nevertheless, there is very often even a *verbal* agreement between Matthew and Mark, not infrequently between Matthew and Luke, and in some passages between Mark and Luke as well. What opinion, then, can we form as to the origin of the Gospels? Did one writer make use of another? And if so, did he do this from memory, or with the writing itself in his hand? In what order was it done? And are the variations unintentional; or did they arise from a desire to *correct*? Or had they all a common source? Or, lastly, did the writers all draw from a common tradition, the stability of which in certain particulars is sufficient to explain the verbal agreement? These are the problems to be solved by a *criticism of the writings*.

The *criticism of the history* is more simple. The influence of Jesus

upon the world's history, and the formation and history of the Christian Church, are fully established by those Pauline Epistles alone, of whose genuineness there can be no doubt. But from the middle of the last century it has been the constant endeavour of certain theologians to retain the moral influence of *Jesus* (which could not be doubted, and the finest proof of which is to be found in the spirit of the Gospels), and at the same time to sweep away the historical character of the *miraculous events* which the Gospels record. At the outset, therefore, the particular miracles alone were attacked, the authenticity of the writings being left untouched. But ere long the authenticity of the Gospels was disputed, though without any attempt to question the moral character of their authors. At length, however, it was clearly seen that the two were inseparable, and hence views were propounded which involved the most unmeasured attacks upon the moral character of the New Testament writers. At the same time however a genuine critical work was being carried forward; though the question as to the possibility of reconciling the apparent or real discrepancies that occur in the Gospels—the problem of *harmony*—was variously answered according to the dogmatic tendency,—one party attempting to remove the differences by artificial means, another refusing assent to even the most natural solutions.

§ 3.

HISTORY OF MODERN CRITICISM.

The progressive development of criticism, particularly of negative criticism, may be conveniently divided into the following *four periods*:

I. FIRST PERIOD.—*Separation of the criticism of the history itself from that of the historical books.*—The first effort of negative critics was to eliminate miracles exegetically, by means of *natural explanations* (*Paulus, Venturini, Thiess*). That is to say, it was either maintained that the Evangelist never intended to relate a miracle (thus, in John ix. 7, *Paulus* asserts that John simply intended to mention the occurrence as an ordinary *hydropathic cure*); or that the Evangelist mistook a natural phenomenon for a miraculous one, in which case it is the task of the expositor to separate the *fact* itself from the judgment of the Evangelist with reference to the fact. So long as this was the object in view, and the work was pursued with a well-meant purpose,—viz., to rescue the honour of the Gospel history from the attacks of English infidels, and to reconcile it with the views of subjective rationalists,—it was of little doctrinal importance how the accounts

contained in the Gospels were supposed to have originated. Various hypotheses were started. *Corrodi*, *Lessing*, *Weber*, and others, regarded the so-called *Gospel of the Hebrews* as the source of all the rest. After *Herder*, *Eichhorn* and *Marsh* supposed the three synoptical Gospels to have arisen in different ways from some *original Gospel in Aramæan*, which no longer exists. *Eichhorn* assumes a certain Aramæan original Gospel to have undergone revision (this revised edition he calls A), and so to have formed the foundation of Matthew. Another revision forms the basis of Luke, B. A third, C, originating in a collation of A and B, formed the basis of Mark. Finally, Mark and Luke used in addition a fourth revision, D, which was unknown to Matthew.

But as, according to *Eichhorn's* assumption, A, B, C, D were all Aramæan, the coincidence of the different Gospels in particular *Greek* expressions remained unexplained. This difficulty *Marsh* sought to get over by a hypothesis, in comparison with which the foregoing is an innocent child. *Marsh* assumed, 1. an Aramæan original writing, \aleph ; 2. a Greek translation of it, $\bar{\aleph}$; 3. a translation with additions ($\bar{\aleph} + A + \alpha$); 4. another ditto ($\bar{\aleph} + B + \beta$); 5. a union of 3 and 4 as basis of Mark ($\bar{\aleph} + A + B + \alpha + \beta$); 6. No. 3 with other additions ($\bar{\aleph} + A + \Gamma + \alpha + \gamma$) as basis of Matthew; 7. No. 4 with other additions ($\bar{\aleph} + B + \Gamma + \beta + \gamma$) as basis of Luke; 8. a supplementary writing \beth used by Matthew and Luke. But as this hypothesis was plainly still *far too simple*, *Eichhorn* next elaborated his second one.

1. Aram. writing.
2. Greek translation.
3. = A, revision of 1.—Matthew.
4. Greek translation of 3 and 2 used at same time.
5. = B, another revision of 1.—Luke.
6. = C, a writing springing out of A and B.—Mark.
7. = D, third revision of 1.—Matthew and Luke.
8. Translation of D. 2 used at same time.
9. = E, Aram. Gospel of Matthew (A + D).
10. *Greek Matthew* sprung out of E, with addition of 4 and 8.
11. *Mark* out of C, with use of 4 and 5.
12. *Luke* out of B and 8.

Meanwhile the hypothesis of an original Gospel was soon exploded, and the great majority of theologians agreed in thinking that the points of resemblance in the Gospels were to be explained by the authors knowing and using one another's writings, and the discrepancies were to be traced to the endeavour of each to correct his predecessor. The question was, in what order they perused one another.

By the law of permutations, $3 \times 2 \times 1 = 6$ different positions are possible, five of which were then actually maintained—the sixth being reserved for the most recent time :

| | | |
|------------------|---------------|--------------|
| 1. Matt., First. | Mark, Second. | Luke, Third. |
| 2. Matt., „ | Luke, „ | Mark, „ |
| 3. Mark, „ | Matt., „ | Luke, „ |
| 4. Mark, „ | Luke, „ | Matt., „ |
| 5. Luke, „ | Matt., „ | Mark, „ |
| 6. Luke, „ | Mark, „ | Matt., „ |

1 was maintained by *August.* (De consensu Evv.), *Grotius* (annot. ad Matt. i. 1, et Luc. i. 1), *Mill.* (Nov. Testam. prolegg.), *Wetstein* (Nov. Test. præf. in Matt. et pr. in Luc.), *Townson* (Treatise on the Four Gospels), *Hug*, Introduction.

2 by *Owen* (observ. on Four Gospels), *Stroth*, *Ammon*, *Griesbach*.

3 by *Storr* (über den Zweck der Evang. Gesch. on the Design of the Gosp. Hist.).

4 by *Wilke*, *Bauer*, see p. 25.

5. *Büsching* (die 4 Evang. mit ihren eigenen Worten zusammengesetzt¹); *Edward Evanson*, The Dissonance of the four generally received Gospels.

6. *Vogel* (Abhandlung über die Entstehung der 3 ersten Evv. in *Gabler's Journal*—Treatise on the Origin of the three first Gospels).²

Thus the criticism of the writings was separated into a multitude of different results, all of them equally indifferent so far as the criticism of the history is concerned.

II. SECOND PERIOD.—When it became perfectly obvious that the *natural explanation of the miracles* was untenable, the desire to remove from the Gospels whatever was doctrinally unpalatable took another direction, and attacked the authenticity of every one of the Gospels. The *criticism of the writings* was thus brought into the closest connection with the *criticism of the history*, though in many different ways.

A great step in advance was made, when *Gieseler* after *Eckerman*, suggested, that all the cases of convergence and divergence in the

¹ "The Four Gospels put side by side in their own words."

² To the names given above the following may be added, of recent advocates of one or other of the above schemes in our own country :—

1. Matt., Mark, Luke.—*Birks* (*Horæ Evangelicæ*. London, 1852); *Greswell* (Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels. Oxford, 1830); *Da Costa* (*Four Witnesses*: A translation from the Dutch by David Dundas Scott, Esq. London, 1851).

3. Mark, Matt., Luke.—*Smith of Jordanhill* (Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels. Edinburgh and London, 1853). Ed.]

different Gospels may be explained on the simple, and by no means improbable assumption, that during the first few years after the death of Christ, when the Apostles were for the most part assembled in Jerusalem, from the frequent repetition of different incidents in the life of Christ, many of the narratives would gradually assume a fixed and definite shape; and therefore that there was no necessity at all to suppose that one Evangelist made use of the writings of another.

The only matters for dispute now were, whether Mark made use of Matthew only (from memory, that is to say), and Luke (who certainly had neither of them in his possession, though he may possibly have read Matthew) drew his materials from tradition alone; or whether Mark availed himself, from recollection, both of Matthew and Luke. The latter opinion gradually gained the upper hand.

A tolerable agreement being thus arrived at, as to the concurrences and divergences of the Gospels, the question arose, what was to be done with their *authenticity* and *historical credibility*. The *doctrinal objections* were still the same. The "*natural exegesis*" was not satisfactory; for *De Wette's*¹ whole endeavour was to find out the exact meaning which the Evangelists themselves attached to their words. There remained no other course open, therefore, than to set down all occurrences which were doctrinally objectionable as *unhistorical*,—as *myths* in fact, which had grown up spontaneously out of the prevailing desire to do honour to Jesus, and which, instead of being kept distinct from the history, had been admitted into the Gospels themselves. This view was theoretically expanded by *Gabler* and others; and practically applied by *Schleiermacher*, *Hase*, and *De Wette* to particular portions of the Gospel history.

It was impossible to sustain such a theory as this, however, by the side of the fact that two of the Gospels had *Apostles* for their authors. An attempt was therefore made, on the part of those who were neither prepared to accept the resurrection of Jesus as a fact, nor to explain it away as a vision of the disciples, and who were also at a loss to know how to dispose of the other miracles recorded in John, to *overthrow the genuineness of the Gospel of John*. The question in the meantime was held in suspense. But with regard to *Matthew*, ever since the investigations made by *Michaelis*, the opinion that Matthew's Gospel was originally written in Aramæan, and that we possess merely a version made at second hand, had met with increasing support.

One of the apostolical Gospels being thus set on one side, and the other at any rate deprived of unconditional historical authority, all

¹ We mention *De Wette*, as being the head and representative of this school, which numbers *Lücke*, *Rückert*, and *Meyer* among its members.

that was still required, was to find a way of explaining the origin, not of *Mark*, for this was regarded as resting on Matthew and Luke, but of *Luke*, which contains so much of a distinctive and peculiar character. The most important work on this subject was that of *Schleiermacher*, who came to the conclusion, both from the *prœmium* (Luke i. 1-4) and from internal criticism of the Gospel itself, that Luke availed himself of certain shorter accounts (*Diegeses*), which had come into his possession, and having made some slight alterations in the style, incorporated them in his own work. He thus stood so far from the events, that myths might easily have found their way into his Gospel.

III. THIRD PERIOD.—At such results as these had the criticism of the Gospels arrived, when *Strauss* appeared, and erected upon the vague conclusions of his predecessors his well-known hypothesis with regard to the Gospel *history*, of which the following is the general drift. In the first score years after the death of the Rabbi Jesus, who had made such an impression upon his disciples that they took him for the Messiah, whose advent the Old Testament Scriptures had led them to anticipate, and who had eventually formed the same opinion of himself, a very natural desire arose to magnify their departed master, by attributing to him all the characteristics ascribed to the Messiah in the Old Testament; and this was done with the pious feeling “that they could not have been wanting in the case of Jesus.” They brought themselves to believe this; and thus compact circles of myths arose, some being pure inventions, and others growing out of actual sayings or deeds of Jesus himself. Of these, some have been preserved, with their natural divergences and convergences, by the four Evangelists.

To sustain this daring *positive result*, with nothing in its favour but the secret wish to get rid of the supernatural, and with the whole aspect of the history against it, *Strauss* had recourse to *internal criticism* alone. In his method we find the *criticism of the history* completely isolated from that *of the writings*. The results at which the latter had arrived he left in their conveniently indefinite state; but with regard to the former, his main endeavour was “to show that the doctrinal difficulties are far from being the only difficulties in the Gospels, but that there is such a mass of contradictions, anachronisms, psychological incredibilities, etc., that even apart from any doctrinal objections, it is impossible to accept the Gospels as authentic, and their contents as history.”

In carrying out this intention *Strauss* displays throughout an unmistakeable *frivolity*. Of the elevating, heart-stirring effect, which

the Gospels produce in every pure mind, not the slightest trace is to be found. Under the name of the "*supernatural view*" (by which he always designates the only view which coincides with the Evangelists' meaning) he assails the Evangelists themselves with more than the ridicule of Voltaire, and finds in every line of every narrative impossibilities, and even absurdities, crowded together. Is there anything in the discourses of Jesus which surpasses the standpoint of the most *contracted* Jew of that age, he pronounces it impossible that Jesus could have uttered it. And by such means as these the Gospel narratives are corroded by the acid of a heartless understanding, in order that it may be impossible for the reader to return to the supernatural view, and he may be compelled to throw himself into the arms of the mythical hypothesis.

IV. TRANSITION TO THE FOURTH PERIOD.—This did not long continue to be the only loophole for such as had made up their minds to flee from supernaturalism. By *Strauss* the criticism of the history had been completely severed from that of the writings; and his mythical hypothesis, which rested solely upon historical uncertainty, though it might have some plausibility in the hazy twilight in which it was presented, vanished into thin air when the light increased, or when more closely scrutinized. It was to be expected, therefore, that fresh hypotheses would soon be sought, that the criticism of the history would be brought again into connection with that of the writings, in order that more definite results might be obtained in more definite forms.

The criticism of the writings now entered the field with an unexpected result, especially in relation to the synoptical Gospels. *Wilke* showed, in direct opposition to the opinion which had hitherto prevailed, that Mark was the oldest of the Evangelists; that Luke followed Mark; and Matthew, Luke. With regard to John, *Lützelberger*, *Weisse*, *B. Bauer*, and *Schweitzer* endeavoured to prove from internal, and partly from external grounds, that it was wanting in authenticity, or at any rate in integrity.

With these results the criticism of the history was combined in the following manner. *Weisse* sought to exalt the Synoptists at the expense of John. His philosophically constructed Christ he could only discover in the former. The latter, in his opinion, was composed by the Ephesian presbyters, who wrote down after the death of John such of the discourses of Christ as he had preserved, interspersing, for the most part in an unskilful way, other memorials of the life of Jesus; and then, feeling the defectiveness of their work,

appended xxi. 24, 25, in order to increase the credibility of the whole.

But it was impossible that either the hypothesis itself, or such a gentle mode of treating with the Synoptists, could long hold its ground ; and a fresh step was taken by *Bruno Bauer*. Starting from the assumption that all the discrepancies discovered by *Strauss*, which rendered a historical interpretation of the Gospels impossible, were thoroughly established ; and that *Wilke's* hypothesis in reference to the Gospels was unanswerable, he yet maintained, in opposition to *Strauss*, that his mythical hypothesis was a castle in the air resting on utter uncertainty, and sure to vanish as soon as an attempt was made to bring it out more distinctly to view. He also sought to demonstrate, in opposition to *Strauss's* distortions, that this or that synoptical Gospel (Luke especially) was not a conglomerate of discordant fragments carelessly thrown together, but a *beautiful and harmonious whole* ; thus fully acknowledging the superior glory of the Gospels at least from an *æsthetic* point of view.—But just because there is such *poetic truth* in everything contained in the Gospels, therefore, he says, there can be no *empirical reality*.—Hence, as there is no empirical reality in the Gospel history, and yet it does not consist of myths, *Bruno Bauer* undertakes to explain its origin by showing that the Evangelists composed (invented) their Gospels “with free consciousness” (*mit freiem Bewusstseyn*). That this is psychologically conceivable, without the writers themselves being impostors, he tries to prove from the so-called Hegelian philosophy, that is to say, from the form which this philosophy had assumed in himself.

V. FOURTH PERIOD.—*Weisse*, *Gfrörer*, *Wilke*, and *Bruno Bauer* had merely prepared the way for a new phase of criticism. Their groping, and one might say, clumsy efforts, merely betrayed a consciousness that a criticism of the Gospel history *à la Strauss* was impossible, without some regard being paid to the criticism of the writings themselves. It was very soon demonstrated (in the first edition of the present work among others) that the results of *Strauss's* criticism could not be sustained, so long as we had, on the one hand, the fact that the four canonical Gospels were written in the first century, and on the other, the early history of the Christian Church, as handed down in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and other sources which have hitherto been undisputed. There was a fatal necessity, therefore, that the school which had sent out *Strauss* as a kind of pioneer, should diligently take both these points in hand. It was, at the same time, also a fatal necessity, that the desired task could never be ac-

complished, that is to say, that it could not be proved that the Gospels and several others of the New Testament writings were composed in the second century, without the authors of some of these writings being condemned, as men who purposely and with calm reflection gave themselves out as other than they really were, and wrote of things as having occurred, which to their own knowledge never did occur,—in other words, as simple *impostors*. In our first edition we expressed our conviction, that this would be the course taken; and *Tübingen* soon verified our prediction.

The course which negative criticism was obliged to take to reach its goal was the following:—

First of all, the Gospels had to be removed to the second century. In the case of Mark and Luke no great difficulty was experienced. Mark was allowed to pass as being relatively the earliest canonical Gospel; since one must necessarily be the oldest, and it was most convenient to fix upon Mark; more especially because *Wilke* had given an appearance of scientific importance to this view. Luke was assigned to the second century, and said to have had its source in the Gospel of Marcion. The age of the Greek translation of the Aramæan Matthew, which rests so firmly on the testimony of Papias, is passed over in perfect silence.—John gives the greatest trouble. And one portion of the critical work is concentrated entirely upon this Gospel. To be able to dismiss it as the production of a pious impostor of the second century, it is not sufficient to take the many passages and quotations which unite to prove its genuineness, and with indescribable pains to rob them one by one of all their force. This would not effect the desired object. The most that could be done in this way, would be to show, that these quotations do not furnish a *mathematical demonstration* of the age of the Gospel of John, but that in the case of every quotation there is still a loophole to be found. It would contribute nothing, therefore, towards a convincing or mathematical proof of the later origin of the fourth Gospel, which was so confidently maintained. The attempt to diminish the weight of the testimony to the Gospel of John by taking them piecemeal did not answer; and nothing was left, but to seek for some *positive evidence* of the manner in which this Gospel came into existence as a spurious work.

But it is far easier to demolish than to build. To obtain the required evidence, a *second* task had to be undertaken, viz., to reconstruct the whole of the early history of the Church. This work fell to Schweigler.¹ But no basis could possibly be found for such an under-

¹ Ueber den Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des 2ten Jahrhunderts.

taking, so long as the Acts of the Apostles continued to be accepted as a historical document. Consequently, the *third* task to be taken in hand, was to overthrow the authenticity and credibility of the *Acts of the Apostles*, partly by a purely internal criticism of its contents, and partly by comparing it with the Epistle to the Galatians and other Pauline Epistles; whilst the *a priori* construction of the post-apostolic era needed to be accompanied with a reconstruction of the apostolic age as well. It was but right that it should be left to *Baur*, the father and founder of the whole school, to set this top-stone upon the work. Thus at length the result was happily attained, that Christianity is a purely human process of development, which is nothing more than the doctrinal assumption with which the inquiry was commenced.

We must here look somewhat more minutely at the second and third of the three leading divisions of the Tübingen criticism, especially as our proposal to give mainly a criticism of *the Gospels* will not permit us afterwards to go into these matters at any length (with the exception of a digression on the Acts of the Apostles).

We shall exhibit Schwegler's construction of the history in its opposition to the historical results which are derived from the Acts of the Apostles and the oldest of the Fathers.

According to the *Acts of the Apostles*, the twelve Apostles at first embraced the N. T. revelation in its immediate identity with that of the Old, regarding Christianity as the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy, and Christ as the promised Messiah. They understood from the O. T. that all nations of the earth would flow to the Messianic kingdom, and submit to the Messiah of Israel. But the form of submission was supposed to be that of circumcision. Christianity was regarded as given for *the sake of the promises*, and consequently as the peculiar prerogative of Israel; and reception into the national community of Israel, into the covenant of circumcision, was thought to be the necessary condition of all participation in the King of Israel and His salvation. It followed as a matter of course, that the first Christian Church still observed the law and adhered to the temple.—This was evidently the natural standpoint from which to commence, and remained so as long as the Sadducees alone opposed the Christians, and their hostility was simply directed against the *resurrection* of Christ.—Differences which arose between the Jewish Christians who were born in Palestine and spoke Aramaean (*Εβραῖοι*), and the Jewish Christians who were born in the Diaspora (mostly in Alexandria and the surrounding countries) and spoke in Greek (*Ελληνισταί*), led to the appointment of deacons, and furthered the development of Christian doctrine in the mind of the deacon Stephen.

In his discussions with the Alexandrians, it became more and more obvious to him, that there was a phase of Christianity which was in marked *contrast* with the O. T. revelation. He boldly affirmed that the *law* was indeed a revelation of the Father of Jesus Christ, but neither the earliest nor the highest and the last; and that the temple was a place chosen by God in which to reveal Himself, but that it also was neither the earliest nor the highest and only one. As yet, indeed, there was no indication in this of a practical separation from the temple and the law, but merely a recognition of the relative character of the two as compared with the absolute revelation in Christ. But whilst the *promise* was the earliest and highest form of the O. T. revelation, the conclusion was a simple one, that the promise existed for the sake of the fulfilment, and not *vice versa*. When the Pharisees united with the Sadducees for the first time in opposition to Stephen, and the first persecution broke out, it could scarcely fail that this aspect of the *distinction* between the Old and New Testament revelations would be brought out with great clearness, and especially that the *contrast* between the atoning sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifices of the Old Testament would be more prominently brought out to view. This was not a new and second doctrine, but the expansion of a germ which had existed from the very beginning (Acts ii. 38, iii. 18). But the Lord had selected Saul as the real representative of this advance, a man who, in the midst of a restless and fanatical conflict between irresistible truth and old untruth with which he was loth to part, had grown ripe for conversion through such testimony of the risen Saviour as he could not withstand, and now at length, in the clearest and most decided way, had inwardly conquered Phariseeism.

To all the Apostles it became increasingly clear (Acts x.), that Judaism existed for the sake of Christianity, and this for the sake of all sinners; that Christ, therefore, belonged to all; that repentance and faith alone were necessary for the enjoyment of the N. T. salvation; and that there was no necessity for first of all becoming a Jew. But at different times there were not wanting *false teachers*, and "*false brethren unawares crept in*" (Gal. ii. 4), who had not passed through the same inward conflict as Paul, and had brought over in their hearts the pharisaic righteousness of works. These wished to impose upon the Gentile Christians the necessity of first becoming Jews, by circumcision and the observance of the law. But Paul conferred with the Christians at Jerusalem (Acts xv.; Gal. ii. 2), and "privately with them which were of reputation" (Gal. ii. 2 and 7 sqq.); and it was agreed that nothing should be imposed upon the Gentile

Christians, except the observance of particular measures adapted to facilitate fraternal intercourse and hospitality between Jewish and Gentile Christians. There was perfect agreement in *doctrine*, therefore, between Paul and Peter (as Gal. ii. 11 shows, where Paul calls it *hypocrisy* in Peter not to eat with Gentile Christians), and between the Jewish and Gentile Christians. But the former continued to observe the law and the temple worship, because these institutions, which God first gave to the nation of Israel, had not yet been abrogated by God Himself.

But it was not long before this took place. Judaism assumed a growingly hostile attitude. The Jews excommunicated the Christians from the temple (cf. Acts xxi. 28 and Heb. xiii. 13); and in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (a work written by a man whose standpoint, as well as that of his readers, was the immediate unity of the New Testament and the Old, and Christ the Messiah given to the seed of Abraham and the *λαός*) an appeal is made not to take this exclusion to heart. Shortly afterwards, God Himself, by a terrible judgment, swept both temple and law away. But the *Epistle to the Hebrews* presupposes a deep-rooted love to the ancient mode of life in the hearts of Jewish Christians; which is quite in accordance with the scattered notices in *Justin* and *Epiphanius*, that after Judaism had been actually abolished by the destruction of Jerusalem, a number of churches clung with their former zeal to the Aramæan language, the use of the Aramæan Matthew, and the now purely voluntary, or rather wilful, observance of the law; and that this self-willed isolation of the "*Nazarenes*" from the rest of the Christians exercised a petrifying influence upon them, inasmuch as what was arbitrarily retained had to be defended against the censure of others, so that dogmatic degeneracy ensued; and the Aramæan Matthew, or "*Gospel of the Hebrews*," was gradually corrupted into the Gospel of the Nazarenes or Ebionites, and in the "*Ebionitism*" of the second century this doctrinal declension attained its fullest development in the denial of the divinity of Christ.

But whilst on the side of *Jewish Christianity* a series of Judaizing errors crept in, such as a relapse to the standpoint of the law, and the denial of Christian liberty,—errors the first germs of which were overcome by Paul and cast out of the Church;—on the side of *Gentile Christianity* an analogous but much more injurious influence was exerted by *Heathenism*, which Paul anticipated with fear, and John had especially to encounter. The peculiar combination of speculative ideas with magic and idolatry, which was so prevalent in Heathenism at that time, found its way into Christianity, perverting the truths of

salvation by means of unbridled speculation, and undermining the true vocation of the Christian Church by equally unbridled libertinism. It was by no means strange that it should be just in these spheres in which Paul laboured that these excrescences flourished most; viz., in the sphere of Gentile Christianity, where no yoke of Levitical legality stood in the way, and the prominence given to subjective belief seemed to invite deceitful hearts to such antinomian perversions. And as in the apostolic age God built up His Church by supernatural gifts, it was also to be expected that the kingdom of darkness would support the pretensions of falsehood by extraordinary *dæmoniactal* influences. The energy of John and his coadjutors was successful in expelling *Gnosticism* from the Church; just as *Ebionitism* had been driven, though with less violence, into its state of isolation.

It was ordained in the counsels of God that supernatural powers should only be granted while the foundations of the Church were being laid, and that the Church should then by simply natural development proceed in her world-conquering career. And it naturally followed, that God henceforth restrained these *dæmoniactal* influences also. In the *post-apostolic* age we find the system of Gnosticism, which had already been expelled from the Church, split up into various systems of human theory. In *Marcion* we find most of the original Gnosticism. By a gross perversion of the Pauline doctrine of the abolition of the law, he teaches that the God who gave the law was a different being from the Father of the Redeemer, and introduces the Manichean dualism, by declaring the God of the law to be the Creator of the world, the *Demiurgus*. With the *Ophites* this dualism becomes a perfectly unmeaning caricature. The *Valentinians* attempt to resolve all antitheses into the unity of an allegorico-speculative process of thought. Now we cannot be surprised that, in opposition to these anti-Mosaic systems, there rose up systems of Judaistic gnosis, that the relics of a decrepit Jewish Christianity became infected here and there (especially in its Alexandrian forms) with the gnostic spirit, and, as we find in the *Pseudo-Clementines*, sought by a Judaizing gnosis to encounter that of Heathenism—thus meeting lie with lie. An Ebionitism of Alexandrian hue throws the blame of the Marcionite gnosis upon Paulinism, and under the name of Marcion attacks not only the libertinism of Marcion, but the Pauline doctrine of freedom from the law, and even the person and authority of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Gnosticism, when left to itself, gradually lost all interest in such Christian elements as it had still preserved, and in the third century fell back entirely upon its heathen basis—*Manicheism*. Thus de-

livered from the two grossest excrescences, the Church held firmly to the apostolic tradition, and presented in times of the fiercest persecution an edifying spectacle of internal union and purity. The few inward differences which arose, were mostly of a local nature, and had reference to practical questions of Church government, occasioned by the persecutions themselves (e.g., the Novatian Schism, dispute about heretical baptism). How far the unthinking assumption, that outward fellowship with the Church necessarily involved inward fellowship with Christ, led gradually to an erroneous over-estimate of the Church itself, and so prepared the way for the hierarchical institutions of a future age, is a question which does not come within the range of our present subject. It is more important to notice, that already doctrinal problems of essential importance were discussed, and different views expressed, without disturbing the peaceable unity of the Church. The Alexandrian theology existed side by side with that of Antioch, Monarchianism with Subordinationism; whilst only such evident excrescences as the doctrines of Noetus, Sabellius, and others were cut off, and that without disturbance, by the simple exercise of Church discipline. This noiseless exclusion of Sabellianism by the persecuted Church of the third century forms an instructive contrast to the noisy agitation caused by the exclusion of Arianism from the proud and worldly Church of the fourth, and is one of the most brilliant illustrations of the spirit of order and love which united the persecuted pastors and churches together in the time of their fiery baptism. Nothing, therefore, could be more absurd, than to represent the persecuted Church of the second and third centuries as filled with a bitter party spirit, and engaged in interminable disputes; in a condition, in short, which could only be produced by the corrupt luxuriousness of an indolent and peaceful time.

The opposition of the Church to *Montanism* makes no exception in this respect. It was natural that the extinction of the extraordinary gifts in the second century should be a source of bitter lamentation to many Christians. Among the inhabitants of Phrygia, who were naturally predisposed to soothsaying, ecstasy, and magnetic phenomena, the gift of prophecy may have been continued longer than elsewhere; or natural ecstasy may have been substituted for the miraculous; or there may have been an attempt made, by forcible effort, to produce these effects. It is certain, at any rate, that the Montanists attached excessive value to the existence of these miraculous gifts, and maintained the possibility of perpetuating the prophetic ecstasy. There is not the same certainty in the statements made by later writers, that Montanus regarded the communication of the

Holy Spirit to himself as a special fulfilment of the prediction in John xvi. 13. In the course of time this aspect of Montanism was quite lost sight of; and it merely retained its practical importance, through its peculiar severity in the administration of Church discipline, and in its views of marriage.—Yet this whole movement, which was widely spread even in Africa, by no means produced a conflict. Church Fathers of note—Tertullian, for example—adopted Montanistic views, without being regarded as heterodox. The controversy with Montanism was purely literary. Apollonius, Miltiades, Apolinarius, Caius, and others, wrote polemical writings against Montanism, especially against its incipient enthusiastic manifestation. Apolinarius and Sotas attempted to procure its condemnation by a council, that is, to remove it, like Sabellianism, by an act of Church discipline; but in vain. Even in the fifth century there were congregations in the bosom of the Church which were firmly attached to Montanism.

Such was the course of the early history of the Christian Church, according to the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *positive accounts of the Fathers*. We turn now to the early history as constructed by Schwegler.—We must allow him to entertain his opinion, that the words of Paul in 1 Cor. i. 12, ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ, refer to a fourth party—the *Christ party*, and are not to be regarded as the parenthetical exclamation of Paul himself, since he shares this exegetical mistake with many others. But there is no foundation for the view that this party was “Ebionitish,” or, as others would say, the Jewish-Christian party. Schwegler, however, maintains still further, that it is no other than this “Ebionitish” or Christ party which Paul opposes in his rebuke of the exaggerated importance attached to speaking with tongues. Then this Christ party is so dressed up as to present a striking similarity to the Montanists! One might indeed think it strange that the Montanists attached importance to *Prophecy* (commended by Paul), rather than to speaking with tongues; but Schwegler silences our doubt, by reminding us that “Tongues” and Prophecy are both related to the Pythonic and the Ecstatic.

The relationship of Montanism to the Jewish-Christian anti-Pauline party of the apostolic age is already proved. Who can doubt it? Both tendencies attached importance to extraordinary charismata. Paul himself does indeed (1 Cor. xiv. 5 and 39); but of course that is a mere rhetorical artifice.

Schwegler goes further. The Montanists taught—this he assumes as certain, undoubted truth—a *successive Trinity*, according to which the Holy Ghost was revealed first, not at Pentecost, but in

Montanus. The doctrine of the Logos which sprung out of Alexandrian Judaism he ascribes to the Montanists of this Jewish-Christian tendency as its inventors. This successive trinity of revelation he regards as the natural prelude to the Church doctrine of the essential Trinity; and then, of course, it follows that the essential Trinity, as it is taught in John's Gospel, is post-Montanistic. One might here again make the objection, that in the Gospel of John (chap. xvi. 13) the Trinity does appear as *successive*; and only at the end of the fourth century did a conscious definite doctrine of an eternal trinity in the one Divine Essence make its appearance. But we pass this, to follow the course of Schweigler's speculations.

It was of the greatest importance to him to prove that the contest between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, instead of terminating with the lifetime of Paul, continued throughout the whole of the second century, and split the Christian Church into two great parties. He therefore sets aside as untrue, all that the Fathers say of the Nazarenes and Ebionites as a small isolated sect. He maintains that what they call Ebionitism was the original Christianity of the twelve Apostles, summed up in the doctrine, that Jesus was the Messiah sent to the Jews, and that circumcision and the keeping of the law were essential to a participation in His kingdom. Paul opposed this primitive Christianity, with a bold effort to expand this Messianic sect into a universal religion for Jews and Gentiles; and in order to unite both in freedom from the law, he declared that the death of Christ was the abolition of the law. There naturally arose a severe controversy; and Christendom, *without having ever been united*, consisted of two hostile camps, simply maintaining a certain appearance of union towards those who were without. In the second century the balance gradually inclined to the side of Paulinism. Two clever men, Praxeas and Marcion, secured for it the upper hand; for *Marcion agreed essentially with Paul*. All that later Fathers say against him rests upon a distortion of his system. An important point was secured when the Roman See, towards the end of the second century (under Victor), declared its adhesion to Paulinism; then for the first time Montanism, *i.e.*, Ebionitism, was pronounced a sect. An attempt was now made by the latter, in the Pseudo-Clementines, to maintain its ground by assuming a freer form, in which it opposed Marcion, or in his person the Apostle Paul. A *mediation*, which had been already prepared by Tertullian, was now carried out by an intelligent Gnostic, who, under the skilfully assumed mask of the Apostle John, and in the so-called "*Gospel of John*," replied to the most important questions in dispute, by inventing a history of Jesus and His discourses, into which these

replies are most artistically woven. So far from the fraud being noticed, this convenient patch-work was welcomed with eagerness and placed in the canon.

Baur, the father of the system, has taken up the thread here, and carried it out in different directions. He had already prepared the way by declaring the *Pastoral Epistles* spurious on internal grounds, and thus conveniently getting rid of the Gnostics of the first century. He first of all took up the Gospel of John, and endeavoured to show how the fraudulent writer had carried out this mediating intention in the different sections. But a main pillar of this system would always be in danger, so long as the *Acts of the Apostles* could assert the least claim to historical authority.

This brings us to the third stage of the Tübingen criticism. A preparatory process was needful here also. As the Gospel of Luke is not only closely related to the Acts, but was undoubtedly written by the same author, it was necessary to inquire, first of all, whether this Gospel could not be conveniently placed in the second century. *Zeller* was keen-sighted enough to find out that, like the Gospel of John, it too was written in the second century with a mediating tendency. Christ is the Messiah of the Jews; but His salvation, rejected by Jews, is destined to pass over to the Gentiles. This view *Baur* has carried out and modified; endeavouring to show that, instead of the Gospel which Marcion used being a corruption of the Gospel of Luke, as has generally been supposed, the latter is an expansion of the former. In the meantime *Baur* attacked the *Acts of the Apostles* also. Two things had to be done. The first was, to show that the work could not contain historical truth. This he does, so far as the earlier chapters are concerned, by a style of criticism analogous to that of Strauss; and so far as the life of Paul is concerned, he declares, without any proof, the Epistles of Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians to be *genuine*, and seeks to prove that the apparent discrepancies between Acts xv. and Gal. i. ii. are irreconcilable contradictions. In the *second* place, as *Baur* is obliged to devise some origin for the book, he naturally assigns it to the *mediation*-period, and affirms that it was written to equalize the fame and authority of the two party-Apostles, Peter and Paul. To this end the author, *with conscious reflection*, and frequently with the distinct *intention to deceive* and to *lie*¹ (so little is now said of the natural formation of myths!), invented accounts just as he might need them. Did Paul boast in his Epistles that he had seen Christ, who sent him to the Gentiles? The author did not suppress this, but invented a vision for Peter, in

¹ *Paulus*, pp. 77, 78, 100, 102.

which he was also commissioned to convert the Gentiles (Acts x.). Did Peter meet with Simon the magician? Paul must also meet with Elymas the magician. Did Peter cure a lame man (Acts iii.)? Paul must do the same (Acts xiv.), etc. etc. In short, if we can only imagine the two Christian parties of the second century to have consisted of the most childish individuals, seeking the renown of their apostolic leaders in the most trivial puerilities that could possibly enter the brain of a German book-worm, the author of the Acts *may* have written for the purpose which *Baur* attributes to him.

We are now at the end. The Tübingen critics, possibly in consequence of their boasted freedom from all assumptions, have reached that doctrinal end and religioso-historical result which constituted their *very first assumption*. Not the *miracles* alone, nor the *authenticity of the writings* alone, nor the *supernatural origin of Christianity* alone, but the *moral character* of Christianity and its records are now swept out of the way. Who was Paul? A man who wanted to give to a Jewish sect a universalistic character, which was not only foreign but opposed to its nature and belief, and disturbing to the consciences of its members—who quarrelled with the apostles of the Jews, sought to undermine their authority (Gal. ii.!), represented his opponents as false teachers, and in the lowest sense opposed party to party (*Baur*, p. 254); —a man who declared a religion, which “derived its historical reality primarily from himself,” to be a revelation from heaven, and pronounced an anathema upon all who taught differently!—Who were *the Twelve*? Men who were convinced in their own minds, that it was sacrilege to admit the uncircumcised into the kingdom of the Messiah, but who, instead of boldly maintaining their principles, which were strenuously defended by subordinate members of the Church in Jerusalem and Galatia, rather than disagree with Paul, who was highly esteemed in other circles, accommodated themselves to circumstances, and allowed him to do what they would have thought it sin to do themselves.—What were the Christians of the centuries of persecution? Two parties who were never united, who were always contending; but who at last were outwitted by cunning deceivers, and induced to make mutual concessions, in which the party which was strengthened by the gnosticism of the Pseudo-John so completely overreached its opponent, that eventually nothing was left of the latter but an “indigestible remnant,” which was easily excluded in the form of Montanism.—What were most of the writers of the sacred books of the New Testament? Impostors!—In brief, the result of the whole is this: Christianity arose at the commencement of the third century as the result of a merely human, nay more, of a merely

intellectual development, which had no concern with moral interests. Thus we are happily arrived at the Hegelian Process by which the momenta of ethics are resolved into those of logic—at that mechanical necessary world-development, in which they speak, indeed, of ethics and ethical interests, and enounce the pleasant-sounding proposition that the truly moral man wills the Good for its own sake, but in which all is “good,” and “commanded by God within the breast,” and to be justified with fine sophistical dialectics which in any way appears to belong to the process of development. The morality of the primitive Christianity constructed by Baur is the expressive counterpart of that of his own school. For “the Saints of Herr Professor Baur,” as Thiersch aptly names them, the Professor himself has sat as the original. The Tübingen primitive Christianity, in a word, is such a Christianity as is *practised* there.—To this result the Tübingen school *wished* to come, and therefore *did* come. But it reached at the same time other results, at which it had no desire to arrive, viz., *absurda*. Thiersch has pointed out one absurdity. Nothing can be more striking than the immense contrast between the canonical writings of the New Testament, and the writings of the so-called apostolical Fathers. In the former there is an indescribable fulness and depth—a source of edification for the most diverse men, nations, tribes, ages, and grades of culture—a lake in which a child can wade and an elephant swim—the subject of the most earnest and repeated theological investigations, yet unexhausted still. In the latter we find a clear, thin, watery substance, which you can see through at the very first glance, providing but little to edify the reader, and nothing for the commentator to explain. Let the attempt be made to write such commentaries on the Epistles of Ignatius, as have been written upon the different books of the New Testament. Nothing brings out with greater certainty the truth of inspiration, than to turn from the New Testament to the apostolic Fathers. What a fearful descent from the living divine fountain, to the first weak results of human development! But according to Baur’s classification, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, the Acts, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, 1st and 2d Peter, 1st, 2d, and 3d John, James, and Jude, were all written in the post-apostolic age, and all the works of impostors. So that we are brought to this absurd result, that in the second century all honest men were weak-minded and easily deceived, and all thinking and gifted men Jesuits; a caricature of primitive Christianity, which can only have originated in a combination of the two evil qualities just named, and in opposition to which the attested history of the persecutions of the early Christians, and the fact of the world-

conquering power of Christianity, must raise the flaming sword of divine derision over the insanity of men.

The *Baur* school is brought to another equally unwelcome result. By assigning nearly all the N. T. writings to a post-apostolic age, and pronouncing the most important of them attempts to mediate between Paulinism and Ebionitism, they confess of their own accord that in the most important of the N. T. writings there is no trace of that opposition which they maintain to have existed. Where is their authority for this opposition? In the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians? In three of these there is no opposition to an Ebionitish party, at least not in *Baur's* sense of the word; and Gal. ii. 13, 14, contains the most thorough refutation of *Baur's* views of Peter (*vide* the expressions, φοβούμενος, ὑπέστέλλειν, συνυπεκρίθησαν). The *Revelation*, which Tübingen critics accept as John's, contains no opposition to Paulinism, but the most thorough agreement with the Pauline doctrine of the sacrificial death of Christ. The Fathers make no allusion to any such opposition in the second century, no hint of such a connection between Montanism and Ebionitism appears; and the Pseudo-Clementines, although they can be *fitted into* the hypothesis of such a division, contain *no proof* of its existence, but, as we have seen, quite as readily fall into their place in the *actual history*. In fact, the whole romance from the second century has no other foundation than the brain of a critic alienated from God, who, with his associates and understrappers, was determined to try whether history could not be made to square with his pantheistic assumptions.¹

§ 4.

APOLOGETICS (HISTORY AND METHOD).

We have hitherto confined ourselves to a certain line of criticism, without alluding to those theologians who, from the standing-point of personal faith, have all along opposed these negative results. In the first two periods no works appeared, which either entered minutely into particulars, or embraced the whole scope of criticism. Next to *Köppen's* "Bibel" and *Hess's* "Leben Jesu," the most important work

¹ [The author concludes this section with a paragraph on the repute in which this negative school is at present (1850) held in Germany. He represents it as isolated: older theologians keeping silence, the younger theologians attacking it, and no one defending; on the point of splitting into parties, in danger of soon having no readers; but fighting on these accounts all the more passionately, as is the wont of persons driven to desperation.—ED.]

on the criticism of the writings was *Olshausen's* "Genuineness of the Gospels." The criticism of the history was always interwoven with *exegesis*. In the first period there were a few works specially devoted to criticism, partly in the style of the so-called "Old Harmonists," partly initiating a new period of a more penetrating character. In the second, on the contrary, the critical remarks on each section were mostly connected with an exposition. And in this department, again, *Olshausen's* Commentaries are by far the most valuable. But the chief defect in these is, that the distinction is not sufficiently marked between the results that are arrived at by a critical process of a purely *historical* character, and those points in which religious and doctrinal opinions have exerted a certain influence. If anything is to be effected by criticism, the examination of purely historical discrepancies must be kept as distinct as possible from a doctrinal investigation of the history itself. If our opponents maintain that, "even apart from doctrinal difficulties, there are so many purely historical difficulties in the way, that *on their account alone* the Gospel history would appear unhistorical, even if there were no doctrinal considerations which led to the same conclusion;" our first task must be, not to refute doctrinal doubts, but to undertake a thorough and honest examination, whether these historical difficulties are really to be found. And if on a searching investigation the very opposite is found to be the case, the negative critics will be forced to the confession, "that doctrinal considerations alone have led them to question the Gospel history, and that historical probabilities are all in its favour."

But how should such an investigation be carried on? If we pass on to the third period, we find a considerable number of writings, specially directed against *Strauss's* "Leben Jesu." The most important of these are *Tholuck's* "Credibility of the Gospel History" (1837), which is restricted to a general examination of *Strauss's* method and principles; *Harless's* "Life of Jesus," which describes the negative results attained by *Strauss* in their relation to the doctrine of the Church; *Hoffman's* Prüfung des Lebens Jesu von *Strauss*—"Examination of the Life of Jesus by *Strauss*" (1836); with *Osiander's*, *Kern's*, and *Lange's* works, containing refutations in special details.

Now, whatever may have been the worth of these books as replies to one particular work, their importance was merely relative, so far as the further development of criticism itself was concerned. They were merely remonstrances, and did not succeed in breaking the force of the negative criticism. It is important to understand the cause of this; and it lay here. Every one of them followed his own opponent *step by step*; and this has great disadvantages. In the first place,

only one critic is overthrown by this method, and his assertions alone are refuted. But this builds no dam against what three or four others may afterwards say. Moreover, the apologist too often simply meets the fate of an unskilful chess-player, who is forced by his opponent to every move he makes, and just because he can never assume the offensive, is hurried on to a checkmate, which all his exertions can only delay.

And again, in reality, neither a passing nor a conclusive victory is to be hoped for, if we merely content ourselves with refuting one by one the assertions of such men as Strauss, and trying to weaken by counter-arguments whatever arguments they may please to bring. Nothing is gained thereby but the sorry spectacle, that when Strauss or some one else has brought forward a new discovery, and put forth all his strength and skill to demonstrate some discrepancy that he has found, his opponent carps and haggles—pronounces this argument “by no means unanswerable,” that “in some points assailable,” and his own positions “not altogether untenable;” by which means a negative *plus* is changed into a positive *minus*, and we resemble a warrior beating a retreat, but turning his face to the foe, that he may look as if he were still advancing.

No; the object to be aimed at is to give a *decided negation to the entire standpoint* from which the opponent directs his assaults. For example, if Strauss maintains that in the Gospel of John there is a constant tendency to put Peter behind John, and four or five very plausible data are adduced in support of the assertion, what good does it do to say, “This or the other datum is not a convincing proof of this?” It is not in the particular argument that the fallacy lies, so much as in the whole manner in which the view arose.

When negative critics disregard history, and look with one-sided mental activity into the Gospels, for the purpose not of viewing their contents as a whole, but of fixing upon certain points and looking out for contradictions, this is a course which could be adopted with every other writer, and with just the same results. Now, if we just follow a negative critic step by step, and like him confine ourselves to single points selected here and there, we shall in like manner see nothing but fragments, and therefore never be able in any particular case to overthrow an opponent by proving the opposite.

We propose to adopt a totally different plan. Apart altogether from the criticism of the history and the criticism of the writings, we shall look carefully into the entire contents of the four Gospels, and see whether there is an internal unity in each Gospel taken by itself, and in such of the contents as are common to them all. Of course

we do not mean merely a vague unity in the moral or religious spirit, which equally pervades them all; but (1) *unity of plan* in each particular Gospel; (2) *formal*, that is, *chronological unity* in all the four; (3) *material unity in the accounts they contain*; and (4) the possibility of constructing a perfectly consistent history from the whole.

The position which we assume in relation to criticism, is that which *Beck* has laid down in reference to doctrine. "We seek for truth, pure unadulterated truth—truth which shall instruct and improve, which shall direct and educate—sovereign truth, which shall exercise dominion over us. What is wisdom everywhere else, must be wisdom in relation to the Scriptures also: first to digest well what can be or has been partaken of, that food which was once unpalatable to our general taste may become familiar, and increase our strength; to work faithfully at what has once commended itself to our understanding and conscience; and to make it so thoroughly a part of ourselves that we shall become *assimilated to the Scriptures*."

We approach the Gospel history, therefore, not with a spy-glass in our hands, that we may gain renown by the discovery of fresh discrepancies and follies, but with a clear and open eye, prepared to do honour to the good, the beautiful, the glorious, wherever we may find them; and intending not to lay aside *good opinions* till we are convinced of the opposite. *We shall yield ourselves up to the moulding influence of the Gospels*, live in them, and, by a thorough personal appropriation, shall command a more perfect insight into the unity, the beauty, and the depth of the Gospel history.

We shall go about our task after the following method.

For the sake of chronology (to settle the preliminary question whether this or that Evangelist has adopted a chronological or topical principle of arrangement), a consideration of the whole course of each Gospel will be necessary. We shall include both (chronology and plan of Gospels) under the head of "The Gospel History considered according to its Form." After this will follow "The Consideration of the Gospel History according to its Contents;" that is, the exact representation of particular occurrences,—under which, of course, the question of synoptical connection will come up, and a review will be required of the negative criticism; only, in this latter department we shall not start with refutation of objections, but from the positive exhibition of the true state of the facts, which will contain in itself all necessary refutations.

We begin then always with a representation of the fact as derived from the various accounts, and (as justification of the harmony thus gained) show, psychologically and exegetically, that on the supposition

that the Fact M happened, it was possible that the account M' M" M''' should arise without either of them containing error. Then we shall give the refutation of special objections.

Method of the Second Part.

When the work of the First Part has been accomplished—the exact consideration of the object to be criticised—we shall then be in a position to go on, in the Second Part, to the refutation of the various negative hypotheses concerning the origin of the Gospels, and the positive criticism of the writings and the history.

In the former of these tasks apologists have hitherto failed as against Strauss. They took too much trouble to show, in this and that particular case, that such and such a myth could not have arisen. This proceeding can never succeed. One can never show, in reference to an isolated section of the history, that it *could* not have been formed mythically: we must take the *whole*; we must put together minutely, and in his own words, Strauss's view; and then the refutation, the demonstration of the sheer impossibility of it will be easy. In this way we shall first examine Strauss's hypothesis, then Bauer's; and then conclude the First Division of the Second Part with a historical inquiry concerning the "Hope of the Messiah," which Strauss affirms to have existed, and Bauer denies. The examination of the Tübingen hypothesis goes along with the positive inquiries concerning the Acts of the Apostles.

Under the second head, the positive criticism of the writings and the history, we shall have to examine the leading branches of the mass of hypotheses on that subject. The old hypothesis of an original Gospel will not trouble us much. But in the present condition of criticism it will be a more difficult question, whether the Evangelists knew and used one another's writings, or whether all simply drew from a common tradition.

The tradition hypothesis supported by Gieseler requires as a basis of fact that the Apostles should be assembled for a number of years in one place. According to the Acts of the Apostles, they were so. And in general the Acts present a mass of special data which deserve more attention in connection with the question respecting the origin of the Gospels than they have received. To get a sure historical foundation on which to build our criticism, it will be necessary to undertake a minute criticism of the Acts of the Apostles.

Thus we have as the plan of the whole work:—Part I. Consideration of the object to be criticised (the Gospels, and the History contained therein). Division I. Consideration of the Form. (Plan

of the different Evangelists. How far did they mean to write in chronological order? Are there any chronological contradictions?) Division II. Consideration of the Contents. (Exhibition of the separate occurrences in their inner unity.)—Part II. CRITICISM. Division I. Criticism of the Negative Hypotheses concerning the Origin of the Gospels. Division II. *Origin of the Four Gospels.* (Acts of the Apostles. Attempts to explain the convergences and divergences in the different Gospels. Positive Result.)

PART I.

EXAMINATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

DIVISION I.

THE GOSPELS CONSIDERED AS TO THEIR FORM.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

§ 5.

PECULIARITIES OF AUTHORSHIP. STYLE; PLAN; CHRONOLOGY.



WERE any historical work of antiquity, which had either been altogether unknown or long regarded as lost, to be unexpectedly placed in our hands, our first impulse would be to glance rapidly through the whole, that we might obtain a general idea of the historical information it contained. We should then proceed, in a second perusal, to examine more closely the author's peculiarities. And not till this had been done, should we proceed to criticise the historical facts which he narrated.

In the present instance, we have not one only, but four authors before us, all treating of the same subject. JESUS, His life, His teaching, His death, these are, in the most general terms, the well-known topics which present themselves on the very surface of the four Gospels. But, as we have four different sources from which to gather our history, there arises an intermediate inquiry, viz., whether they can all be combined into one, or whether the accounts which they contain are irreconcilable. To this we shall reply in the Second

Division of this First Part. We have now, in the First Division, to go through what we have called the “second perusal”—to examine, *i.e.*, the *peculiarities of authorship*. As the known results of criticism, we shall have to repeat what is generally said as to the *style* of each writer, and the *general character* of the composition. On the other hand, fresh investigations will have to be made, as to the extremely important question, *viz.*, “what it was that each Evangelist intended to give: whether an account of the life of the Lord; or a collection of memorials without arrangement; or a pragmatico-historical treatise; or, lastly, a doctrinal work.”—Another inquiry is closely connected with this, *viz.*, as to the chronological character of each Gospel. For us, to whom the inquiry as to the style of the Gospels is only a means to an end, this is the point of greatest importance. It conducts to what is, strictly speaking, the design of our whole work, namely, to inquire whether the four Evangelists have written such accounts, and in such a way that a consistent history can be collected from the whole.

§ 6.

CHRONOLOGY AND ORDER OF SEQUENCE.

By chronology two things may be understood. A man writes chronologically, when he not only relates the events themselves, but the time when they occurred, applying the measure of an absolute Era to all the special events related. In this sense Luke writes chronologically, when he fixes the date of the birth of Christ by a reference to the taxing, with which his readers are supposed to be acquainted; and determines the time of the appearance of John the Baptist by a particular year in the reign of Tiberius.—A historian also writes chronologically, when, without describing the precise epoch, he arranges the particular facts in the order in which they occurred. In this sense John writes chronologically, when he notices one after another the journeys of Christ to the various festivals, and describes other events in their relation to these.

With regard to the former, the matter is a very simple one: there are extremely few allusions in the Gospels to the general history of the world; and all we have to do, is to ascertain whether these few contain internal discrepancies, or whether they contradict general chronology.¹ Besides, this point is of less consequence, and only so far

¹ Points which the Gospels have left untouched, as in what year Christ was born, and the like, do not concern us. They belong to Church History, not to Criticism.

important as it affects the credibility and carefulness of an Evangelist. —The other question is of far greater importance; viz., In what order did the events occur?—a question which the present position of criticism requires us to resolve into two: Did this or the other Evangelist intend to write chronologically in the sense alluded to? and, Can we determine, from the Gospels taken together, the chronological order of the facts?

§ 7.

SEQUENCE AND SYNOPSIS—HARMONY.

In the history of the infancy of Christ, as well as in that of His death and resurrection, there can be no difficulty in fixing the sequence of most of the events, as their relative position is fixed by the nature of the case. All that has to be done, is to reconcile discrepancies in reference to sequence in the different accounts. But with the *public life* of the Lord this is not the case. We find here, in all four Gospels, a number of accounts which are obviously identical (*e.g.*, the feeding of the five thousand); there are also many which are peculiar to some one Evangelist; and, thirdly, there are not a few discourses and narratives common to two or more of the Evangelists, but differently related in each. Thus the first three Evangelists relate the healing of a centurion's *servant*; John gives a *similar* account of the healing of the *son of a βασιλικός*. Luke records *the anointing of Jesus by a woman that was a sinner*; the other Evangelists mention a *similar anointing at Bethany*; and these accounts, again, do not occur in the same order in the different Gospels. But before attempting to settle anything as to the order of events, it is absolutely necessary to decide which of the accounts relate to the same occurrences.

E.g. If the healing of the centurion's servant were identical with that of the son of the βασιλικός, it would follow that the Sermon on the Mount, the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, etc.—facts which are connected by definite formulæ of sequence in the Synoptists—occurred after the Passover mentioned John ii. 23. In the opposite case, on the other hand, a quite different position would be possible. We cannot attempt to determine the sequence, therefore, until we have considered the question of synopsis; *i.e.*, which of the apparently parallel accounts are really identical.

Before proceeding, however, to the construction of a method, it will not be out of place to consider the course of a discipline which has embraced both the departments of Sequence and Synopsis—viz., the construction of *Harmonies*. The “old harmony” is the bugbear

with which Strauss endeavours to frighten the modern apologists in their attempts to bring the divergent parallel accounts into agreement. But it is as childish to be frightened by a bugbear as it is senseless to threaten with one. Better to look the matter straight in the face. A consideration of the course of development through which "*Harmony*" has passed, must in any case lead to this—to help us to understand its defects, and so to avoid them; and further, teach us to discriminate true attempts to unite parallel accounts from false ones, so as not summarily and uncritically to condemn the one with the other.

§ 8.

HISTORY OF HARMONY.

From the nature of the case, the thought was sure to suggest itself of forming into a single biography the four parallel accounts of the life, death, and resurrection of the Lord. At first it was purely a practical aim which dictated the construction of harmonies, viz., the convenience of readers in search of edification. We see it begin in this way in Tatian's well-known *εὐαγγέλιον διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων* (about A.D. 170).¹ The next to undertake a similar work was *Theophilus of Antioch*, about 181. He was followed by *Ammonius* (about 230) with his *ἁρμονία*. These works are both but little known. It may be conjectured, however, with considerable probability, that so far as synopsis and sequence are concerned, the treatment of the subject was arbitrary and unscientific. *Ammonius* did not trouble himself about the true sequence at all. He merely wrote out the text of Matthew, and noted in the margin the synoptical passages of Mark, Luke, and John. *Tatian*, on the other hand, merely endeavoured to retain as far as possible all the words of all the Evangelists; whether according to any principle of sequence, or if so, with what success, we are not informed.

In the course of time, mere *synopses* gradually gave place to *harmonies*. We meet with no more works like that of *Ammonius*. And the endeavour to harmonize naturally led to a discovery of the necessity that some *principles* on the subject of sequence should take the place of the caprice which had hitherto prevailed. *Epiphanius* had already occupied himself, partly with a chronological classification of the events according to the years in which they occurred, and partly with their sequence. Much more acuteness was displayed in the rules laid

¹ The work itself is lost. See *Epiphanius*, hæ. 46; *Eusebius*, 4, 29; *Theodoret.* fabb. hæ. 1, 20.—The Diatessaron discovered by *Viktor Capuanus* about 450, and several others attributed to Tatian, are not authentic.

down by *Augustine* (*de consensu evangelistarum*), which, though long neglected, were rescued from the dust by *Gerson*, and applied in his "*Concordia Evangelistarum* or *Monotessaron*" (Opp. ed. Antw. tom. iv.

Gerson started with the true principle, that it was *not* the intention of the Evangelists to write in chronological order. But true as this principle is, his application of it to particular events was a very arbitrary one; so that Harmony made through him but the one small step in advance, that single groups out of the manifold occurrences began to be arranged in order (such, viz., as are connected in the Gospels with the most definite formulæ, and are placed in the same order in all the Synoptists; e.g., Sermon on Mount, the leper, the centurion's servant, stilling of the storm, Gadarenes, etc.). Of more importance, however, was the recognition of the fact, that the Evangelists did not intend to write in order of sequence. But what progress was thus indicated? The latter proposition should have been *proved* by an investigation of the question, whether any of the Evangelists had followed a real principle of arrangement, and if so, what it was; and secondly, how far any of them arranged the materials in each division in chronological order. (For example, the plan adopted by an Evangelist might be, to give all the miracles first, then all the parables, and so forth; but this would not prevent him from arranging the miracles in their proper order of sequence.) In this way the system of harmonies would have led to some definite result. But such was not the path pursued. And the event from which the greatest progress might have been anticipated, viz., the Reformation, was followed by the most decided retrograde movement; and it has only been of late years that there has been any indication of a return, and that by a very circuitous route.

The only Reformer who took up the subject in a genial spirit, and advanced inquiry a step, was *Calvin*. The discovery of a sequence was, indeed, not his real design. On the contrary, he troubles himself but little about the sequence, and arranges the materials of the Gospel history rather according to their subject-matter. But his thorough freedom from every kind of littleness enabled him to find what he was hardly seeking. By a skilful use of the formulæ indicative of sequence which are scattered throughout the Gospels, he brought out certain *sections*, or chains of occurrences, which are evidently linked together. These separate portions, which have a fixed internal coherence, stand out from the general mass in which no definite sequence is discernible, though their relation to one another has still to be determined. Thus, from a careful and minute examination

of the Gospels themselves, *Calvin* obtains a tacit answer to the question: Did this or the other Evangelist write in chronological order? For it follows from the results at which he arrived, that in *Matthew* the greatest attention is paid to sequence, in *Luke* the least; a conclusion which *Bengel* confirms, and which we shall find of importance for our own purposes.—So much was accomplished by *Calvin*. He broke ground on the subject of sequence without being distinctly aware of it. More still remained to be done; and his conclusions may not unfrequently be most gravely questioned. But he was the first to show that the proper course is, not to come with preconceived notions as to the method by which we are to obtain from the Gospels the exact order of the events, but first of all to interrogate the Gospels themselves, and observe to what extent it was the purpose of the writers to record the events in the order of historical sequence.

Calvin remained almost alone, very few of the Reformed theologians following him.¹ *Osiander*, who was unfortunately regarded for a long time as a model, took the very opposite course in his *Harmonia Evangeliorum* (Bâle 1537). His dogmatic assumption was this, that as the Evangelists were inspired, and therefore wrote *truth*, the discourses of Jesus must be reported word for word, and His acts and words must all be narrated in the exact order in which they occurred. This conclusion from the doctrinal notion of inspiration was evidently founded upon a second *philosophical* assumption, viz., that there can be no higher truth than that of chronological sequence and verbal accuracy. *Osiander* could not see that an author may arrange his materials according to their subject rather than their sequence, and yet write with historical fidelity and truth.

The result to which this assumption led, was a very remarkable one. Since every one of the four Evangelists wrote in chronological order, and yet the same narratives are given in very different positions, there was nothing to be done but to affirm that events, which are evidently one and the same, are *not identical*, and to assume that the same occurrence was repeated again and again, with precisely the same attendant circumstances. There were two incidents, however (the rubbing of the ears of corn, and the withered hand), which, notwithstanding the different positions in which they occur, even *Osiander*

¹ The Reformed Church occupied itself, in general, less than the Lutheran with harmonistic inquiries. In the latter, from the time of *Osiander*, prevailed the desire to justify, in reference to the Gospels, the most literal view of the doctrine of inspiration. In the Reformed Church, neither that interest nor the critical interest of our time predominated. Harmony was regarded as *res utilis*, not as *res necessaria*.

pronounced identical. But this was a dangerous inconsistency. For the same *natural feeling* which revolted in this instance against the pseudo-harmonistic restraints, might offer similar opposition in other instances, and so the entire system be endangered. His successors, *Molinæus* (*Collatio et unio quat. evv.*, Paris 1565) and *Codomanus* (*Harmonia evv.*, Nürnb. 1568), saw this, and maintained therefore, with perfect consistency, that these occurrences were also both of them repeated two or three times.

Calvin and Osiander are the two extremes.

Between the two stands Jansenius (*Corn. Jansenius Conc. Evang. in qua, præterquam quod suo loco ponuntur. quæ evangelistæ non servato recenset ordine, etiam nullius verbum aliquod omittitur. Antw. 1554*). He prepared a concordance after the manner of Gerson. He did not assume a regard to sequence as a characteristic of the Gospels; but he is somewhat petty in his effort to defend all the *words* used by the Evangelists.

The untenableness of Osiander's method was perceived by Bugenhagen, who applied Gerson's principles to the history of the Passion and Resurrection, and was prevented by his death from publishing a complete Harmony. But Paul Crell made use (so he himself declares) of Bugenhagen's preparatory labours in his *Monotessaron Evang. Historiæ* (published in German and Latin 1566, and in German alone 1571). This work did not avail to put a stop to the further progress of Osiander's method of procedure.

Only at the commencement of the seventeenth century was a decided reaction produced by *Chemnitz*, and those who carried on his work. *Chemnitz* gave a most decided *congé* to the Osiandrian method, and adopted that of Gerson and Crell. The leading features which characterize his gigantic work are the following:

1. He starts with the correct assumption that the Evangelists did not intend to write in chronological order;¹ though with him it is merely an assumption. He does not prove it.

2. He sets before himself a triple object: *chronology, sequence, and synoptical relation.*

¹ He will, he says (*prooem. cp. i.*), "*nequaquam id agere, ut in ipsa historia IV. Evangelistarum aliquid vel mutetur, vel addatur, vel detrahatur;*" but he also says, referring to John xx. 31, that the evangelists, "*Hujus instituti potius quam ordinis et temporis axiam rationem habuerunt. Atque inde factum est, quod Evangelistæ, licet in concionum et rerum gestarum veritate summum et sanctissimum servent consensum, in contextu tamen et serie historiarum quisque proprium suum ordinem et peculiarem rationem . . . prout proposito scopo, de quo dictum est, simplicissime convenire quisque judicavit, sequatur.*"

3. With reference to *chronology*, he is not satisfied with bringing out such of the most important chronological data as are to be found in the Gospels themselves, but he gives himself useless trouble in trying to classify as nearly as possible the whole mass of events according to years and days.

4. With regard to *sequence*, Chemnitz was the first to put into words the fundamental rule, that an *a priori* arrangement is not to be arbitrarily constructed and introduced into the Gospels, but that the first thing to be done is to gather together the few scattered *data* which are supplied in the Gospels themselves. For example, an Evangelist frequently relates nine or ten incidents in succession. But this does not decide the question whether they really happened one after the other; or whether the Evangelist himself arranged them in this order, either from some peculiarity in the narratives themselves, or because this was the order in which they occurred to his mind. But in the midst of all this indefiniteness, two or more of the accounts are often accompanied by the most distinct notices that the events followed one another (*e.g.*, "But when Jesus came down from the mountain," etc.). When this is the case, it is obvious that the sequence was known to the historian, and that it was his intention to point it out.¹

Now, if attention be paid to all such data, it will be found that the Evangelists supplemented one another in some such way as this, that where a connected chain of events terminates in one Gospel, another connected chain commences in another; and with this aid important results are secured.

Chemnitz does not neglect to lay down certain principles in reference to this part of the subject, which we certainly cannot call perfect, but to which we must at least award the praise of great acuteness. Even in *theory*, much still remained to be desired. And the practical application was a perfect failure. When he could give nothing certain, he set down probabilities; the conscientious inquiry into the data found in the Gospels passed into the background, and the result in consequence was perfectly untenable.

5. With regard to *synopsis*, he did not trouble himself much about definite rules, but trusted more to tact. He very properly assumes, that where the accounts are similar, but the time mentioned different, the accounts are not to be regarded as identical; and so, again, where the leading circumstances, the place, or the persons engaged, are

¹ Prooem. cp. 5. Manifestum est, quasdam historias describi, additis hujusmodi notationibus, quæ consequentiam historiarum liquido et certo ostendunt: quasdam vero describi aliis locutionibus, quæ non certo vel necessario ordinis consequentiam significant.

evidently described as altogether different (*e.g.*, in the case of the βασιλικός and centurion).

After Chemnitz, the whole question of harmonies remained for a considerable time in the indefinite state in which he left it, and even the flashes of light in his *theory* seem to have shone out in vain. The search for *sequence*, which had been thrown into confusion by the numerous attempts that had been made, gave place to the search for *chronology*, which was undertaken by Calixt, Meuschen, and in a still more extravagant form by Bernh. Lamy, who undertook to arrange the words and acts of Christ according to particular months and days. The labours of the Reformed theologians, Lightfoot (Harm., 1644), de Bruin (Harm. ev., 1690), and the Arminian Le Clerc (Harm. ev., 1699), were for the most part synoptical.

Such was the state of matters when the great Bengel appeared, and, standing almost on the border of a destructive time, addressed himself to the preparation of a scientific harmony in his "True View of the Gospel" (Tüb. 1736). There was this marked difference between him and Chemnitz, that he not merely laid down general principles, but kept to them, and constantly reviewed what he had done. But if in this respect he is superior to Chemnitz, in the principles laid down Chemnitz unquestionably bears the palm. The different theorems of the latter, Bengel has not noticed; and though in certain cases he perceives that something depends on the particular character and relative precision of the formula by which an Evangelist connects two different accounts, yet he does not build his whole system upon this. His method, original enough in its way, is rather the following. He observes that certain *series* and *pericopæ* occur in *just the same order* in all three Synoptists; so that, whilst between these *pericopæ* certain others are introduced, which are different in each Gospel, the order in which these stand to one another remains the same in all three Gospels.

Suppose, for example, that the following is the order in which a certain number of distinct sections (*pericopæ*) are found in the three synoptic Gospels:

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Matthew, | r, | T, | l, | M, | N, | q, | V, | p, | b. | | | |
| Mark, | . | T, | a, | b, | M, | s, | x, | N, | V, | h, | i, | k. |
| Luke, | . | b, | p, | T, | M, | x, | y, | z, | N, | i, | V. | |

The series as a whole are entirely different, but there are certain *pericopæ* (T, M, N, V) which always occur in the same order. Thus, as Bengel observes, the Evangelists all agree in placing the call of Peter before the Sermon on the Mount, this again before the centurion,

and the centurion before the arrival of messengers from John; though other accounts intervene, which are not always alike. Now, what do we gain from this observation? No reliable result. If we take any number of elements, and mix them up together so as to form three distinct permutations, it is not only probable, but unavoidable, that, notwithstanding the fact that they are mixed without design, some of the elements will occupy a similar relative position. This could only be avoided by having but two permutations, and making one the very opposite of the other (*e.g.*, *a, b, c, d*, and *d, c, b, a*); or, if there are three permutations, by making one exactly the opposite of one of the other two. But if the result is sure to be obtained, even with the most arbitrary arrangement, that some of the scattered elements will retain the same relative position; one cannot, from the mere occurrence of this phenomenon, infer *intentional* arrangement. But Bengel does this. As he infers transpositions from dissimilar positions of particular sections, so he infers from that *relatively* similar position of other sections (scattered among dissimilarly placed ones) that they really happened in this order; hence his special results are mere individual opinions, and even he has not saved us the trouble of a new independent and critical inquiry.

After Bengel's time, the flood of negative criticism set in. First of all, the last glimmer of a recognition of inspiration, which had still lighted up with a faint evening twilight the Osiandrian method, now fallen into contempt, faded entirely away. Then, with the opinion that the Evangelists might have erred, either in direct statements or questions where memory was at fault, there grew up also the inclination, instead of trying diligently to harmonize the differences in the parallel accounts, to set them down as contradictions. And when, at length, after so many attempts to settle the order of sequence, all interest in the matter had ceased, the thought of its possibility was entirely given up. It was assumed that the Evangelists had no intention of writing in chronological order, and therefore that it was impossible to discover the order in which the events occurred. Hence *harmonies*¹ became more rare, and *synopses* took their place.

From this time forth the course of criticism lay in the direction already described. As soon as doubt had been thrown upon the Gospel

¹ Outside the general line stand *Toinard*, Ev. harm. gr. lat., Paris 1707; *Fr. Burmann*, de harmonie, Amst. 1712 and 39; *A Harmony of the Gospels*, Dublin 1778; *White*, Diatessaron, Oxford 1800. In Germany, *Eb. Dav. Hauber*; *Canstein*; *Petersen*, etc. The Scottish theologian *Macknight* wrote a harmony of the Gospels in 1756.

history, every nerve was strained to explain the origin of the Gospel *writings* and their contents out of uncertain and unhistorical elements. As soon as this endeavour had reached its climax in *Strauss*, and every historical germ had been removed from the Gospels,—as soon as criticism came to feel the greatest interest in proving that they contained hundreds of contradictions, both in form and in substance,—the assumption with which the negative critics set out, that the Evangelists never intended to write in chronological order, was changed into the very opposite, that the Evangelists *imagined* that they *were writing* in chronological order. *Strauss* has stated this clearly and openly: “The writers flattered themselves that they were giving a chronological narrative.” The evidence which he adduces in support of this assertion, that here and there this is indicated by a distinct formula, such as *καταβάντι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους*, etc., may suffice to dazzle *dilettanti*, who cannot see to the bottom of the matter. There are two or three accounts to be found which are connected by such formulas, and therefore it follows that the Evangelists “flattered themselves that they were giving a chronological narrative” *throughout*! And so it must needs be inconceivable, that an author should select certain incidents from the life of a man, and arrange them according to some particular association of ideas, or according to the character of the occurrences themselves; and yet occasionally connect two or more incidents together, which he knew to have occurred in immediate succession, and indicate their sequence by some particular formula!—But *Strauss* had his own reason for resorting to this sophism. For, unless it be assumed that the Evangelists intended to write in chronological order, it is impossible to establish a considerable number of the desired *chronological discrepancies*. Remove the discrepancies, and the Gospels will then appear historically credible; and if they are historically credible, there will be no hope of proving the assertion, that they teem, not only with dogmatic, but also with historical difficulties.

No, the assumption that the Gospels furnish *no data* for the construction of a consecutive arrangement is as false as the other, that they were written *throughout* in chronological order. We base our criticism not upon assumptions, but upon *proofs*. We begin, therefore, by inquiring of each Evangelist, What he intended to supply? On what principle he arranged his materials? And what indications he has given of chronological sequence?

The only assumption with which we set out is the unanswerable proposition, that there is nothing inconceivable in the fact, that a biographer, who did not intend to write throughout in chronological

order, may here and there have called to mind the chronological connection of particular occurrences, and may have pointed this out.

§ 9.

METHOD.

We have already observed, that the *synoptic* results ought to be thoroughly established before it is possible to enter upon any inquiry as to chronological sequence. But the former presuppose a careful examination of the *contents* of the Gospels. It might appear, therefore, as if we could not proceed to investigate the sequence and other peculiarities of *form*, until we had completed our examination of the subject-matter; and therefore, as if the latter should occupy the first part, the former the second. But this is precluded by the fact, that, on the other hand, a thorough examination of the contents of the Gospels in their unity cannot possibly take place until we have established a tolerably trustworthy result as to their chronological sequence. When chronological discrepancies are adduced, and employed in support of charges of material discrepancies, we can never hope to refute such arguments as these, unless we have first obtained an answer to the question, "Did the Evangelists intend to write in chronological order?"

What then is to be done, in connection with those *parallel pericopæ*, whose synoptical relation must be discussed before the question of sequence is taken in hand? The course appears to me to be simple enough. For example, there are certain *synoptical principles*, which are so self-evident, and can be so clearly pointed out, that from these alone a tolerably safe opinion can be formed whether a certain account in one Evangelist, and a similar account in another Evangelist, really relate to one and the same occurrence. These opinions we assume to be correct whilst investigating the question of chronological sequence; but in the Second Division, which relates to the substance of the accounts themselves, the synoptical inquiries will be taken up anew, and the opinions formed at the outset will be *tested* by an exegetico-critical examination of the contents. Should these be sustained by an unprejudiced internal criticism (without any *petitiones principii*), the *possibility* will have been demonstrated, that the same event might be narrated by different writers in the precise manner in which they are related in the Gospels, and with all the varieties which they contain. And we require no more, as the proof that no impossibilities, no improbabilities, no contradictions can really be discovered.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the *synoptical principles*,

there is a point of some importance on which it is necessary that we should come to some understanding at the outset, as we want to conduct the investigation with all the accuracy of a process at law. We have just spoken of our intention to inquire whether the same *fact* is alluded to in any two or three similar accounts, related by different Evangelists. This might lead to the supposition, that we already *assume* that it is necessarily with *facts* that we have to do. But this is by no means our intention. We do not blindly assume that the Gospel narratives must rest on facts; on the contrary, we engage in a controversy in which it is regarded as problematical whether the Gospel narratives are based upon historical facts or not. Now, negative critics have laid down the following theorem: "From the manner in which the Gospel narratives are told, it is evident that they cannot be founded on facts." And this is their chain of argument: "If a fact really occurred, and is reported by different writers, then, either they will know but little of the circumstances, and therefore differ from one another (from which it would follow that the occurrence may have taken place, but the inaccuracy of the accounts destroys all claim to credibility), or they will be well acquainted with the circumstances, and relate them without any contradictions either in substance or form. But the Evangelists relate the Gospel history not *without*, but *with*, contradictions in both substance and form." Consequently, either the event really occurred, but the account in its present form is not trustworthy (as the earlier Rationalists maintain, and Strauss also in many places), or the accounts have no foundation in fact at all (which the modern school affirms).

Granting the *major*, it rests with us now to examine the *minor* carefully. The inquiry may be divided into two parts: 1. Are there any contradictions in *form*? and 2. Are there any contradictions in *substance*? The former, in reference to the matter of sequence, divides itself into these two questions: 1. Did the Evangelists *intend* to write in chronological order? 2. If they did *not*, do their writings produce this impression, that at all events the accounts they narrate are not thrown together *without any order at all*? In the case of a writer so intimately associated with his history as the Evangelists must have been with their history of Jesus, unless their accounts are utterly incredible, we should naturally look for him to give some indications here and there that he was not only acquainted with the individual facts, but knew something more about them, and was at least to some extent acquainted with the order in which they occurred. In short, if the Evangelists were disciples of Jesus, or wrote under apostolical influence (as apologists seek to prove), the critic will be

warranted in expecting, not that the Evangelists should always have adopted a chronological arrangement, but that some marks should be found, to indicate that the writers were at least partially acquainted with the chronological sequence, and at all events that they should not fall into positive contradictions (which would be the case, not indeed if the different Evangelists arranged their productions on different plans, but if one of them mentioned a particular time as that at which a certain event occurred, whilst another mentioned, in connection with the very same event, an equally definite, but entirely different time).

This, then, is our second question : If the fact should be established, that the Evangelists did not intend to write in chronological order,—is it also a fact, that whenever they wished, they show here and there traces of acquaintance with the order of sequence, and that they do not at least positively contradict themselves ?

We therefore inquire whether there are any traces of chronological sequence, and what they are. And in this inquiry we assume, provisionally, in apparently parallel accounts, that the fact did really so happen, and ask, whether, on this assumption—in case the fact happened so—the accounts could have been formed so variously as we find in the particular case ? If a certain measure of diversity in the reports of one and the same fact is historically explicable, we have then *shown* that one cannot, from a diversity in the reports, infer a diversity of the facts, and then, from the improbability of two or three facts on the whole so similar occurring, infer the impossibility of any fact of the kind. On the other hand, when the diversity of the accounts is too great to be explicable on the assumption of identity in the fact recorded, the only question that remains is, whether the residuum of resemblance is still so great that such a repetition of a similar fact is inconceivable.

This and nothing else is our intention when we propose to inquire whether one and the same fact forms the basis of two similar accounts.

§ 10.

PRINCIPLES OF SYNOPSIS.

Up to the present time, two diametrically opposite methods have been adopted in the treatment of *synopsis*. The Osiander school (which includes *Storr* and *Strauss*) has adopted this as its leading principle : *If two accounts differ to any extent in the attendant circumstances, they must be founded upon two distinct facts ;—*a principle which leads, either to the improbable conclusion of *Storr*, that an event which

had once occurred, took place again with no difference whatever except in a few of the attendant circumstances,¹ or to the following conclusions of Strauss. "It is impossible," he argues, "that two writers narrating the same event, should differ so widely as to the attendant circumstances. But M and R do so differ. Consequently they do not describe the same event. From this it would follow, however, that two totally different events occurred containing innumerable points of resemblance. But as an event could not be repeated in this way with nearly all the attendant circumstances precisely the same, the two accounts are not founded upon any fact at all."

A sound historical judgment, however, though ready to admit the improbability of a fact being thus repeated, would never assert the impossibility of such divergences in the *accounts* of the same fact.²

Accordingly, to this principle of the Osiander school another has been opposed, which is adopted not only by *Schleiermacher* and *De Wette*, but also (though not with the same thoroughness) by *Tholuck*, *Olshausen*, and others, viz.: "*Similar accounts are, wherever it is possible, to be regarded as identical; and the divergences are either to be attributed to inaccuracy or forgetfulness, or else to be softened down by interpretation.*" This principle, too, if universally applied to all

¹ Osiander's principle would require us, *e.g.*, to admit three different healings of blind persons at Jericho: one at the entering into Jericho (Luke); one on going out (Mark); and a third, of *two* blind men, when Jesus entered into Jericho, *on another occasion* (Matthew). Excellent is the naive remark of Bengel against Osiandrist:—"The good deed done to Peter's mother-in-law when suffering from fever was much more glorious, if it was succeeded by permanent health, than if she had experienced one or two relapses."

² From the nature of the task we have undertaken, we cannot enter into the question, how far the possibility of such divergences affects the *doctrine of inspiration*, and the freedom of the Evangelists from the liability to error. The question naturally divides itself into two others. (1.) *Could the Evangelists err* (even in purely historical points, and matters where memory was concerned)? The decision of this question belongs to Dogmatics. We merely observe here, that the assumption of this dogmatic position as a settled axiom, and as the basis on which to found conclusions as to the particular cases of synopsis that come under our notice, would very properly destroy our credit with all who do not agree with this assumption. The express object of our inquiry is to ascertain whether, *apart from all doctrinal views*, the Gospels, regarded merely as historical books, do contain historical difficulties.—(2.) *Is every divergence necessarily an error?* May not synoptical divergences be explained on the supposition that one Evangelist was in the habit of exhibiting one aspect, and another a different one; that one liked to group similar events together in the form of a summary, and another didn't, and so forth? This question is purely exegetical, and will be answered in its proper place.

accounts that are in any degree similar, leads to results against which sound historical sense protests.

We propose to adopt a course, opposed to both these extremes, which no one would object to if the Evangelists were profane authors, and their subject the Second Punic War. We commence by laying down these two *general principles* :

1. It is very possible that when several writers narrate the same occurrence, they may differ in several points from one another ; in fact, it is most probable that they will do so.

2. It is quite possible for two different occurrences, happening within the same sphere, and amidst the same circumstances, to resemble each other in several particulars.

On these two principles but little need be said. The former is confirmed in a hundred ways every day. We have only, for an experiment, to obtain the report of a sermon from two different persons, both qualified to give it. The arrangement, the leading thoughts, and the most striking passages will perhaps be given word for word by both ; but the filling up will certainly differ widely in the two reports. Or take some such accident as that a man has broken his leg, or been run over by a carriage. Apart from all exaggerations, with which accounts of such things are so frequently accompanied, just listen to two of the coolest and most intelligent bystanders, and see whether one will not give prominence to this point and the other to that, one laying emphasis on what the other passes over altogether, without there being anything false in either of the reports. This is perfectly natural. Each one, besides what is necessary to explain the course of the event, states what struck him most, what is most deeply impressed on his memory, and what comes readiest through the association of ideas. And thus divergences arise ; and the only question in reference to these is, can they be explained by the free mode in which the narrators have treated the subject ?

It is equally natural, on the other hand, that such accounts should contain *apparent discrepancies*. I notice some very interesting proofs of this in the oral communications which I received at one time in Zürich with reference to the well-known affair of September 1839, and that in cases where the eye-witnesses were intelligent and trustworthy men. I may be allowed to cite one of the instances. The report that troops had been sent for to Berne to overawe the people, and that they might arrive at any moment, had produced the greatest excitement. The people armed on every hand, and were ready at the shortest notice to march to Zürich or meet the Bernese forces. On the evening of the 5th September, information was received by the

leaders of the popular movement that there was no foundation for the report. They immediately caused several hundred letters to be written and despatched in all directions, for the purpose of quieting the people. Now, one person informed me that late in the evening N. was sent with a letter to Pfäffikon; another told me that N. was sent in the evening to Pfäffikon, but, after going a short distance, returned with the report that the alarm-bell had already been rung in Pfäffikon; a third related, that two messengers had been sent on horseback to Pfäffikon; and a fourth, that N. had sent two men on horseback to Pfäffikon. If any four accounts ever seemed irreconcilable, these did. And if a harmonist had attempted to reconcile the whole on the supposition that N. was sent, but met two messengers from Pfäffikon, who reported the outbreak of the riot; that he turned back with them to Zürich, where he immediately procured horses, and sent them back in all speed to quiet the people,—it would be rejected as a most improbable and artificial conjecture. Yet this was the simple explanation which I received from N. himself, when I asked him what the facts of the case really were. We see from this example that there is much greater fear of being too timid than too bold, in resorting to hypotheses for the solution of apparent discrepancies.

So far as the second principle is concerned, we may obtain even ocular demonstration. We might appeal to our own surgeons, and ask, whether, in the course of their practice, they have not met with cases exactly resembling one another. We might go still further, and obtain proofs from history. Was not Jung Stilling twice in danger of his life, in the Binger-Loch? And what are we to say of the fact, that Cromwell's principal battles, on more than two occasions, were fought upon his birthday? Does any one venture to dispute these facts? Yet there is no necessity even to adduce such illustrations as these. For it is still easier to explain the instances of repetition in the Gospel history. What shall we say, *e.g.*, when Strauss finds it impossible that a "cure at a distance," as in the case of the child of the nobleman, could be repeated in the case of the servant of the centurion? That a servant can be sick as well as a child, will be admitted. That a centurion, when he heard of Jesus, could ask Him to heal as well as a βασιλικός, there is also no great difficulty in believing. The only surprising thing would have been, their asking Him both in the same way, with the same words. This, however, is not the case. The centurion asks full of faith, and takes for granted Jesus can heal in the distance, and is praised on that account. The βασιλικός brings on himself a reproof for the weakness of his faith. But

still one thing remains the same—the fact of healing at a distance. Strauss thinks such an occurrence could not be so repeated. He here falls again into the old confusion of ideas. On his dogmatic assumption, the fact could certainly not be *repeated*; but neither could it happen at all even once. But if one treats the Gospel history with a view to ascertain whether, *apart from dogma*, it contains *purely historical* impossibilities (which is the only scientific way of proceeding), it results, that if Jesus had the power to heal *once* at a distance, He had it at another time, and that He could use this power as often as the power to give sight to the blind. Strauss twists the proposition, “healings at a distance are impossible,” after his usual fashion, into “healings at a distance are something extraordinarily difficult and strange,” and infers from thence the impossibility of repetition.

In this example we believe we have shown by anticipation how it stands in general with the abstract thesis, that similar facts cannot be repeated. But if we look more closely at the second thesis, another point of importance, already adverted to by Tholuck in his Introduction to the Sermon on the Mount, presents itself, namely, that so far as the facility for repetition is concerned, there is a vast difference between *words* and *events*. The remarks which we have to make on this topic may be presented in the shape of two further propositions:

3. There is less probability that events should happen two or three times, with the leading features exactly the same.

4. It is not only quite possible, but probable, that the same words, whether in the shape of a proverb, simile, or in any other form, should be repeated by a person on several different occasions.

The third proposition cannot well be misunderstood, after what has been already said under the second. The point in question is, whether two accounts coincide, not in certain attendant circumstances, or in the general features, but in those very points which give to the narrative its definite form. In the case of the nobleman and the centurion, the leading features are the *weak* faith of the one and the *great* faith of the other, together with their respective utterances.

The fourth has never been sufficiently considered. But we only need to pay close attention to our own words in order to perceive its truth. Accustomed though we are to more abstract thought, yet, if ever a proposition, no matter whether philosophical or historical, becomes perfectly clear to our own minds or seems to possess peculiar importance, we are sure to repeat it on different occasions; and the more frequently this is done, the more certainly shall we acquire the habit of adopting some particular form of words as serving to convey the thought most accurately. Especially will those, whose calling it is to seek to

benefit the souls of others, be sure to adopt certain fixed turns of expression, figures, and similes, which they continually use when enforcing the same moral or doctrinal truths. How much more must this have been the case among the Israelites, whose discourses partook so much of the form of *gnomes*, and who so rarely resorted to abstract modes of speech! Hence we need not be surprised to meet with repetitions, not only in the case of actual *gnomes*, but in longer passages as well; and it is useless to take the trouble to try and ascertain which Evangelist has placed some particular words in their proper connection.

This point, *the probable repetition of the same sayings*, leads to another thesis affecting the words of Jesus. (The 3d and 4th propositions served to illustrate the 2d; in the following we refer back to No. 1.)

5. It is not at all a natural thing for one person to repeat word for word the discourses of another; it *is* natural, on the other hand, to repeat the leading thoughts and principal divisions.

Criticism, which thirsts for discrepancies, has treated the discourses of Jesus, precisely as if they had been reported by a shorthand writer. *Strauss* discovers a number of disconnected sentences in the discourses of Jesus as reported by Luke. He assumes (unfortunately, we are obliged to add, in common with many of the more recent commentators¹), that each verse ought to be connected with the preceding one with the most logical precision. And where this strict logical connection cannot be discovered, he at once concludes that the words cannot have been spoken in the order in which they are reported, but must have been strung together by the Evangelist himself; one saying being possibly suggested by a similar word in another. But the very reverse is actually the case: a *writer* is not usually induced by similarity of words to introduce a narrative which has no bearing whatever upon the topic in hand; but if ever he departs from the chronological sequence (and it will be shown, as we proceed, that the Evangelists do this), we naturally assume that with the leisure he possesses for reflection and arrangement, he will be guided by the subject in the order he adopts. In daily life, on the contrary, nothing is more frequent than for the sound of a word, or some altogether subordinate thought, to divert the mind to a new subject, and give a complete turn to the conversation.

Or let any one try, on returning from a walk with some friends, to write down the conversation that has taken place by the way. It

¹ *Olshausen* is an exception. In such cases as these he seeks for a *psychological connection*, to be explained by the laws which regulate the *association of ideas*.

will be impossible to remember every little word, or phrase; but the leading thoughts and most important expressions, the general drift of the conversation, and the transition from one topic to another, will be all impressed upon the memory. Yet if we try to write down the whole, just because the slight circumstances, which caused the change from one subject to another, are most quickly forgotten, there will be apparently an incoherence and want of harmony between the separate parts which make up the whole. And if more than one should attempt to commit the same conversation to writing, one will have forgotten this, another that; to one this will appear important, to another that; so that, whatever similarity there may be on the whole, the reports will present essential divergences, in which an advanced criticism might discover without difficulty the greatest contradictions, and exegesis most serious difficulties. The result, in short, would resemble in all essential points the discourses of Jesus as preserved in our Gospels.

§ 11.

PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO SEQUENCE.

The plans adopted by the *earlier harmonists*, and by *Chemnitz* especially, for the purpose of determining the general principles of sequence, have been already explained. When not only the erroneous assumption, that the Evangelists intended throughout to write in chronological order, but also the correct observation, that here and there proofs of such order may be discovered, were given up, the whole question was brought into a peculiar position. Instead of noticing and employing such *data* as we really possess, critics preferred to base their conclusions upon proofs which they supposed to be reliable, that a certain Evangelist had given the words or acts of Jesus in their original connection; from which they inferred, that although a particular Evangelist might not write throughout in chronological order, yet greater confidence could be placed in him than in any other. They would say: "Luke has this saying or occurrence in a different connection from Matthew; the former has certainly placed it in its proper position." In this way, whilst there was no hope of arranging the whole of the life of Jesus in chronological order, an attempt was made to determine the true position of many of the separate parts, and even to award to one particular Evangelist the credit of greater fidelity to the exact chronological order.

But the basis on which these systems were built was not a safe

one. Everything turned upon "which of the Evangelists had placed the largest number of passages in their proper connection;" and in deciding this question the erroneous views were adopted, which we have just endeavoured to refute (see No. 4, § 10). Nor were the results themselves very satisfactory. The leading theologians extended their protection to different Evangelists; *Schleiermacher* to Luke, and *De Wette* to Matthew. And among those who adopted *Schleiermacher's* hypothesis, that, from chap. ix. 51 onwards, Luke gives an account of a journey, the opinion was very generally entertained, that the chronological sequence is preserved most steadily by Matthew at the commencement, and by Luke towards the close. (This is, on the whole, *Olshausen's* view.)

Going still further back, we find *Hug* in his Introduction defending the hypothesis, that the three Synoptists all intended to give accounts of *four separate journeys of Jesus*. But one fact is fatal to this hypothesis, namely, that many of the incidents which Mark places in the third journey, are placed by Matthew in the first; not to mention several other discrepancies. Now, when *Hug* meets this difficulty by saying, "If we take this or that out of the position in which it stands in Matthew, and remove it to the place assigned to it by Mark, the accounts of the first journey will agree," this is a very simple method, no doubt; the only question is, why did not Matthew himself adopt the plan suggested, and thus save the critic from the necessity of drawing the conclusion, that the Evangelist must have erred? As a matter of fact, the error does not appear to have been on the part of the Evangelist, but on that of the critic. A closer investigation will show that neither Matthew, nor Mark, nor Luke, says anything about four journeys.

But leaving the mazes of *uncertain hypotheses*, we shall proceed to inquire what and how much can be demonstrated with evident certainty from the Evangelists. That is to say, we shall examine, *first*, whether an Evangelist intended to write in chronological sequence. To ascertain this, it will be necessary to notice, *a.* his plan; *b.* whether he obviously classifies according to subjects; and *c.* whether he makes any remark himself as to the manner in which he intends to treat his materials (*vide* the *prooemium* to Luke). *Secondly*, if we are satisfied that the Evangelists did not intend to write in consecutive order, we shall still perceive that here and there events are strung together by particular formulas, sometimes in one Gospel only, and at other times in more than one. As it is most natural, even if the writers did not intend to confine themselves to chronological order, that, recollecting the relative position of certain events (I do not say they remembered

the order of succession in all cases), they should give them in their connection, when this suited, or did not interfere with, their main purpose, we shall inquire in each particular instance, *first*, whether the formula adopted here indicates the chronological relation in which the second *pericope* stands to the first; *secondly* (if this be the case), whether it shows how long a time elapsed between the first and second (this may be done in two ways: either by fixing the precise period, e.g., "the same day," "after six days," or by describing its relation to other events—"as Jesus departed thence"); and *thirdly*, whether it necessarily follows from the statement as to time, that one event followed so immediately upon the other, that there was no room for a third between them (e.g., "and while He was thus speaking"), or whether it leaves space enough for a third to have intervened (e.g., "on the self-same day," "after six days," "when He came to the house," "on the way")?—Accordingly there result, 1. *general forms of conclusion*, which *break off* the connection both as to time and subject; 2. connecting links, which neither indicate *precedence* nor *sequence* in time: *loose connections*; 3. indications of the order of time, without any intimation of the *length of time* which intervened: *indefinite connections*; 4. indications of *mediate* succession: *mediate connections*; 5. indications of *immediate* succession: *immediate connections*.

All such conjectures as those of *Chemnitz*, that such a fact most probably occurred after such another, we leave out of sight. We confine ourselves simply to what is definitely stated. As we examine each Evangelist by himself, we shall find (longer or shorter) *series* of events linked together in their distinct order of occurrence; these we shall call *Chains* (*Synechieen*). But on comparing different Evangelists together, the following cases may arise:—

In the *first* place, it may happen that in one Evangelist certain passages, *m, n, . . . q, r*, form a chain, whilst another Evangelist either omits these passages altogether, or gives them in an unconnected form; whilst, on the other hand, the latter forms a new chain, commencing with *r* (say *r, h, i*); and then, again, either the first or a third Evangelist supplies a third chain, *i, b, c*. In this case several shorter chains would combine to form a still longer one (*m, n, . . . q, r, h, i, b, c*). These we shall call *Syndesms* (*Syndesmen*).

In the *second* place, it may happen that one Evangelist connects *a* and *b* together by an *indirect* or *indefinite* formula of succession, whilst a second connects *a* *directly* with *r*. This would show that *r* must be placed between *a* and *b*.

In neither of the cases supposed is there any contradiction. But in the *third* place, the question arises, whether it is not the fact that

one Evangelist narrates certain facts in a *definite order*, which differs entirely from that adopted by another; Matthew, for example, forming a chain, *m, n, o, p*, whilst Luke's arrangement is *m, o, p, n*? In that case there would be a discrepancy in the *sequence*.

We shall now proceed to examine each Evangelist by himself.

CHAPTER II.

MATTHEW.

§ 12.

PLAN OF MATTHEW.

What did Matthew¹ intend to write?—On this point he speaks quite as plainly as Luke. From the character of the book, it is indeed known and generally admitted, that Matthew must have intended it for readers of Israelitish descent, since Jewish customs and specialities are alluded to without further explanation; and, on the other hand, parallels are constantly drawn between the Gospel history and Old Testament prophecy, for the evident purpose of proving that Jesus is the “Messiah” or “King” promised in the Old Testament. And this intention is also expressed clearly enough in chap. i. 1.

But here, first of all, the question comes up, whether “*The book of the generation*” is the title of the whole work, or merely of the genealogy. So far as the expression *βίβλος γενέσεως* itself is concerned, it could stand for either. For it is confessedly a translation of the Hebrew ספר תולדות, which is applied by the writers of Israelitish history, both to genealogies in the stricter sense, and also to historical narratives,² since the ancient theocratic histories consisted simply in the expansion of genealogies. *De Wette* and others admit, that one might be inclined to assume that Matthew employs the expression, “book of the generation,” in a purely Hebrew sense, with reference not to the genealogy only, but to the entire book. But *Meyer*, *Bleek*, and *De Wette* are of opinion, that such an assumption is precluded by the circumstance, that Matthew connects the title, “book of the generation of Jesus Christ,” directly with the words, “the son of

¹ We have no intention of prejudging the authenticity of the first Gospel. We merely use the names Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, for the sake of brevity, instead of saying, the author of the first, second, third, and fourth Gospels.

² Cf. LXX. Gen. ii. 4, v. 1, vi. 9, etc.

David, the son of Abraham;" by which, in their opinion, he evidently shows, that what he is about to introduce as *βίβλος γενέσεως* is a simple genealogy.

The opinion rests, however, upon an evident misunderstanding. Unquestionably, Matthew describes what he is about to write as a genealogy, and actually gives a genealogy. The only question is, whether chaps. ii.-xxviii. contain a series of sections attached to the genealogy, which forms the first section; or whether they are not rather the expansion of the genealogy which forms the trunk of the whole, so that the title of the genealogy furnishes at the same time a description of the contents of the entire book. I am decidedly of opinion that the latter is the case. In the first place, it is exegetically *certain*, that in using the expression, "the book of the generation," Matthew alludes to the O. T. *ספר תולדות*. And it is not difficult to decide, whether he merely thought to please and attract Israelitish readers by the accustomed sound, or whether he did not rather make use of the words for the purpose of indicating what it was his intention to do, namely, *to follow out entirely the old theocratical method of writing history, and to treat the history of Jesus as an expansion of his genealogy*. If this be correct, it is evident, *secondly*, that whilst in the words, "the son of David, the son of Abraham," the salient points in the genealogy itself are named, he intends thereby to indicate that the expansion of the genealogy will also turn for the most part upon these two points; in other words, that the whole book is intended to furnish a *proof* that Jesus is the son of David and of Abraham.

With the name JESUS, Matthew associates no mystic meaning; he merely employs it as the name of the historical person who is already known to his readers, or with whom he is about to make them acquainted. The name CHRIST, on the contrary, which he never uses anywhere else in this connection, is most important, and serves to confirm what has already been said respecting the "book of the generation." *Χριστός* is confessedly a simple translation of the O. T. *משיח* or *משיח*. And it is Matthew's intention to trace the genealogy of the historical person *Jesus*, who was the *Anointed One*. Now it was as *the son of David* and *son of Abraham* that He was the Anointed One, the promised and expected Messiah.

In the Old Testament we find throughout, that on every fresh turn in the history of Israel, whether prosperous or adverse, the people and the prophets looked forward to a *future*, in which they would receive deliverance, and something still more glorious than they already possessed. And as the Old Testament Codex lay open before the Evangelist, he found in it such promises as these: That in the

seed of Abraham all nations of the earth should be blessed ; and that a King should sit upon the throne of David, who should reign in righteousness and peace, and whom all the ends of the earth should serve (Gen. xii. 3, xv. 5, xvii. 7 sqq. ; 2 Sam. vii. 12 sqq.). That *Jesus was* this seed of Abraham, this heir and successor to the throne of David, is what Matthew sets himself to prove.

The conclusion of his book confirms us in this opinion ; for the first Gospel is brought to a close by Jesus declaring, that “to Him all power in heaven and earth is given,” and thus claiming to be the **SECOND DAVID** ; by His also giving commandment that by baptism His kingdom was to be established on earth ; and by His promising protection to His kingdom to the end of the world, thus announcing Himself as the promised **SEED OF ABRAHAM** in whom all nations were to be blessed.—All that lies between the commencement and the close, therefore, must be regarded as furnishing proofs, first, that *Jesus was really the Messiah promised in the Old Testament*, the theocratically legitimate successor to the throne of David ; and, secondly, that in this capacity *Jesus had founded a kingdom*, not circumscribed by the contracted forms of the ancient theocracy, but a kingdom of faith and of the Spirit, comprehending all nations, and fulfilling the promise given to Abraham. The *agreement* with the Old Testament prophecy, and the *breaking down* of the limits of the Israelitish nation in accordance with this prophecy, had both to be exhibited.

Hence, at the very outset, what we have reason to expect, is not a *biography*, with the events of Jesus’ life recorded day by day in chronological order, but a *doctrinal* treatise rather ;—not purely doctrinal indeed, but *historically* doctrinal. For, looking more particularly at the *second* point, the *new form* of the kingdom of Christ, by which it is distinguished from the O. T. prophecies and types, it was necessary to show in what way Jesus proceeded *step by step* to make this manifest : how He wove the new into the old ; how He introduced the former to His followers, and accustomed them to it ; and we naturally expect, therefore, not indeed that the events should all be narrated in their actual sequence, but that some regard should be paid to *chronology*.

§ 13.

ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIALS.

If we take a general survey of the order in which the different incidents are arranged, we neither find a logical, abstract classification, with the different portions bearing upon some one particular doctrine

classed together in a scholastic form, nor a continuous narrative. But the whole is divided into sections in a manner the most simple and unconstrained.

1. The *early history* (chaps. i.-ii.) relates how Joseph, to whom the right of Davidic descent belonged, and who was therefore either the lawful successor, or at least eligible to the throne of the theocracy, acknowledged Jesus as his son and heir, notwithstanding His supernatural conception; and then, how Jesus, on the occasion of the visit of the Magi, was brought in the most innocent way into conflict with the ruling dynasty, which placed His life in the most imminent danger. Here we see at once, on the one hand, the *theocratic rights* of the Anointed one of the N. T., and, on the other, the great *difference* between His situation and that of the kings of the Old.

2. Chaps. iii.-iv. relate to us how Jesus had a forerunner in John the Baptist, who proclaimed Him to the people as the promised King, and at the same time declared that *lineal descent from Abraham was in itself of no worth at all*. (The same antithesis as before.) Jesus, by submitting to baptism, placed Himself on the same level with those who had transgressed the Old Testament law, but was declared by God to be His beloved Son.—Then follows the history of the *temptation*. In this also Jesus is presented first of all as a man, the son of David; but the son of David proves Himself to be also the Son of God by overcoming the temptation.

In this section, again, the prominent feature is the contrast between the *son of David, as the Son of God*, and David himself, as well as the rest of the Old Testament saints.

3. In chap. iv. 12-25 we have a *general description* of the *place* and *mode* in which Jesus commenced his *public ministry*, and of the *manner* in which He gathered some followers about Him. In accordance with the Old Testament prophecies, He laboured in despised Galilee. But in the mighty, soul-penetrating, irresistible call, with which He collected His disciples, He appeared in all His majesty as the Son of God.

4. The *Sermon on the Mount* (chaps. v.-vii.) is, strictly speaking, a comparison drawn by Jesus Himself between the Old Covenant and the New, and an explanation of the *difference* between them, and also of the manner in which the former is *fulfilled* in the latter.

5. In chaps. viii.-ix. the *first miracles of Jesus* are related in *chronological order*, and this section is closed with a *general formula* (chap. ix. 35).

6. Then follows a section, which is introduced with a reflection on the *necessity for disciples*, and in which the names of the disciples, and

other matters connected with them, are introduced (chaps. x.-xi.). Among other things, we find a comparison drawn between the disciples of Jesus and those of John; and in this, again, another contrast between the Old and New Testaments. The section is closed by a *prayer of Jesus for His disciples*.

7. Hitherto the *disciples of Jesus* alone have been considered; henceforth the narrative passes to another circle. The relation in which Jesus stood to the *sect of the Pharisees* is more minutely described (in separate conversations, chaps. xii.-xiii.). Hitherto the different features of the Old and New Testaments had been exhibited theoretically only, and therefore in perfect harmony. Now, we have a description of the manner in which an *active* conflict gradually arose, until the events which occurred at length compelled the disciples of Jesus to a separation from the Old Testament form.

8. Jesus unfolds the *positive doctrine of His kingdom* to the disciples in a number of similitudes (parables, chap. xiii.).

9. After a notice of the beheading of John the Baptist (chap. xiv.), we have an account of the rising and ever-increasing conflict between Jesus and the authorities at Jerusalem (chaps. xv.-xxi.), *arranged in the order of sequence*; namely,—*a.* the first collisions (chaps. xv.-xvi. 12); *b.* a notice of the fact that although Jesus is acknowledged by His disciples as the Messiah and Son of God, He will not declare Himself openly to be so, but rather proceeds to make known to them the depth of His approaching humiliation; whilst, again, He is rewarded for His resolution to give Himself up to suffering,—*i.e.*, is transfigured by the Father (chaps. xvi. 13-xvii. 9); *c.* His last acts and words on the way to Jerusalem (chaps. xvii. 10-xx.); *d.* His entrance (chap. xxi.).

10. We have the final *catastrophe* itself.

11. The *resurrection* of Jesus, and the *founding of the Church*.

We can see from this how far Matthew writes in *the order of sequence*.

The sections 1-5 belong to the earliest period of the public works of Jesus; 9-11 to their close. With regard to the sections 6-8, on the contrary, since they are distinguished from one another purely by their subject-matter, it is to be assumed that the chronological sequence is disturbed for the sake of the classification. In other words, it is not at all probable that Jesus, in the first place, spent a certain time exclusively with His disciples, then occupied a second period in conversations with the Pharisees, and so forth; but here, if anywhere, we are warranted in adopting the method formerly announced, *viz.*, to assume a chronological sequence only in cases where it is distinctly indicated by clear and definite data.

§ 14.

DATA RELATIVE TO SEQUENCE.

A tabular statement will present the matter in the clearest light. In one column (second in the table) we give the titles of the different incidents or conversations (*Pericopæ*). In another (fourth in table) we place the formula by which one *pericope* is linked to the next. In a third column we indicate by general signs what the nature of the connection is. Thus, *immediate* connection (*vid.* § 11) is indicated by *)*; *mediate* connection by *]]*; *indefinite* by *]*; *loose* by *—*; and a *general concluding formula* by *=*. In the first and fifth columns we show the numerical order, contents, and length of the chains thus formed.

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | Chapters. |
|---------|---|--|-------------------|
| | | (General introductory statement. After the imprisonment of John the Baptist, Jesus went into Galilee, and took up His abode not in Nazareth, but in <i>Capernaum</i> . From that time forth He began to preach.) περιπατῶν δέ. “And walking by the sea.” | IV. (ver. 12.) |
| 1. | Call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John. | = Vers. 23–25. General notices. ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ὄχλους. “And seeing the multitudes.” | |
| 2. | Sermon on the Mount. |) καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ, κ.τ.λ. “When He was come down from the mountain, great multitudes followed Him, and behold.” | V.–VII. |
| | Leper. |]] εἰσελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς Καπερναοὺμ προσῆλθεν. “And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto Him a centurion.” | VIII. |
| | Centurion's servant. |]] καὶ ἐλθὼν, κ.τ.λ. “And when Jesus was come into Peter's house.” | |
| | Peter's mother-in-law. | — ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πολλοὺς ὄχλους περὶ αὐτόν. Ver. 18. “Now when Jesus saw great multitudes about Him.” | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|--|---------------------|---|-----------|
| | | | (This cannot have been in the evening referred to in ver. 16; it must, therefore, have been at some other time: consequently the connection is indefinite.) | |
| 3. | Jesus crosses the lake. Scribe wishing to follow. Also another disciple. |]] | καὶ ἔμβανι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. "And when He was entered into the ship." | |
| | Jesus stills the tempest. |]] | καὶ ἔλθόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ πέραν. "And when He was come to the other side." | |
| | Gergesenes. |]] | καὶ ἔμβας . . . διεπέρασε. καὶ ἦλθεν . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ. "And He entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into His own city, and behold." | IX. |
| | One sick of the palsy brought in a bed. "Whether is easier?" |) | καὶ παράγων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκείθεν. "And as Jesus passed forth from thence." | |
| | Call of Matthew. |] | καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. "And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house" (according to Mark and Luke, in Matthew's house). | |
| | Question why Jesus eats with publicans. (The question was not asked during the meal, but in all probability directly after, as Jesus was leaving the house with His disciples. | — | τότε. "Then." | |
| 4. | Question put by John's disciples, why the disciples of Jesus did not fast. |) | ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἰδοὺ. "While He spake these things unto them, behold." | |
| | The ruler's daughter, | | | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|---|---------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| | and woman with issue of blood. |) | <i>καὶ παράγοντι ἐκείθεν.</i> "And when Jesus departed thence." | |
| | Two blind men (Jesus goes home, ver. 28). |) | <i>αὐτῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων, ἰδοὺ.</i> "As they went out, behold." | |
| | Dumb man possessed with a devil. (Accusation, "He cast out devils through the prince of the devils.") | = | Ver. 35. General statement. Ver. 36. Jesus laments the want of shepherds. | |
| 5 | Call of the disciples; their names; their commission. | = | <i>καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν . . . μετέβη ἐκείθεν . . . (ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης.)</i> "And it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of commanding His twelve disciples, He departed thence to teach and to preach in their cities. "Now, when John had heard . . . he sent." | X. XI. 1. XI. 2. |
| 6. | John sends his disciples to Christ. "Woe unto thee, Chozabaz." | — | <i>ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ.</i> "At that time." | |
| 7. | Prayer: "I thank Thee, O Father." | — | <i>ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ.</i> "At that time." | XII. |
| 8. | Rubbing the ears of corn. Discourse on the Sabbath. |) | <i>καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκείθεν ἦλθεν.</i> "And when He was departed thence, He went into their synagogue." | |
| | Withered hand. (Plot of the Pharisees.) | = | Vers. 15-21. General description. τότε. "Then." | |
| 9. | Blind and dumb. Fresh charge of cast- | | | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|---|---------------------|---|-----------|
| | ing out devils by Beelzebub. Christ's reply. |) | τότε ἀπεκριθσαν. "Then certain . . . answered." | |
| | Pharisees desire a sign. |) | ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος . . . ἰδοῦ. "While He yet talked to the people, behold." | |
| | The mother and brethren of Jesus want to see Him. |]] | ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. "The same day." | XIII. |
| | Jesus goes to the seaside. Parable of the sower. |) | ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων. "Another parable put He forth unto them, saying" (according to ver. 3, apparently on the same day). | |
| | Parable of the tares. |) | ἄλλην, κ.τ.λ. "Another parable put He forth unto them." ¹ | |
| | Parable of leaven. Hidden treasure. Net. |) | τότε ἀφ᾽ εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. "Then Jesus sent the multitude away, and went into the house" (inn). | |
| | Explanation of the parable of the tares. | = | καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν . . . μετῴρειν ἐκείθεν καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. "And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these parables, He departed thence. And when He was come into His own country (Nazareth)." Here follows a general description of the relation in which Jesus stood to His countrymen. | |
| 10. | "Is this not the carpenter's son?" | — | ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ. "At that time." | XIV. |

¹ Whether Matthew has grouped together here several little parables spoken at different times, or whether Jesus spoke them one after another, is of no importance for sequence.

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|---|---------------------|--|-----------|
| 11. | Herod's anxiety. (Supplementary: execution of John.) |) | καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἰησοῦς. "And when Jesus heard" (either how Herod watched Him, or how John had been put to death, or both). | XV. |
| | Jesus goes into the desert. Feeding of the five thousand. |) | καὶ εὐθέως. "And straightway." | |
| | Jesus returns. He walks upon the sea. | = | Jesus goes into the land of Gennesaret. General description. | |
| | Scribes and Pharisees come from Jerusalem. Discourses of Jesus. | τὸτε. | "Then." | |
| | Jesus goes to Phœnicia. Woman of Canaan. |]] | καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐκεῖθεν. "Then Jesus went thence." | |
| 12. | Jesus goes to Phœnicia. Woman of Canaan. |]] | καὶ μεταβάς ἐκεῖθεν. "And Jesus departed from thence." | XVI. |
| | Jesus goes to the Sea of Galilee. Feeding of four thousand. |) | καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἐνέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ. "And He sent the multitude away, and took ship, and came," etc. | |
| | Jesus comes to Magdala. Pharisees and Sadducees seek a sign. "Leaven of the Pharisees." | — | ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ μέρη Καισαρείας. "When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi. | |
| | Peter's confession. First words of Jesus concerning His sufferings and what would follow. |]] | καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ἕξ. "And after six days." | |
| | Transfiguration. | | | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|--|---------------------|---|-----------|
| 13. | Lunatic boy. |) | καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον. "And when they were come down to the multitude." | XVIII. |
| | Jesus' second allusion to His sufferings. | = | "And while they abode (ἀναστρεφόμενων) in Galilee." | |
| | Tribute money. |] | ἐλθόντων δὲ εἰς Καπερναοῦμ. "And when they were come to Capernaum" (evidently referring to their return, after the stay in Galilee). | |
| | Dispute who should be the greatest. Words of Jesus about offences; the hundred sheep; the power of the keys; forgiveness; the unmerciful servant. ¹ |] | ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ. "At the same time." | |
| | Jesus goes into the border country of Judæa and Peræa. |]] | καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν . . . μετήρην. "And it came to pass, that, when Jesus had finished these sayings, He departed from Galilee." | |
| | Conversation on divorce. |] | The general formula, ver. 2, points to a <i>prolonged stay</i> there. At all events, the occurrence related in ver. 3 sqq. did not happen previously, but while He was there; consequently after His journey thither. | |
| | Little children brought. |] | τότε. "Then." | |
| | "Good Master." "We have forsaken all." Labourers in the vineyard. |]] | ἐπορεύθη ἐκείθεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ. "And He departed thence. And, behold." | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

¹ From chap. xix. 1, it is evident that Matthew intends to represent these words of Jesus as following one another in direct succession.

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|--|---------------------|---|-----------|
| | |] | καὶ ἀναβαίνων Ἰησοῦς εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. "And Jesus going up to Jerusalem" (evidently from Peræa). | |
| | Jesus' third allusion to His sufferings. | |] | |
| | Mother of Zebedee's children. | | | |
| | | | τότε προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ. "Them came to Him." | |
| | |] | καὶ ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Ἱεριχῶ. "And as they departed from Jericho." | |
| | Two blind men of Jericho. | |]] | |
| | | | | |
| | Entrance into Jerusalem. | | καὶ ὅτε ἤγγισαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. "And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem." | |

NOTE 1. The difficulties in the chronological sequence of the *early history*, and the *history of the sufferings* of Jesus, are of a totally different character from the rest. In the public life of Jesus there are many separate facts, which might have occurred *at any time*; and when we set ourselves to discover their chronological order, the difficulty arises from *the want of sufficient data*. In the early history and the history of the Passion, on the contrary, there is no lack of data, and the difficulty lies not in deficiency, but in *discrepancies*. These do not concern the order of occurrence, however, but the subject-matter, and will therefore come under consideration in connection with the history itself.

NOTE 2. *Bleek* disputes my conclusion, that the connecting formulæ in Matt. viii. 5, 14, 23, 28, ix. 1, 14, are to be regarded as *mediate*. But he has evidently mistaken, or else forgotten my use of the term *mediate*. For example, when we read in Matt. viii. 28, "And when He was come to the other side," the arrival at the other side did not follow *immediately* upon setting sail from the western shore, in my sense of the word *immediate*,—that is, so as to preclude the intervention of conversations or incidents during the voyage, the whole of which must have lain between.

CHAPTER III.

MARK.

§ 15.

PLAN AND ARRANGEMENT.

HERE, again, we look first of all at the work itself, to see what it purports to be. The superscription reads thus:—ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ (“Beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, *the Son of God*”). Commentators have again raised the question, whether these words are merely the heading to the account contained in vers. 4–8 (the appearance of John), and to be construed with ἐγένετο, ver. 4, as *Lachmann* maintains; or whether they are the superscription to the whole book, as *Erasmus* supposed. The former view is untenable, both grammatically and from the very nature of the case. *Lachmann’s* construction is monstrous. Who would ever think of commencing a book with a sentence broken up by so long a parenthesis? *De Wette* completes the sentence by inserting the words “*is as follows*,” but he forgets that if this were understood, the *article* would stand before ἀρχή. Both, however, are opposed to the meaning of εὐαγγέλιον, which can be proved to be neither *announcement* nor *Gospel history*, but *good* (joyful) *tidings*. It is evident, on the contrary, that ver. 1 is the superscription to the whole book. But what does ἀρχὴ mean? Why not simply εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ? This may be explained on the supposition that Mark does not intend it as an ordinary *title*, descriptive of the plan and contents of the work; but throws it *rhetorically* into the form of a *proclamation*, so as to make ver. 1 an integral part of the work itself. “*Here begin the good tidings of Jesus Christ, the Son of God*,” with these concise, pithy, comprehensive words, he introduces his subject, and at once presents to his readers, as a richly suggestive whole, the undeveloped fulness of what he is about to unfold.

Here, then, we have before us at the very outset the most important element in Mark’s *plan*. He commences with a *rhetorical appeal*; and so he continues. The whole work evidently bears the same character. He has to deliver a *message*; he *preaches* with the voice of a messenger. We neither expect, nor find, the calm logical disposition of Matthew, who undertook, as a writer living in Israel, to

draw up in the form of a treatise a proof of the harmony between the New Covenant and the Old. We have before us, on the contrary, the assistant of Apostles, accustomed to stand in the market-places of cities, to arouse the unexpected heathen with appeals that bore with them the power of a God, producing first amazement, then attention, from this alarm, and lastly conviction.

His purpose is to set forth Jesus as the *Son of God*. Not as the son of Abraham and David, who must of necessity, in order to realize absolutely such a relationship, be also the Son of God; but simply and solely as the Son of God. *In this way he at once confronted the heathen with their sons of God* (for it is acknowledged that Mark wrote for Gentiles). But how is he to bring his proofs? The Greeks saw in their gods the noble, the exalted. It was necessary, therefore, that at the very outset they should receive a *direct impression of something glorious and sublime*. They had no Old Testament in their possession to which Mark could appeal.¹ Hence he causes the *appearance of Jesus to pass before them*. The whole Gospel is *dramatic*. This thoroughly expresses its true character.

To justify what has been said, we appeal not merely to the well-known peculiarity of Mark, who depicts much more fully than the others the details of events connected with the life of Christ, and even aims to *present* them to the eye, but to the manner in which he proceeds in the second and following verses of the first chapter. After the announcement, "*A beginning of the good tidings of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,*" he adds, "as it is written in the prophets," and cites two passages, Mal. iii. 1, and Isa. xl. 3. The words *ὡς γέγραπται* ("as it is written") are connected with the preceding verse with the greatest rhetorical freedom. The entire quotation is evidently introduced with the double purpose, *first*, to show how the preparatory call was uttered centuries before, and *secondly*, to give expression to the thought that the coming one was himself "the Lord."

Again, in a most abrupt manner, he introduces the description of John the Baptist. One picture embraces both the Baptist and his ministry (vers. 4, 5, and so on to ver. 8). You *see* him standing by the Jordan, preaching and baptizing in his hairy garment. At the same time he announces one (*ἰσχυρότερος*) *mightier* than himself.

A fresh scene is then opened. *Jesus comes* to the Jordan. Who He is, when and where He was born, we are not told. His supernatural

¹ Not that the Gentile Christians, to whom he wrote, *knew nothing at all* of the Old Testament. The second and following verses of the very first chapter prove the contrary. But they had received it for the first time *with* Christianity, and *in its train*. For them, therefore, it was not, as for the Jews, the higher appeal.

birth would have furnished a most important *demonstration* of His divinity; but demonstrations he has no intention to give. It is not by reflection, but by direct impressions, that the reader is to be convinced of the divinity of Christ. And how could Mark attain this object better, than by making Jesus appear suddenly and be baptized, and then describing how the heavens were opened, and the Holy Spirit descended, and the voice of the Father sounded down upon the Son from heaven? Even the refusal of John to baptize Jesus is passed silently by; and the Evangelist hastens on to the loftiest and most glorious scenes that he has to depict, or describe.

With the same haste he now proceeds to another picture. Jesus is "driven" (τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει) into the wilderness. He is there forty days among the beasts, tempted by Satan; and after the temptation, angels come and serve Him.

This may suffice to explain the plan and method of Mark. We might proceed to dissect the whole of the Gospel in the same manner. For we find, from beginning to end, the same peculiarity—the same liking for *pictures*, detached *tableaux*, rather than a continuous history spun out by reflection, or a line of argument well thought out and carefully arranged. Hence this delineation of details; hence also all the other minute peculiarities, by which, as we shall afterwards see, Mark is distinguished from Matthew and Luke in the different synoptical accounts. Any artistic disposition of the materials, or classification into sections,—in a word, any such arrangement according to subjects as we find in Matthew, we cannot, with the greatest care, discover. It is true, we sometimes meet with *general descriptions* (e.g., i. 39, iii. 10, 11, vi. 6 and 56, ix. 30) of the same kind as we so frequently meet with in Matthew, at the close of a section devoted to some special subject (viz., the parables, conversations with the Pharisees, the account of the disciple-circle, etc.). But in Mark they seem to have no such connection. He proceeds in the same unvaried course with a series of separate accounts, which do not admit of classification. Picture follows picture; and as we should naturally expect, with this absence of arrangement according to *subjects*, and with his general plan of describing the *appearance of Jesus*, that Mark would keep to the chronological order of events, so far as it was known to him, so we actually find that he not unfrequently links passages together in their order of sequence;¹ and that in cases where he intro-

¹ Chaps. ii.—iii. are exceptions. Compare the following table. When we come to the history of the Passion, we shall see, on comparing Matthew and Mark, that the latter is frequently most careful to give exact notices as to time, in cases where the former passes them by altogether.

duces the general formulæ, to which reference has just been made, it is rather *from the want of definite data*, than for the purpose of bringing particular sections to a close.

§ 16.

DATA RELATIVE TO SEQUENCE.

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | Chapters. |
|---------|--|--|-----------|
| 1. | Jesus goes into Galilee, preaching. |]] Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην. "Now after that John was put in prison." | I. 14. |
| | |] περιπατῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. "Now as He walked <i>by the Sea of Galilee</i> " (consequently, after the fact just mentioned). | |
| 2. | Call of four disciples. | = General statement that Jesus was in the habit of going into the synagogue on the Sabbath. | |
| | Man possessed, in the synagogue at Capernaum. |) καὶ εὐθέως ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες, ἦλθον, κ.τ.λ. "And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon." | |
| | Peter's mother-in-law. |) καὶ πρωτὶ ἔννυχον λίαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθε, κ.τ.λ. "And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, He went out," etc. | |
| 3. | Jesus goes into the desert. The people seek for Him. | = Ver. 39. General description. | II. |
| | Leper. | — καὶ πάλιν . . . δι' ἡμερῶν. "And again, . . . after some days (δι' ἡμερῶν).—(It is evident that the exact relation of this event to the previous one, in fact its precise position, was not known to Mark.) | |
| 4. | Man sick of the palsy let through the roof. | — καὶ ἐξῆλθε πάλιν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | Chapters. |
|---------|---|---|-----------|
| 5. | Call of Levi. | <p>“And He went forth again by the sea-side.”¹</p> <p>] καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. “And it came to pass, that as Jesus sat at meat in the house.” (Evidently <i>afterwards</i>, though it is not stated <i>how long</i> afterwards.)</p> | III. |
| | Jesus blamed for eating with publicans and sinners. | — καὶ ἦσαν οἱ. “And the disciples of John . . . come and say unto Him.” | |
| 6. | Discourse on fasting. | — καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. “And it came to pass, that He went through the corn-fields.” | |
| 7. | Rubbing the ears of corn. | — καὶ εἰσῆλθε πάλιν. “And He entered again into the synagogue.” | |
| 8. | The withered hand. | — καὶ . . . “And Jesus withdrew Himself . . . to the sea.” | |
| 9. | Jesus goes to the sea. | General statement, vers. 10–12, but merely parenthetical. Ver. 7, “He withdrew;” ver. 9, “And He spake;” and ver. 13, “And He goeth up,” are evidently closely connected. | |
| | Choice of the twelve disciples. |]] Ver. 19. καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς οἶκον. “And they went into a house.” | |
| | The friends of Jesus want to lay hands on Him. | — Ver. 22. Καὶ. “And the scribes said.” (The following incident appears to be introduced here, on account of the subject to which it alludes, for the purpose of embracing in one picture all the accusations brought against Jesus.) | |

¹ This formula, too, can only be regarded as a loose connection, although from Matthew it certainly appears that the events did so follow one another.

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|---|---------------------|---|-----------|
| 10. | Jesus accused of having Beelzebub. | — | Ver. 31. "There came (οἷν, in like manner)." | IV. |
| 11. | His mother and brethren come. | — | καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο. "And He began again to teach." | |
| 12. | Parables: the sower, the candlestick, the corn-field, the mustard-seed. |]] | Ver. 35. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. "And the same day." (Vers. 33, 34 are parenthetical.) | |
| | Sail to Peræa. Still- ing the tempest. |]] | καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν. "And they came over unto the other side." | V. |
| | The Gadarenes. |]] | καὶ διαπεράσαντος, κ.τ.λ. "And when Jesus was passed over again by ship." | |
| | Daughter of Jairus, and woman with issue of blood. |] | καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ γε- νομένου σαββάτου. "And He went out from thence, and came into His own coun- try. . . . And when the Sab- bath-day was come." | VI. |
| | "Is not this the car- penter?" | = | καὶ περιῆγε . . . διδάσκων. "And He went round about the villages teaching, and . . . | |
| 13. | The Twelve sent out. |] | Ver. 14. καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ, κ.τ.λ. "And king Herod heard of Him" (afterwards, therefore, and in consequence of what has just been narrated). | |
| | Herod's alarm (John was already behead- ed). |] | Return of the disciples, ver. 30. | |
| | Jesus goes into the desert. Feeding of the five thousand. |) | καὶ εὐθέως. "And straightway." | |
| | Jesus walks upon the sea. | = | Ver. 56. General description.— | |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | | Chapters. |
|---------|--|---------------------|---|-----------|
| 14. | Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem. Discourse on traditions. |) | "Then came together unto Him." <i>καὶ συνάγονται πρὸς αὐτόν.</i> "And from thence He arose and went." <i>καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθεν.</i> | VII. |
| | Jesus goes to the Phœnician frontier. Canaanitish woman. |]] | "And again departing from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, He came." <i>καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ . . . ἦλθε.</i> | |
| | Jesus goes to Decapolis. The dumb man. |] | "In those days the multitude being very great" (evidently on the same journey). <i>ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις.</i> | |
| | Feeding of the 4000. |) | "And straightway He entered into a ship with His disciples, and came." <i>καὶ εὐθέως ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον . . . ἦλθεν.</i> | VIII. |
| | Jesus goes to Dalmanutha. The Pharisees seek a sign. |) | "And He left them, and, entering into the ship again, departed to the other side." <i>καὶ ἀφείς αὐτοὺς, ἐμβὰς πάλιν.</i> | |
| | Conversation on the leaven of the Pharisees. |) | "And He cometh to Bethsaida." <i>καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς Βηθσαιῖδάν.</i> | |
| | Man born blind. |]] | "And Jesus went out and His disciples into the towns of Cæsarea Philippi; and by the way." <i>καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ . . . εἰς τὰς πόλεις . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.</i> | |
| | Peter's confession. Jesus foretells His sufferings. |]] | "And after six days." <i>μεθ' ἡμέρας ἕξ.</i> | |
| | Transfiguration. Boy possessed. | = | Ver. 30. <i>καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλ.</i> | |
| | | | | IX. |

| Chains. | Titles of the Pericopæ. | Connecting Formulæ. | Chapters. |
|---------|--|--|-----------|
| 15. | Second announcement of His sufferings. Conversation among the disciples who should be the greatest. | "And they departed thence, and passed through Galilee." | |
| | Child placed in the midst of the disciples.—One who was casting out devils in the name of Jesus. Conversation on offences. |) καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Καπερναοῦμ. "And He came to Capernaum." | |
| | Jesus goes to the frontier between Judæa and Peræa. Conversation on divorce. |] κακεῖθεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται. "And He arose from thence, and cometh." | X. |
| | Children brought. |) καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ . . . Ver. 13. καὶ προσέφερον. "And in the house" (ver. 10) . . . "And they brought" (ver. 13). | |
| | "Good Master." "We have left all." |] καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁδόν. "And when He was gone forth into the way." | |
| | Third announcement of His sufferings. |] ἦσαν δὲ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱερ. "And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem." | |
| | Request of the sons of Zebedee. |) καὶ. "And James and John . . . come to Him" (evidently in close connection). | |
| | Blind Bartimeus. |] καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς Ἱεριχώ καὶ ἐκπορευομένου. "And they came to Jericho; and as He went out." | |
| | Entry into Jerusalem. |] καὶ ὅτε ἐγγύζουσιν. "And when they came nigh to Jerusalem." | XI. |

§ 17.

SYNOPTICAL COMPARISON OF MATTHEW AND MARK.

We regard as *synoptical* (i.e., as accounts of the same event),—

1. The call of *Peter, Andrew, James, and John* (Matthew No. 1; Mark No. 1¹), both because the names are the same, and also on account of the perfect agreement in the occurrence itself.

2. The healing of *Peter's mother-in-law*: Matt. No. 2; Mark No. 2. For the same reasons,

3. The stilling of the tempest: Matt. No. 3; Mark No. 12. On the same ground,

4. The Gergesenes: Matt. 3; Mark 12.—Decisive on this point are the close connection with the stilling of the tempest, and the agreement in other leading circumstances. The differences are, that Matthew mentions two men possessed, Mark one, and that the former speaks of Gergesenes (Gerasenes?), the latter of Gadarenes. We shall show by and by how these and other minor differences are to be explained. In the meantime, we assume that the two accounts are identical.

5. Man sick of the palsy upon a bed: Matt. 3; Mark 4; on account of the sameness in the circumstances and in the words of Jesus.—Difference: Matthew does not mention that he was let down through the roof.

6. Call of Matthew (Levi): Matt. 3; Mark 5. Similarity in the circumstances, including the following meal, and the conversation there.

7. Jairus' daughter, and the woman with the issue of blood. The harmony of the two narratives. The question about fasting in Matt. 4, we also regard as identical with that in Mark 6. The reasons we shall give by and by.

8. The call of the disciples: Matt. 5; Mark 9.

9. Their mission: Matt. 5; Mark 13.

10. The ears of corn: Matt. 8; Mark 7.

11. The withered hand: Matt. 8; Mark 8.

12. Accusation respecting Beelzebub: Matt. 9; Mark 10. Sameness in the answer given by Christ.—Difference: Mark does not mention any particular occasion. This of course is not a difference in the event, but simply in the manner of narrating it. (The similar charge in Matt. No. 4 was made on a different occasion.)

13. The mother and brethren of Jesus come to seek Him: Matt. 9; Mark 11. The events and the words spoken are the same.

¹ These numbers relate to the different *chains*.

14. The parables : Matt. 9 ; Mark 12.

15. Herod's alarm : Matt. 10 ; Mark 13. The occasion just the same.

16. Feeding of the five thousand. Walking on the sea : Matt. 10 ; Mark 13. The circumstances and the relative position are the same.

17. The Pharisees from Jerusalem. Journey to Phœnicia and back. Feeding of the four thousand. Pharisees seek a sign : Matt. 11 ; Mark 14. (The Pharisees who seek a sign in Matt. 9 are different persons altogether.)—*Idem*.

18. Peter's confession. First announcement of suffering. Transfiguration. The boy possessed : Matt. 12 ; Mark 14.—*Idem*.

19. Second announcement of suffering : Matt. 13 ; Mark 15.—Similarity in the place and words.

20. Conversation on offences : Matt. 14 ; Mark 15.

21. Journey to the Peræan frontier of Judæa : conversation on divorce. Children brought. "Good Master." "We have forsaken all." Third announcement of suffering. Petition of the sons of Zebedee : Matt. 14 ; Mark 15. Obviously.

22. Blind man (men) of Jericho.—Similarity in the relative position and leading circumstances. The difference, that Matthew mentions two, and Mark only one.

On comparing the two, we find that on more than one occasion Matthew mentions *two* persons, when Mark has but one. This practice of Matthew, viz., his grouping similar events in classes or pairs, will be explained afterwards, when we consider how he speaks of the thieves.

We find also, that from the feeding of the five thousand onwards, the identity in the different narratives is demonstrated, not only by the internal resemblance in the events narrated, but by their occupying the same relative position.

§ 18.

COMPARISON OF THE SEQUENCE IN MATTHEW AND MARK.

On account of the circumstance just mentioned, we shall do well to commence our comparison at the end, so as at the very outset to gain a good starting-point, from which we may direct our course upwards.

The *fifteenth chain* in Mark is parallel to the *thirteenth* in Matthew. But whereas Matthew merely says, that "at the same time" in which the second announcement of the sufferings occurred and the tribute money was paid, the dispute "*who should be the greatest*" also

took place; Mark says that this dispute happened on the *road to Capernaum*, and that the words of Jesus in relation to this dispute were spoken after their arrival in Capernaum (no doubt immediately after). The affair of the tribute money, on the other hand, which took place, according to Matthew, *ἐλθόντων εἰς Καπερναοὺμ*, happened on the way into the city, but while they were still by the sea-shore.

From this point to the entrance into Jerusalem, the two histories perfectly agree, except that Matthew introduces the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, which is not given by Mark.

Hence we have already a series, of tolerable length, in the order of historical sequence. And this series may be traced still further up. For it is most distinctly evident from the formulas in Mark ix. 30, Matt. xvii. 22, that the twelfth chain in Matthew comes before, and in fact a very short time before, the thirteenth; and in the same way, that in Mark the 14th preceded the 15th. From which we obtain the following result:—

The transfiguration and the circumstances connected with it happened *before* Matt. 13 and Mark 15. Before the transfiguration, again, came the events under Mark No. 14 (bringing us up to the time when the Pharisees and scribes came from Jerusalem). These events coincide with Matthew No. 12 and the last part of No. 11. That is to say, we find from Mark that *Peter's confession* followed almost immediately upon the conversation on the leaven of the Pharisees (only the healing of the man born blind coming in between; and that precisely at the place where Matthew has a general formula; without the least contradiction therefore).

The chain is here broken at both ends; and we call the series of events thus obtained *Syndesm T.* (from the transfiguration).

SYNDESM T.

| <i>Matthew.</i> | | <i>Mark.</i> |
|-----------------|---|--------------|
| Chain 11. | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> Scribes from Jerusalem. Discourses of Jesus. Jesus goes to Phœnicia. Canaanitish woman. Jesus goes to Decapolis. (Dumb man, in Mark.) Feeding of the four thousand. Pharisees seek a sign. Conversation on leaven. (Man born blind, in Mark.) </div> </div> | Chain 14. |
| Chain 12. | | |
| | <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="font-size: 4em; margin-right: 10px;">{</div> <div> Peter's confession. First announcement of suffering. Six days after. Transfiguration. Boy possessed. </div> </div> | |

| <i>Matthew.</i> | Followed by | <i>Mark.</i> |
|-----------------|--|--------------|
| Chain 13. | Journey through Galilee. Second announcement of suffering. | Chain 15. |
| | Dispute who was the greatest. (Tribute money, in Matthew). | |
| | Discourses on ambition, offences, etc. | |
| | Jesus goes to Peræa. | |
| | Divorce. | |
| | Children brought. | |
| | "Good Master." "Forsaken all." | |
| | Labourers in the vineyard. | |
| | Third announcement of suffering. | |
| | Request of the sons of Zebedee. | |
| | Blind man (men) of Jericho. | |
| | Entrance into Jerusalem. | |

But we may ascend still further. The 10th chain in Matthew, which reaches as far as *Herod's alarm*, corresponds to the latter (and larger) half of the 13th chain in Mark. But in Mark this chain extends as far up as the *mission of the disciples*. And this answers to the 5th chain in Matthew.—That is to say, we learn from Mark that *Herod's alarm* followed the *mission of the disciples*; and this we should not discover from Matthew, who introduces the latter without any clue to the period at which it occurred.

At this point the chains are broken off in both the Evangelists, so that the order of occurrence cannot be traced any further. We have a *second Syndesm* therefore, which we will call D. (from the mission of the disciples).

SYNDESM D.

| <i>Matthew.</i> | | <i>Mark.</i> |
|-----------------|---|--------------|
| Chain 5. | Mission of the disciples. | Chain 13. |
| Chain 10. | Herod's alarm. | |
| | Jesus goes into the desert. Feeding of the five thousand. | |
| | Walking on the sea. | |

Thus far, then, we have succeeded in linking together several chains from Matthew, with others taken from Mark. That is to say, where one is silent as to the historical sequence, the other comes to our aid.¹

¹ *Strauss* would probably ask, whether it was probable that the Evangelists would divide the labour of preserving the succession, just as if it had been a pre-

Having thus obtained, in a manner both reliable and unconstrained, the order of the events which occurred in the latter part of the public life of Jesus, we now proceed to the earlier part; and in doing so, shall first of all select as our starting-point some striking event which is common to the Evangelists. Let us fix, then, upon the *stilling of the tempest*; which occurs in the 3d chain of events in Matthew, and in the 12th in Mark.

Matthew states that this was preceded by the "scribe who would follow Jesus," and was followed by the "*Gergesenes*," the "*man sick of the palsy*," the *call of Matthew*, and the *meal in Matthew's house*.—Let us look first of all at the events which followed the *stilling of the tempest*. They correspond to Mark's 12th chain. But Mark only mentions the *stilling of the tempest*, and the *Gadarenes*; and then states definitely, that on their return from this particular journey, there occurred the *raising of Jairus' daughter*, the *healing of the woman with the issue of blood*, and the talk about "*the carpenter's son*."—Now Matthew has placed these in the 4th chain; and mentions the fact, that *immediately* before Jairus came to Jesus, the question was raised by the disciples of John, why the disciples of Jesus did not fast.—Matthew still further informs us, that *immediately* after the raising of Jairus' daughter, etc., there followed the healing of the *two blind men*, and the *dumb man* possessed with a devil.

Now, although Mark connects the question, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" with the raising of Jairus' daughter by a copulative formula, there is no discrepancy whatever; for the formula in his case is an *mediate* one (Jesus came into His own country; and when the Sabbath-day was come), whereas in Matthew's case it is *immediate* ("And when Jesus departed thence"). Here, then, we have an instance in which one Evangelist (Mark) links two facts together by a *mediate* formula, and another (Matthew) supplies a third fact (or rather, two or three facts), which must be introduced between the two.

It must be observed here, that although Mark does not place the "healing of the paralytic," "the call of Matthew," and "the meal in his house," in his 12th chain after the *Gadarenes*, yet there is no discrepancy between him and Matthew. For Matthew furnishes the following *mediate data*:—

a. The healing of the man sick of the palsy occurred after Jesus

concerted plan. But it is a *very probable* thing, that if two men communicate different facts from the life of a third, the one will have recollected the relative position of certain incidents, and the other of others; whilst it is *very improbable*, that when relating the same facts, neither of them will say anything as to the period of their occurrence.

had returned home from the journey to the Gadarenes; but whether on the same day or not, we are not informed.

b. The *call of Levi* took place in one of the excursions¹ which Jesus made during His stay in Capernaum. The meal occurred shortly after.

c. Matthew does *not* state when the *daughter of Jairus* was restored. He merely introduces the fact with a loose “then” (τότε, chap. ix. 14).

d. On the other hand, he says that the healing of the *two blind men* was performed directly after the restoration of *Jairus’ daughter*, on His return home; and that, as they went out of the house, the *dumb man possessed* was brought in.

Mark, on the other hand, states that the restoration of *Jairus’ daughter* occurred on the return from Gadara. Matthew’s 4th chain, therefore, must stand within his own 3d. The entrance into the house (Matt. ix. 28) took place on the return “into His own city” (chap. ix. 1).

Jairus’ daughter and the *two blind men* come between the *Gergesenes* and the *man sick of the palsy*. The order, therefore, is the following:

| Occasion. | Matthew. No. 4. | No. 3. | Mark. No. 12. | General Result. |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Journey to Gadara. | | (Stilling the tempest. Gadarenes. | (Stilling the tempest. Gadarenes. | Stilling the tempest. |
| Return. | (Question about fasting. Jairus’ daughter. | . . . | (. . . Jairus’ daughter. | Gadarenes. Question about fasting. Jairus’ daughter. |
| | (Two blind men. | . . . | . . . | Two blind men. |
| | [Dumb man possessed. | . . . | . . . | Dumb man possessed. |
| At home. | | Man with palsy. | . . . | Man with palsy. |
| Excursion. | | Call of Matthew. | . . . | Call of Matthew. |
| Sabbath. | | | “Is not this the carpenter’s son?” | “Is not this, etc.?” |

It will be seen that Mark passes from the *raising of Jairus’ daughter* to the question about the *carpenter’s son*, without mentioning the healing of the *man with the palsy* and the *call of Levi*. He had al-

¹ That it is an excursion, not a journey, which is spoken of here, is evident from the meal which followed. According to Mark ii. 13, it was a walk by the sea-side.

ready placed these in his 4th chain, connecting them together as occurring in one after the other, but not noticing their relation to the other events. There is nothing surprising in this. It must be borne in mind, that both events occurred *during a prolonged stay which Jesus made in His native place*. Now it is natural enough to remember the order and connection of things which happen upon a *journey*, as the mind in this case associates events with localities; whereas the precise order of events which occur at home, in the very same place, is scarcely ever remembered. Thus Mark knew very well that the healing of the man with the palsy, and the call of Matthew, took place when Jesus was in Capernaum. But whether before or after a particular journey, had not been impressed upon his mind.

If we proceed *upwards* from the stilling of the tempest, we find from Mark (No. 12), that immediately before the stormy voyage, Jesus delivered the *parables* of the sower, etc., and from Matthew (No. 3), that it was *on the way to the lake* that *the scribe came to Jesus* and expressed a wish to follow Him.

From Matthew, again (No. 9), we learn that before Jesus prepared for the journey with which these parables are connected, He healed a man who was *blind and dumb*, and was *accused of doing this through Beelzebub*; that some *Pharisees sought a sign*; and that *His mother and brethren came and desired to speak with Him*. We also find that at the close of this journey the question was raised, *whether Jesus was not the carpenter's son*. But according to Mark, the journey on which the parables of the sower, etc., were delivered, was no other than the journey to Gadara; so that we have here a coincidence unlooked for, but just on that account the more important. Matthew says nothing about the parables of the sower, etc., being delivered on the *way to Gadara* (this we learn from Mark), but he remembers that the question about the *carpenter's son* was asked shortly after the delivery of the parables; and Mark records the fact, that the question was asked on the return of Jesus from the Gadarene journey.

We will now sum up the whole, and complete the *third Syndesm* (which we will call G., from the journey to Gadara):—

SYNDESM G.

| No. 4. | Matthew. No. 3. | No. 9. | | Mark. No. 12. |
|--------|--------------------|--------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| | | — | JESUS IN CAPERNAUM. | |
| | | — | Blind and dumb. | |
| | | — | Accusation about Beelzebub. | |
| | | — | Pharisees seek a sign. | |
| | | — | Mother and brethren. | |

| No. 4. | Matthew. No. 3. | No. 9. | | Mark. No. 12. |
|--------|--------------------|--------|---|------------------|
| | | | GADARENE JOURNEY. | |
| | — | — | Scribe wishes to follow. | |
| | — | | Parables. | — |
| | — | | Stilling the tempest. | — |
| — | | | Gadarenes. | — |
| — | | | Question about fasting. | |
| — | | | Jairus' daughter, and woman with issue of blood. | — |
| — | | | Two blind men. | |
| | | | RETURN TO CAPERNAUM. | |
| — | | | Dumb man possessed. | |
| | — | | Man with palsy. | |
| | — | | Call of Levi, and meal in his house. | |
| | | — | "Is he not the carpenter's son?" | — |

Here, then, we find that there is not the least contradiction in the order. Where one chain has to be broken to admit the introduction of something from another, the connection is merely *indefinite* or *mediate*, never *immediate*.

Thus we have already succeeded in arranging the following chains in their proper order:—

Matt. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

Mark „ 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

There still remain of Matthew, Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, and of Mark, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9.

The *Syndesms* T. and D. we constructed by proceeding upwards from the entrance into Jerusalem; the *Syndesm* G. by selecting a prominent starting-point. We will now commence with Matthew No. 1, and Mark No. 1.—The *call of the four disciples* (Matt. No. 1, and Mark No. 1) is so closely connected with the removal of Jesus to Galilee, that we should necessarily regard it as certain that Matthew No. 2 could not have happened *before* Mark No. 1, even if this were not apparent from the account of *Peter's mother-in-law*, which supposes a previous acquaintance between Jesus and Peter. But Mark No. 2 corresponds to Matthew No. 2.

We shall start, again, from a fixed point, viz.,—the healing of *Peter's mother-in-law*, and proceed both upwards and downwards. Going *upwards*, we find that, immediately before Jesus went into Peter's house, there occurred (according to Mark) the *casting out of the unclean spirit* in the synagogue. *Earlier still*, the healing of the *centurion's servant* took place, which is loosely connected in Matthew. It occurred when Jesus "was entering into Capernaum," namely, before the *Sermon on the Mount*. Between the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *centurion*, Matthew

places the *healing of the leper* (Mark No. 3).—Going *downwards*, the chain ends, in both the Evangelists, immediately after the healing of Peter's mother-in-law. Matthew uses a formula, which we found was merely a *loose link* of connection, just serving to introduce the Gadarene Syndesm. Mark says, that *the next morning, early*, Jesus went into the desert, and was there sought by the people. He then concludes with a general formula. This *syndesm*, then, which we call S. on account of the Sermon on the Mount, is as follows:—

Matthew.

| | | | | |
|--------|---|--------------------------------------|---|--------|
| No. 1. | { | Removal to Galilee and entrance into | } | No. 1. |
| | | Capernaum. | | |
| No. 2. | { | Call of the four disciples. | } | No. 2. |
| | | Sermon on the Mount. | | |
| | | Healing the leper. | | |
| | | The centurion's servant. | | |
| | | Man possessed in the synagogue. | | |
| | | Peter's mother-in-law. | | |
| | | Jesus in the desert. | | |

Mark.

There are still four smaller pieces left, which can hardly be assigned to their proper position.

a. Mark No. 9.—Jesus goes to the sea. Choice of the disciples. The friends of Jesus want to take Him.

b. Matthew No. 7.—Prayer: "I thank Thee, O Father." This is quite indefinite.

c. Matthew No. 8, Mark Nos. 7, 8.—*Rubbing the ears of corn.* *The withered hand* (evidently *after* the choice of the disciples).

d. Matthew No. 6.—The disciples of John sent (after the choice of the disciples, but before the death of John, therefore before D, *vide* p. 89).

We shall find from Luke No. 6 that *a* belongs to the middle of S.; that is to say, that the *choice of the disciples* occurred immediately before the Sermon on the Mount, and consequently that the events took place in the following order:—*Choice of the four disciples*; *choice of the twelve* and *Sermon on the Mount*; *healing the leper* (on coming down from the mountain); *the people want to take Jesus* (in an inn); *the centurion* (on the return to Capernaum), and so forth. The relative position of the *syndesms*, therefore, would be the following:

S. and *a* together form the commencement. G. stands before D., because in D. all the twelve are sent out, and the call of Levi occurs in G. But according to the notice in Luke, that Jesus chose the twelve before the Sermon on the Mount, G. should stand before the Sermon on the Mount, and therefore before the greater part of S.

To this, however, we shall come below. In any case the series ends with T. And the following is the result at present obtained:—

S., a, G., b, D., c, d, T.

CHAPTER IV.

LUKE.

§ 19.

PLAN.

IN an elaborate *proœmium*, LUKE gives us a more precise account of his plan than any other Evangelist (chap i. 1–4). Our first task, therefore, would properly be, to enter into a minute exegesis of this *proœmium*. But as it contains, in addition to many allusions to Luke's own work, a reference to Gospel writings already in existence, which some regard as laudatory, others as depreciatory; as, consequently, the confusion in the exegesis of the *proœmium* is great, and that in regard to points which do not concern us here; we shall postpone our examination till the Second Part, with the exception of two questions, which are of some importance at this stage.

In the *first* place, Luke informs us *what* he proposes to write, viz., *περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων*. Now, whether *πεπληρ.* means “*which have been fulfilled (i.e., have happened)*,”—a rendering which seems to be precluded by the fact, that Luke does not reckon himself among the eye-witnesses,—or “*which have become matters of complete certainty in us*” (*vid.* Rom. iv. 12; xiv. 5, and *De Wette* on the passage),—in either case the *πράγματα* are precisely the same. But there is something *vague* in this description of the contents of the Gospel as *πράγματα πεπληρ.*, the exact meaning of which can only be learned from the Gospel itself. So that in this direction nothing is gained.

But in the *second* place, the Evangelist tells us *how* he intends to write. Now, whether he means vers. 3, 4 as a tacit reproof of the earlier efforts mentioned in the first verse or not, it is enough for us, that so far as *he himself* is concerned, he promises to write *καθεξῆς*.

Here, then, everything depends upon the meaning of the critical word *καθεξῆς*. *Osiander* found in this word a leading proof that Luke wrote in *chronological order*. In the interpretation of this particular word he has been followed by the latest chronologist, *Wieseler*.

Chemnitz,¹ on the contrary, maintained that *καθεξῆς* was merely the opposite of "in disorder," and therefore simply meant *in order*, without showing whether the principle of division or arrangement was chronological or topical.

A closer examination of the meaning of *καθεξῆς* convinces us, that the view held by *Chemnitz* is correct. Etymologically considered (as an intensified form of *ἐξῆς*, from *ἐξω*, *ἐχω*), *καθεξῆς* can only refer to that style of composition, in which one member is *linked* to another, where there is a close connection therefore, a definite order of succession in the different sections or members. Thus, a writer on philosophy, for example, who follows out a logical train of thought, and deduces one idea from another, writes *καθεξῆς*, in contrast with one who introduces new thoughts abruptly, and without any connection. The author of a biography or monograph, again, writes *καθεξῆς*, when he arranges his materials according to some definite plan, taking care that there there is a connecting link of *some kind*, whether he traces the life of his hero day by day, or puts together under one head all materials which relate to the same *topic*.—And common *usage* is in perfect accordance with the *etymology* of the word. The simple *ἐξῆς* is applied by Attic writers quite as freely to position (*in a series*) as to time; and Demosthenes employs it even with reference to causal connection, in the expression *τούτων ἐξῆς*. Grammarians use *τὸ ἐξῆς* to denote the grammatical arrangement of words. Attic writers make the same use of *ἐφεξῆς* (for which the Hellenists usually write *καθεξῆς*), and employ it more frequently to indicate *logical* than *chronological* connection. If we turn to the New Testament use of the word, we find both *ἐξῆς* and *καθεξῆς* employed by *Luke alone*. *Ἐξῆς* is written with *ὁ*, in the expression *ὁ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα*, *the next day* (Luke vii. 11; Acts xxi. 1); but here it must be observed, that *ἐξῆς* indicates simply the fact of *connection*, it is the word *ἡμέρα* which introduces the idea of *time*. *Καθεξῆς* occurs three times. In Acts iii. 24 it is connected like *ἐξῆς* with the article, to indicate the *line* of prophets. But Acts xi. 4 is perfectly analogous to the passage before us. Peter is there explaining the reason why circumcision is no longer necessary, and describing the vision which he saw in Joppa (*ἀρξάμενος δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς καθεξῆς*, *λέγων*). Now *καθεξῆς* is certainly not introduced here simply for the purpose of saying that Peter did not *begin* with the baptism of Cornelius, then go back to his jour-

¹ *Chemnitz*. Harm. evv., proœm. cap. 5. Adverbium *καθεξῆς* non significat præcisè exactum ordinem in omnibus, sed quod altius ordiri et historiam ab initio repetere ac deinceps continua narratione, distincte et distribute quasi per gradus, reliqua velit addere.

ney to Cornelius, and then still further back to his vision in Joppa; for every one would understand, as a matter of course, that he would relate the whole in the natural order of its occurrence. But *καθεξῆς ἐξέτιθέτο* rather means, he placed the whole question in order before them, told them fully his reasons for no longer regarding circumcision as necessary. The antithesis is not to a narration of events without regard to consecutive order; for *ἐκτιθέναι* does not mean to narrate. Moreover, ver. 4 does not say that Peter narrated anything: we learn this first of all from what follows. All that is stated in ver. 4 is, that he explained the matter *καθεξῆς*. The opposition, therefore, is to short and unconnected assertions. Peter—the meaning is—explained to them *ex professo*, and in order, how he had been brought to his present opinion.—I have said enough, I think, to show that *καθεξῆς* literally means, in *consecutive order*, and that it is only from the context that we can gather whether the order is logical or chronological. Wieseler, however, maintains, that from the context of this very passage, viz., from the connection between *ἄνωθεν* and *καθεξῆς*, it is evident that Luke intended to write in chronological order. But, even granting that *καθεξῆς* really is related to *ἄνωθεν*, nothing can be inferred from this, at variance with my views. For example: Oberlin is dead. Many persons have taken it in hand to write memorials of his life. Here and there accounts are met with of different portions of his life. But the whole of them are fragmentary and without system, dependent upon individual reminiscences, most of them taken from particular periods of his life, none of them embracing the whole. An author now appears, and professes his intention “to write *in order* the whole life, from the very *commencement*.” Certainly he cannot do this without including the youthful days of his hero, his early training, and the development of his character; for he intends to write his history *from the commencement*. And a mere conglomerate of chance anecdotes would not answer this description, for his life is to be written *in order*. But would his professed intention hinder him from dividing his ample materials into chapters, according to different topics, and writing first of his youthful culture, then of Oberlin as Pastor, next of Oberlin as Preacher, after that of his personal character, and so forth?¹ But apart from this, there is no immediate connection of any kind, either logical or grammatical, between *ἄνωθεν* and *καθεξῆς*.

¹ Wieseler fancies that I may probably have been led “by chronological despair” to accept the views I have expressed as to the Gospel of Luke. But I can give him my word for it, that I commenced my preparatory studies for the present work with the investigation into the procemium, and *plan* of Luke, and the other Synoptists, and that my conclusions on these points were all complete before I pro-

All we wish at present is, that it should be acknowledged as a *possible* thing, that by the term *καθεξῆς* Luke intended to represent the plan of his work as *orderly, not in confusion*; and on that account distinguished from those of the πολλοί.¹ From what has been said, therefore, we can neither assume that Luke did, nor that he did not, intend to write in chronological order. So much, however, we must grant, according to our own principles, that if Luke was acquainted with the exact order of succession, he would not link the events together with *definite formulæ*, in a different order from that which he knew to be the true one. Let us now look for light in another direction.

There are two things conceivable as to the authorship. Either the tradition is reliable, and the third Gospel, as well as the Acts of

ceeded to compare the Gospels one with another. And is it really so daring an act, that nothing short of despair will explain it, to infer that a writer, who gives in one place four whole chapters of nothing but discourses, and in another two chapters of nothing but parables, must have arranged his materials according to their subject-matter, and not in chronological order? So far as *chronology* in the strict sense of the word is concerned, I have the greatest respect for *Wieseler's* learning and acuteness, and congratulate myself that, notwithstanding some differences of opinion, in essential points my conclusions coincide with his. But with regard to *chronological order*, *Wieseler's* opinions appear to me to be as far beside the mark as mine appear to him. He starts from the mere words *καθεξῆς* and *ἀναθεῖν*, and, without any inquiry as to the plan of the different Evangelists, authoritatively pronounces Luke *the chronologist among the Synoptists*. Consequently, whenever Matthew and Mark differ in their arrangement from Luke, we are at once assured, notwithstanding any connecting formula that may be employed, that Matthew and Mark, either intentionally or unintentionally, have transposed the events. With regard to Matthew, *Wieseler* adopts most implicitly the hypothesis maintained by *Lachmann* as to the *λόγια* of Matthew, mentioned by Papias, from which we entirely dissent, for reasons to be afterwards explained.

¹ I may be allowed a word in passing on one disputed point in the exegesis of the procemium. *Hug* and others regard the word *καθώς*, in ver. 2, as decidedly *laudatory* of the "many;" inasmuch as it represents them as having written their *diegeses* (*διηγήσιν*, Engl. Ver. *declaration*) just as the eye-witnesses handed them down. Others, again, for the purpose of escaping this conclusion, and in direct violation of all natural feeling, say that *καθώς* commences the *apodosis*. But where does Luke say that "the many" wrote what the eye-witnesses had delivered? He says they *endeavoured* to prepare *diegeses* . . . according to the manner in which the eye-witnesses had handed them down. (For it is obviously most arbitrary to refer *καθώς* to *ἀνατάξασθαι* only, and not to the whole clause, *ἑπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι*.) It appears to me, therefore, to be very evident that Luke describes the "many" as *countrymen of Theophilus*, who, as soon as the Apostles had taken their departure, endeavoured to commit to writing what they had taught by word of mouth. In contrast with these incomplete and faulty attempts, where one remembered this and another that, he is about to prepare a carefully arranged and comprehensive work. This exegesis of Luke i. 1-4, which will be more thoroughly argued and vindicated in Part II., serves to confirm the non-chronological rendering of *καθεξῆς*.

the Apostles, was composed by the *Lucanus* mentioned by Clemens Alex., Irenæus, and Tertullian, and also in Col. iv. 14, Philem. 24, and 2 Tim. iv. 11, which Lucanus was a physician (Col. iv. 14, cf. Luke iv. 38, xiii. 11); or the tradition is false, and the author unknown. If the latter be true, and the author was far removed from the events he narrates, it could only be from a careful examination of the writings themselves that we should be warranted in drawing the conclusion, that he arranged his materials in chronological order. We should then have no outward historical grounds for such an assumption, taken either from his person or his relation to the Apostles. But supposing the former to be the case, and the author to have been the Lucanus who was so closely associated with the Apostle Paul, and, according to Acts xvi. 10 sqq., took several journeys in his company; shall we not then be obliged to assume that he wrote in chronological order? By no means; for Paul himself was not an eye-witness of the life of Jesus. What he knew had been derived from the reports of the other Apostles. And certain as it is, that on all single points he will have taken care to procure the most *exact* and *reliable* information, yet it is very far from probable that the man whose labours were so overwhelming that he bore the whole heathen world in his heart, should have occupied his time with the task of finding out “on what day this or the other occurred, and which of two events may have happened first,”—points of no importance whatever, either to an Apostle or to any ordinary Christian, though of great importance to a theologian who has negative critics to deal with. For the very same reasons, it is by no means probable that Lucanus himself extended his investigations (ver. 3) to the precise order in which the events occurred. Let us form, therefore, what opinion we may as to the origin of the third Gospel, we have no ground for the assumption that it was written in chronological order. Consequently, we are thrown back upon the book itself; and must seek for answers to the following questions:—1. *Did Luke adopt a topical arrangement?* 2. *Does he furnish data of chronological sequence?*

§ 20.

ARRANGEMENT.

In the proemium to the Gospel, we can discover no information as to the writer's plan. But as we read on, we meet with a great abundance of delicate traits. In pursuing our examination, we naturally commence with the unquestioned decision of criticism, that the

Acts of the Apostles were written by the same author as the third Gospel; a conclusion supported by both internal and external evidence.

Luke opens his history in the *temple at Jerusalem*, and finishes at *Rome*. The first part, the Gospel, commences with an account of the appearance of an angel in the holy place, to prepare the way for the testimony to be borne to the Messiah by John, the last of the prophets. As we advance, a parallel is drawn between the prophet John and Christ, which brings out more and more the universal character of the *Gospel* mission, as contrasted with that of the *Law*. After a full account of the death and resurrection of Jesus, the book ends with the command to the disciples to continue in *Jerusalem*, and the statement, that they were continually *in the temple*. The first part having thus shown in its true essence the spiritual establishment of the New Covenant, which was destined for all nations, and the transition from the Old Testament to the New; the second part, the Acts of the Apostles, is occupied with an account of the manner in which the Christian Church was first of all founded and attested by God in Jerusalem, on theocratically holy ground, and in the very presence of the older Covenant, by the *outpouring of the Holy Spirit*; and then, after the Apostle Peter had demonstrated in a set oration its perfect accordance with Old Testament prophecy, spread far beyond the one nation of the Jews, to *Samaria*, to *Antioch*, and lastly to *Rome*, the very centre of the heathen world.

It is this great contrast, *Judaism* and *Heathenism*, which continually presents itself to the author's mind. In this, there is an evident difference between his plan and those of Matthew and Mark. The former exhibits Christianity in its contrast with Judaism; the second, Christianity in contrast with Heathenism. But Luke rather shows us the attitude which the Jew on the one hand, and the Gentile on the other, assumed towards Christianity, and how both were united thereby. He shows (1) how salvation in Christ was not designed for the whole of Israel, or for Israel alone; and (2) how Israel itself, by the hardness of its heart, was the cause of Christianity passing over to the heathen world. The former is shown, of course, chiefly in the Gospel; the latter, in the Acts of the Apostles. Before proceeding to trace his plan through some of its finer lines, I would just call attention to Luke ii. 1 and iii. 1. This is not the time to examine the *chronological* accuracy of the two passages; but it is worthy of observation, how the Evangelist draws a parallel between the advancing ruin of the outwardly theocratical state, and the onward progress of spiritual redemption.

"It came to pass," he says, "in those days, that there went out a

decree from Cæsar Augustus, that the whole empire should be taxed; and this taxing was made as the *first* (the first, unparalleled disgrace of this kind), when, etc." The words in the parenthesis show in what sense, in our opinion, Luke used the enigmatical *πρώτη*. With this explanation, the conjecture that it stands for *προτέρα* is unnecessary, and we obtain a good, clear, simple meaning. What Luke would point out is, that the very period when the *first* step was taken to annihilate Jewish independence, was that at which the spiritual Deliverer was born. Similarly, in chap. iii. 1, he shows how John (and Jesus) commenced their public ministry, just when Judæa was about to be reduced to the condition of a Roman province, and parcelled out into tetrarchies.

Let us now proceed to trace the course of the historical narrative in detail.

1. In the *first part* (chap. i.-iv. 15), Luke describes the person of Jesus and His relation to the sacred institutions of the Old Testament. He commences with a parallel between Jesus and the Baptist, in whom the prophetic nature of the Old Covenant was concentrated (both as regarded the *legal preaching of repentance*, and also as holding forth *promises of salvation*), and who sprang from the *priesthood*, and belonged to the *priestly tribe*. In the time of Herod, king of Judæa, there lived a *priest*, who saw a vision in the *temple*; to him a *prophet* was born, whose mission it was to convert *many of the children of Israel* to the *Lord*, who was about to come.—To the angelic vision of Zacharias there is a parallel in that of Mary. Jesus is to be *King over the house of Israel*, and to *reign without end* (ver. 33).—The mothers of the two men then meet together (vers. 39-56).—The birth of John, again (vers. 57 seq.), is parallel to that of the Lord (chap. ii. 1 seq.).—Hitherto *ὁ λαὸς* alone has been spoken of; but on the *presentation in the temple*, the *unbelief of Israel* (chap. ii. 34) and the *destination of the Saviour for all nations* are foretold (ver. 31).

Then follows a parallel between the *works of John* and the *works of Jesus*. The preaching of the *former*, therefore, is described with singular exactness in its O. T. legal peculiarities (chap. i. 3, 7 sqq.). It is then shown how he, who by his preaching of repentance prepared the minds of the people for the Messiah, pointed expressly to Christ (iii. 15 sqq.). And lastly, the reward is stated, which the last of the O. T. prophets received (ver. 19): how his hard preaching of the Law struck upon hard hearts; and the preacher himself had to suffer in consequence.

Of JESUS it is now related, how He submitted to the legal form of John's baptism; and the Holy Ghost came down upon Him. His

human pedigree is then traced back to Adam; an unmistakeable evidence that the writer had Gentile readers in his mind. In Matthew, Jesus appears as Son of David and Son of God; in Luke, as Son of man¹ and Son of God.

Now follows the TEMPTATION. It is true that this is introduced as an episode into the parallel with John. But it could not well be passed over, since it showed in what manner Christ *submitted* to the Father; how, though superior to John, He was not one to exalt Himself and obtain dominion over the heathen at the Father's cost; and, above all, how Jesus was free from those *carnal ideas of a Messiah* which characterized the more carnal portion of Israel, and was Himself the true spiritual Israelite, and a type of the spiritual Israel. And, unless it was entirely passed over, this was the place to introduce it, viz., before proceeding to the public ministry of Christ.—Lastly (chap. iv.), in contrast to the obduracy which John encountered, we have a description of the success which attended the works of Jesus. The most striking passage in this connection is chap. iv. 15, “And He taught in their synagogues, *being glorified of all.*”

Jesus *differed* from John in the consolatory character of His preaching, and the joy which He awakened in the hearts of the theocratic people (chap. iv. 22, “And all bare Him witness, and wondered at *the gracious words* which proceeded out of His mouth”); but He *resembled* him in the fact, that He also met with resistance (ver. 29). The salvation which He proclaimed could only be appropriated through repentance; and the preaching of repentance was a virtual acknowledgment of the labours of John. Hence the preaching of Jesus, though consolatory, acted, so to speak, as a ferment. It produced among the people of the theocracy a division into those who believed, and those who compelled the Lord to remove farther and farther from them, until at length He passed with His salvation over to the Gentiles.

2. The *second part* (chap. iv. 16–vi. 49) traces this division of the nation into those who received Jesus, and those who drove Him from place to place; and thus shows the *attitude which the people of Israel assumed towards Jesus*.—Examples are given of this division. The *two sides*—the reception of Jesus on the part of believers, and the more and more determined rejection on the part of unbelievers—are noticed alternately. Compare, in reference to the second side, chap. iv. 30, 42, 43; chap. v. 16. Jesus leaves Nazareth, goes to Capernaum, re-

We use the word in its ordinary sense, not in the historico-exegetical sense in which it occurs in *Daniel* and the Gospels. For in the latter Matthew and Mark speak of Jesus as “*the Son of man*” quite as much as Luke does.

moves to the desert, wanders among other towns, again goes to the desert.

Peculiar stress is laid in this section upon the *impression* produced by the works of Christ. At the healing of the possessed man (iv. 33 sqq.), they were "*all amazed*" (ver. 36); Peter's mother-in-law, when delivered from the fever, ministered to them, and a crowd of such as believed on Jesus came to Him to be healed (ver. 40). Another *θαύματος*, of a believing character indeed, was produced by Peter's draught of fishes (chap. v.). And the leper is introduced (vers. 12 sqq.) to show how believing minds turned to Jesus for help.

Then follow various occurrences which clearly indicate the *growth of the opposition*. When the man with the palsy is cured, the scribes and Pharisees accuse Jesus of blasphemy (vers. 18 sqq.). On the occasion of the *call of Levi*, they murmur at His eating with publicans and sinners (vers. 27 sqq.). They then condemn Him for *not fasting*; whereupon Jesus points out the difference between the Old and New Testaments, and foretells that there must eventually be a breach between His followers and those who misunderstand the Old Covenant, and adhere tenaciously, not to the law, but simply to legality. Then come reproaches on *account of the Sabbath* (chap. vi. 1 sqq., 6 sqq.); and the hostile feeling reaches such a height, that they *come to the resolution that Jesus shall be destroyed* (chap. vi. 11).

After the process of fermentation and separation has been thus exhibited in definite facts, and, on the other hand, it has been clearly shown in the choice of the disciples, that, as the opposition increased, the kingdom of Jesus also gained greater power and consolidation; then follow those discourses of Jesus (the Sermon on the Mount, vers. 20 sqq.), in which He clearly shows, that His kingdom is not a worldly, but a spiritual kingdom, to be established in the midst of suffering, privation, and opposition from the Israelites according to the flesh, and in which He also pronounces *curses* on the opposition thus aroused.¹

Chap. vii. forms a kind of appendix to the second part of the Gospel; showing, on the one hand, how the first Gentile came into immediate contact with Jesus, and on the other, how difficult it was for the *Israelite* to break away from the legal standpoint.—Peculiar prominence is given to the centurion's spirit of yearning after salvation (in this he is a type of the heathen world, so far as it was well disposed towards Christianity), as well as to the significant saying of Jesus, "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." But this first move-

¹ Here note in passing, that Luke had thus good reason for introducing the "woes" passed over by Matthew, and passing over many things which Matthew reports, inasmuch as his *design* was simply to relate what bore upon the *opposition*.

ment of Christ beyond the limits of Israel is followed in a striking manner by an evident proof that God had “visited *His people*,” in the resurrection of the widow’s son at Nain. Jesus had come for *believers* among the Gentiles, and for *believers* in Israel. But the difficulty experienced by the Israelite in breaking away from the legality in which he had been trained, so as to look upon all the Old Testament forms as nothing more than *preparations for Christ*, and to embrace in spirit the spiritual Saviour, is now exhibited in the striking instance of *John the Baptist* (chap. vii. 18–23). Even he was beginning to be of little faith. The last of the prophets, the nearest of all to the Saviour, was still standing within the Old Covenant, unable to cross its boundary; and even in this respect he is *excused* by Jesus.

This lamentable example of the *strong prophet*, unable, in spite of all his strength, to give himself *wholly* to Jesus, is then followed by the example of a *weak woman*, who comes to Jesus and washes His feet with her penitential tears (chap. vii. 36 sqq.). Could the truth, that the Lord came not for the healthy, but to succour such as were of a broken heart, be set forth in a more impressive manner than it is in these two examples? “It is not a strict observance of the law, but an acknowledgment of having broken the law, which makes fit for the kingdom of God.” This is expressly taught by Jesus in His address to the Pharisee (chap. vii. 40 sqq.).

Henceforth Luke makes no further allusion to John. The parallel between Jesus and John is entirely closed. Now, if we cast a glance backward, we shall see that Luke does not arrange his narratives in *classes*, but prefers to place in parallels facts of an opposite character. There are certain contrasts perpetually recurring, *a.* between the Old Testament prophet, and the New Testament Messiah; *b.* between Israel’s political humiliation, and her spiritual visitation; *c.* between the carnal Israel relying upon its legality and rejecting Jesus, and the spiritual Israel confessing its sins and welcoming salvation; *d.* between the self-righteous Israelite, and the heathen longing for salvation.

But from this point onward Luke introduces no more such contrasts. He confines himself to Christ alone, and pictures to us the manner of the Saviour’s life, and the circle of believers among whom He lived.

3. Chap. viii. introduces a *third part* of the Gospel of Luke, in which we are shown the quiet inner sanctuary of the Lord’s intimate society, the relation of the band of believers to Christ forming the central point. First of all the different grades of belief are set forth in a parable, which contains at the same time a kind of programme of

the Saviour's mode of teaching. The words with which chap. viii. 1 sqq. are introduced, "And it came to pass afterward, that He went throughout every city and village, preaching and showing the glad tidings," appear to indicate that the Evangelist is about to allude to Christ's method of instruction. Accordingly, there follows the *parable of the sower*, which exhibits the various effects produced by the Saviour's teaching. This parable is followed by *four incidents*, the last three of which are connected together by Luke as occurring in succession. All four are so connected by Matthew and Mark. Why should Luke have introduced them in this particular place? Three of them are closely related to one another as examples of the miraculous power of Christ, and are also adapted to form a counterpart of the picture of the wisdom of Christ as a teacher. But if we look more closely at their contents, we cannot but be struck with the fact, that the second describes a *great trouble and danger*; and the third, a man who had been brought by his *own carnal lusts* under bodily subjection to Satan; whilst the fourth introduces two examples of decided and extraordinary faith. May not Luke have placed the four narratives here as illustrations of the parable of the sower, and examples of the different grades of faith? This is all the more probable that the narratives follow one another in the order of sequence, and the order of sequence was known to Luke, at least, in the case of the last three.¹ 1. *Those by the way-side* are those who hear the word, but out of whose hearts the devil takes it away (chap. viii. 12).—In vers. 19–21, the mother and brethren of Jesus come to see Him, and Jesus says, "My mother and My brethren are these which *hear the word of God, and do it.*" Not that Jesus Himself, any more than Luke, thought of applying to Mary and His brethren the words of ver. 12, "lest they should believe and be saved." I hope to show that the discourses of Jesus contained no charge whatever against His mother and brethren; but notwithstanding this, Luke could very well introduce the narrative here, as showing how Jesus, even when His own nearest relations were concerned, enforced the demand that *hearing* should be accompanied by *doing*.—2. *Those upon the rock* are those who "for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away." Compare ver. 23, which contains an account of the *tempest*; and ver. 25 with the complaint of Jesus, "Where is your faith?"—3. *Those among thorns* are they which "are choked with cares and riches, and pleasures of this life." Compare with this the possessed Gadarene,

¹ I cannot see why Bleek should regard it as *unnatural* that Luke should have placed those otherwise historically connected events intentionally after the parable of the sower, as they were so well adapted to illustrate it.

whose whole condition proves that *sins of the flesh* had been the original cause, and on the other hand the Gadarenes (ver. 37), who preferred their *riches* to eternal salvation.—4. The double example of *strong faith*, vers. 40–56, which closes the list, serves fully to illustrate the seed on good ground. In the one case there is faith, which remains as firm as a rock in the midst of tribulation; in the other, faith which draws from Christ the words, “Daughter, be of good cheer, thy faith hath made thee whole.”

A description then follows of the smaller and larger circles which had been formed around the Lord. Chap. ix. is occupied exclusively with the *twelve*, showing among other things their spiritual condition; and chap. x. with the *seventy*. At the opening of the former, we have an account of the *installing of the twelve*. Then follows a reference to the impression made by the new and growing spiritual kingdom upon the eyes of those who could not comprehend it. After the *return* of the twelve, there follows in direct succession the *feeding of the five thousand*; which seems, however, to be introduced by Luke chiefly as serving to illustrate the spiritual position of the twelve and the *measure of their maturity* (vers. 12, 13); and this is followed immediately by the question, put by Jesus, “Whom say ye that I am?” and the *confession* of Peter in reply. We are then shown how the disciples were prepared for the approaching end, partly by the announcement of the Saviour’s sufferings (vers. 21 sqq.), and partly by His transfiguration (vers. 28 sqq.); and how, on the other hand, they prove themselves to be weak in faith (vers. 37–43: the lunatic boy), are *unable to understand* a second announcement of the Saviour’s sufferings (ver. 45), *contend* with one another and with another man *about the question* of pre-eminence (vers. 46–50), and by their *conduct in Samaria* (vers. 51–56) show to how little an extent they had as yet entered into the spirit and kingdom of Jesus. In direct contrast with the spirit manifested by the disciples, the *spiritual, self-denying* disposition is then pointed out, which the Lord required of those who wished to follow Him.—The *address to the seventy* commences the next chapter (chap. x. 1–20); and a few verses then follow, which are adapted, and evidently intended, to bring the *section relating to the disciples* to a close (vers. 21–24).

4. From this point onwards the *topical* division becomes *perfectly unmistakeable*. For a *fourth part* (chap. x. 25–xiv. inclusive) contains *nothing but short sayings, or discourses* of Jesus; some of them, indeed, occasioned by *facts* which occurred, but the facts themselves are described as briefly as possible, and evidently introduced for the sake of the sayings; and these, again, are classified according to subjects.—

On the subject of *love to God*, and complete absorption in Him, as the highest duty of man, we have in chap. x. the *words of Jesus* ("the good Samaritan"), and a *practical illustration* (Mary and Martha).—The subject of *prayer* is next in order (chap. xi. 1–13). With this is connected, by way of contrast (for Luke still indulges his liking for contrasts), the accusation brought against Jesus of being allied not with God, but with *Beelzebub* (vers. 14 sqq.).—This leads by a natural association of ideas to the *polemical discourses* of Jesus (chap. xi. 37–xii. 53) : *e.g.*, those directed against the Pharisees; the demand for *decision* (chap. xi. 23, xii. 4–12); against the *love of riches* (chap. xii. 13–21); and as a contrast, the exhortation to *trust in God* (chap. xii. 22–29). Then follow (from the lips of Jesus Himself) an *announcement of the approaching conflicts*, and *exhortation to fidelity and watchfulness*.—Chap. xii. 54–xiii. 9 contain addresses condemnatory of the people generally.

And these are followed by a dispute about His *healing on the Sabbath* (vers. 10–17). Thus the theoretical and actual contrast between the spiritual and carnal Israel begins again to stand out in ever increasing prominence. Chap. xiii. 18–21 contain an assurance of the growth of the kingdom of God; vers. 22–30, the stern dilemma of the broad and narrow gates; and vers. 31–35, a solemn renunciation of Jerusalem.

Some words of reproof, occasioned by a cure effected on the Sabbath (chap. xiv. 1–6), introduce a *collection of parables*. The first of these (to chap. xv.) are evidently intended to exhibit with the greatest distinctness the fact, that a feeling of want and misery are indispensably necessary to those who would belong to Christ, and that the sin of pride and self-righteousness is diametrically opposed to faith in Jesus. ("The great supper;" "the hundred sheep;" "the prodigal son:" chap. xiv. 15–xv. 32.)—The perplexing parable of the *unjust steward* comes next; and a short address is attached to the parable. We will not discuss its meaning at present; but it appears certain that chap. xvi. contains a *demand for decision* on the one hand, and passes from the *doctrinal to the moral* on the other. Hence, in the parable of the *rich man and Lazarus* (chap. xvi. 19 sqq.), hardness of heart towards others is reproved, and an exhortation is given to a *decisive* rending of the heart from Mammon, on the ground of the absolute character of the verdict and the separation after death.—In chap. xvii. 1–xviii. 30 we have a collection of *shorter discourses*, of a moral, prophetic, and generally hortatory character. So far as the latter are concerned, they contain a brief summary of all the leading points embraced in the teaching of Jesus, as contained

in the Gospel of Luke; viz., the exhortation to repentance (publican and Pharisee); the demand for a childlike spirit (children brought to Him); the necessity for self-denial ("Sell all that thou hast"); and lastly, the touching, earnest words of Peter, "Lord, we have left all and followed Thee."—After this retrospective glance at the life of Jesus with His disciples, Luke proceeds to the fifth part, the History of the Passion, which he introduces with the third announcement on the part of Jesus of the sufferings He was about to endure.

§ 21.

DATA RELATIVE TO SEQUENCE.

Luke, as we have seen, adopts a *topical classification*, which he carries out even in minute particulars. In the first place, there are certain larger sections; *e.g.*, the collection of parables, chaps. xiv.–xvi.; the collection of shorter sayings, chaps. x.–xiv.; the descriptive account of the circle of disciples, chaps. ix.–xiv. And then, again, within these sections, the separate portions are arranged according to their subjects—things contrasted, rather than things similar, being placed together. And where such regard is paid to the contents, it naturally follows that we cannot expect minute attention to chronological order.

Now if we look more closely into Luke, we shall find that he *scarcely ever arranges his accounts in the strict order of their occurrence*. The only cases in which he indicates by distinct formulæ that two or more occurrences happened in direct succession, are those in which the events also suited his topical divisions. For example, after describing the *mission of the twelve*, he proceeds at once to the *feeding of the five thousand*, as a welcome illustration of the degree of maturity attained by the disciples at that time. In this instance the subject and the succession went hand in hand. In a similar manner he follows up the *CONFESSION OF PETER*, on the one hand with the *announcement of Christ's sufferings*, on the other with the *transfiguration* (showing the effect produced in the two cases upon the faith of the disciples), and lastly with the account of the *lunatic boy* (as a proof how much they stood in need of greater strength),—occurrences which suited his topical arrangement in the precise order in which they happened. In the same way, as we saw above, he placed in their successive order the *stilling of the tempest*, the *healing of the Gadarene*, and the *raising of Jairus' daughter*, because they served as illustrations of the *parable of the sower*, in the precise order in which he both knew, and has distinctly indicated; that they occurred.

The following facts, then, it is important to observe. *First*,

wherever Luke connects several facts together in the order of their occurrence, they *agree* with his topical arrangement; at the same time, the topical relation between them is not so striking as to render it at all probable that Luke classed them together on this account alone, and without regard to the order of their occurrence, which was not only known to him, but which he has clearly indicated by definite formulæ.—*Secondly*, whenever there is no such direct connection in order of time, the topical connection (whether consisting of an evident contrast, or an evident resemblance) is so obvious, that *this alone* will explain the arrangement.—*Thirdly*, most of the sections which are connected together by Luke in chronological order, are so connected by Matthew and Mark as well.—And *fourthly*, wherever Luke introduces two or more occurrences which Matthew and Mark have already given in their chronological sequence, but arranges them in a different manner, the formula which he employs is a *loose* one, without any mark of immediate sequence. There is not the slightest contradiction, therefore, between Luke's arrangement or the connecting formulæ which he employs, and those which we meet with in Matthew and Mark.

In confirmation of this, we shall now give a table as before. From the extraordinary number of loosely connected *data*, however, we shall merely reckon *chains*, where two or more *pericopæ* are really linked together. A few of the leading occurrences will be found without numbers in the first column.

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulæ of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|--|------------------------|--|-------|
| 1. | Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth. |] | καὶ κατέλθεν εἰς Καπ. . . . καὶ ἦν διδάσκων ἐν τοῖς σάββασι . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ. "And He came down to Capernaum, and taught them on the Sabbath-days. . . . And in the synagogue . . . | IV. |
| | Man with a devil, in the synagogue at Capernaum. | |) ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος. "And He arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house." | |
| | Peter's mother-in-law. | = | General formula, ver. 44. ἐγένετο δὲ. "And it came to pass." | V. |

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulae of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|--|-------------------------|--|-------|
| 2. | Peter's draught of fishes. | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων. "And it came to pass, when He was in a certain city." | |
| | Leper. | = | General formula, vers. 15, 16. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν. "And it came to pass on a certain day." | |
| | Man with palsy let through the roof. |) | καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθε. "And after these things He went forth." | |
| | Call of Levi, and meal in his house.—(Conversation about fast-introduced.) | — | ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ. "And it came to pass on the second Sabbath after the first." | |
| | Ears of corn. | — | ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ σαββάτῳ. "And it came to pass also on another Sabbath." | |
| | Withered hand. | — | ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις. "And it came to pass in those days." | |
| 3. | Choice of disciples and Sermon on the Mount. |]] | ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλήρωσε πάντα τὰ ῥήματα . . . εἰσῆλθεν. "Now when He had ended all His sayings . . . He entered into Capernaum." | VII. |
| | Centurion. |]] | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς. "And it came to pass the day after." | |
| | Young man at Nain. |] | General formula, ver. 17. (Ver. 18 is so connected, that what follows appears to have happened afterwards.) | |
| | Arrival of the disciples of John. | — | "And." (δὲ.) | |
| | Anointed by a woman in Simon's house. | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑξῆς. "And it came to pass after- | |
| | | | | VIII. |

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulæ of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|---|------------------------|--|-------|
| 4. | Parable of the sower. | — | wards." (General formula.) "And when much people were gathered together." . . . | IX. |
| | Mother and brethren. | — | δὲ. "And." | |
| | Stilling the tempest. |]] | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν. "Now it came to pass on a certain day." | |
| | Gadarenes. |]] | καὶ κατέπλευσαν εἰς . . . "And they arrived at the country" . . . | |
| | Jairus' daughter. |]] | ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέψαι. "And it came to pass that when Jesus was returned." | |
| 5. | Mission of the Twelve. | — | συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. "Then He called His twelve disciples together." | |
| | Herod's alarm. |] | ἤκουσε δὲ . . . τὰ γινόμενα . . . "Now Herod the tetrarch heard." | |
| | Jesus in the desert near Bethsaida. Feeding of the 5000. |] | καὶ ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι. "And the Apostles, when they were returned." | |
| 6. | Peter's confession. | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν προσευχόμενον καταμόνας. "And it came to pass, as He was alone praying." | |
| | Transfiguration. |]] | ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὥσεί ἡμέραι ὀκτώ. "And it came to pass, about eight days after these sayings." | |
| | Boy possessed. |]] | καὶ ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ. "And it came to pass that, on the next day, when they were come down from the hill." | |
| | Dispute who should be greatest. | — | δὲ. "Then." | |
| | | — | ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ. "And it came to pass, when the time was come that He should be received up." | |

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulae of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|---|-------------------------|---|-------|
| 7 | Samaritans refuse to receive Him. | — | ἐγένετο δὲ πορευομένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. “And it came to pass that as they went in the way.” ¹ | X. |
| | The scribe, who wishes to follow. | — | μετὰ ταῦτα. “After these things” (i.e., after the mission of the Twelve, chap. ix. 1, not after what is related in chap. ix. 57–62, as the words καὶ ἑτέρους clearly prove). | |
| | Mission and return of the Seventy. |) | καὶ ἰδοὺ . . . ἀνέστη. “And behold a certain lawyer stood up.” | |
| | Lawyer (“What must I do?”)—Parable of the good Samaritan. | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοῦς. “Now it came to pass as they went.” | |
| | Mary and Martha. | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινί. “And it came to pass that as He was praying in a certain place.” | |
| | The Lord's prayer. Discourse on prayer. | — | καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων . . . ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαίμ. ἐξελεθόντος. “And He was casting out a devil, and it was dumb.” | XI. |
| 8. | Charge of connection with Beelzebub. |) | ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα. “And it came to pass as He spake these things.” | |
| | Exclamations of a woman : “Blessed is the womb that bare Thee.” | | | |

¹ This apparently refers to the same journey. But the topical arrangement, the subsequent account of the mission of the seventy, which certainly cannot have occurred on a journey from Samaria to Jerusalem, and the number of unconnected incidents which follow (cf. xi. 1), lead decidedly to the conclusion that in this place, as in so many others, all that Luke intends to say is, “On one occasion, when they were on their way.” It is particularly worthy of observation, that in chap. xvii. 11 we find the statement again, “It came to pass, as He went to Jerusalem, that He passed through Samaria.”

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulae of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|--|-------------------------|---|-------|
| 9. | Christ reproaches that generation. | — | τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ἐπαθροισμένων ἤρξατο λέγειν. “And when the people were gathered thick together, He began to say.” | XII. |
| | | — | ἐν δὲ τῷ λαλῆσαι, not ἐν τῷ λέγειν αὐτὸν ταῦτα, “while He was saying these things,” but while He was engaged in conversation,—a perfectly general remark. | |
| | Meal in the Pharisee’s house. |) | Ver. 53. ἤρξαντο, “they began,” is the commencement of a longer period; but the opening of chap. xii. forms a definite connection. | |
| | Addresses to the disciples. | | | |
| | Jesus asked to adjudicate. Discourses. | — | δὲ. “And.” Ver. 13. | |
| | Address to the people. | — | ἔλεγε δὲ καί. “And He said, Go.” | |
| | Report of the massacre of the Galileans. | — | παρῆσαν δὲ τινες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ. “There were present at that season.” | |
| | Woman with spirit of infirmity. | — | ἦν δὲ διδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ . . . ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν. “And He was teaching in one of the synagogues on the Sabbath.” | |
| | Grain of mustard-seed, and leaven. | — | ἔλεγε δὲ. “Then said He.” | |
| | Discourse: “Strive to enter in.” | — | General formula, ver. 22. | |
| 10. | Warned to beware of Herod: “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem!” |]] | ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. “The same day.” | XIV. |
| | | — | καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκόν τινος . . . “And it came to pass as He went into the house . . .” | |

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulae of Connection. | Chap. |
|---------|---|---|--------|
| | Dropsy cured. Discourses. | — <i>συνεπορεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί.</i> “And there went great multitudes with Him.” | |
| | Discourse : “ If any man come to Me and hate not.” | — <i>ἦσαν δὲ ἐγγίζοντες . . .</i> “Then drew near to Him all the publicans and sinners.” (General description.) | XV. |
| | Parables of the hundredsheep; the pieces of silver; and prodigal son. | — <i>ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.</i> “And He said also unto His disciples.” | XVI. |
| | Parable of the unjust steward. Addresses to the Pharisees. Parable of the rich man and Lazarus. | — <i>εἶπε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ.</i> “Then said He unto the disciples.” | XVII. |
| | Discourse on offences. | — <i>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας.</i> “And it came to pass, as He went to Jerusalem, that He passed through the midst of Samaria.” | |
| | Ten lepers. | — <i>ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ . . .</i> “And when He was demanded.” | |
| | Discourse on the latter days. | — <i>ἔλεγε δὲ . . .</i> “And He spake a parable unto them.” | XVIII. |
| | Unjust judge. | — <i>εἶπε δὲ καὶ . . .</i> “And He spake this parable.” | |
| | Pharisee and publican. | — <i>προσέφερον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ.</i> “And they brought to Him infants.” | |
| | Children brought. | — <i>καὶ ἐπηρώτησέ τις . . .</i> “And a certain ruler asked Him.” | |

| Chains. | Titles of Pericopæ. | Formulæ of Connection. | | Chap. |
|---------|---------------------|------------------------|---|-------|
| | "Good Master." | — | εἶπε δὲ ὁ Πέτρος. "Then Peter said." | |
| | "We have left all." | | | |

In this extraordinary number of *Pericopæ* (seventy, if we reckon the parables singly; fifty-seven, as we have grouped them together) there are but ten instances in which two or more events are linked together as happening in direct succession; and five of these chains contain only two links each. Moreover, if we consider the manner in which Luke so frequently connects his passages together (*καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκόν τινος, — καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινί, — εἶπε δὲ καὶ, — προσέφερον δὲ καὶ*), it is obvious that it was scarcely a matter of the smallest concern to him to search out and exhibit the order of succession. Here and there, when he had either heard it, or found it clearly indicated in the source from which he drew, he does give the chronological order; but in general there can be no question as to the fact, of which proofs arise on every hand, and which both *Calvin* and *Bengel* discovered, that *Luke has preserved less of the chronological order than any of the other Evangelists*. The expression, *σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον*, of which *Krafft* has given the best and simplest explanation, deserves to be specially mentioned here. According to the analogy of *πρωτότοκος, πρωτογενής*, etc., *δευτερόπρωτος* ought to denote the *second* of two *first* Sabbaths. *Wieseler* supposes it to be the first Sabbath of the second year of a time of jubilee. *Krafft* points much more naturally to the fact, that the Passover week actually included *three Sabbaths*, unless the 15th of Nisan fell upon a Sabbath or a Sunday; viz., 1. the 15th of Nisan itself, which was kept as a Sabbath; 2. the ordinary Sabbath which fell in the Passover week; 3. the last Passover Sabbath (the 21st of Nisan עֶצְרָה). Now, in relation to the 21st of Nisan, the 15th was the *first* Sabbath of the feast; and in relation to the 15th, the 21st was the *second*. And these two Sabbaths occurred universally, and without any exception. But it was only occasionally that another (ordinary) Sabbath intervened; and when this was the case, rather than call the 21st of Nisan the "third" Sabbath, and so place the ordinary Sabbath on a level with the others, they preferred to designate the ordinary Sabbath by the title of the *second first*.—It is true we do not obtain a chronological datum from this, since the account given at Luke vi. 1 is not directly connected with either the preceding or following account. But it furnishes

a ground for the conclusion, that the life of Jesus may possibly have included one more Passover than we find mentioned in the Gospel of John. (See § 28.)

§ 22.

SYNOPTICAL COMPARISON OF THE GOSPEL OF LUKE WITH THOSE OF MATTHEW AND MARK.

Luke has much which is found in his Gospel alone. With regard to the remainder, all that we would assume at the outset may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. The following accounts are *unquestionably identical*, both from the coincidence in all their leading features, and also from the similarity in their chronological position: The casting out of the devil in Capernaum, and healing of Peter's mother-in-law. The man let down through the roof, and the call of Levi and meal in his house. The Sermon on the Mount, and centurion's servant. The stilling of the tempest, the Gadarenes, and raising of Jairus' daughter. The mission of the twelve, Herod's alarm, and the feeding of the five thousand. Peter's confession, the transfiguration, and the boy possessed.

2. The following are identical on account of the agreement in the leading circumstances: The man sick of the palsy (Luke v., Matt. viii., Mark i.); the rubbing of the ears of corn, and the withered hand; the mission of the disciples of John; the parable of the sower; the arrival of the mother and brethren of Jesus; the contention who should be the greatest (Luke ix., Matt. xviii., Mark ix.); the scribe who wishes to follow Jesus (Luke ix. 57–62, Matt. viii.); the charge of being in league with Beelzebub, and the subsequent discourse in Luke xi. 29 sqq. and Matt. xii. 38 sqq. (not Matt. v. 15, 16, for the proverbial saying about the candlestick was of a nature to be frequently repeated); the simile of the hundred sheep (Luke xv. 1 sqq., Matt. xviii. 12 sqq.); the children coming to Jesus; "Good Master." Also the draught of fishes, and call of Peter.

3. The following are *not identical*, in spite of similarities in the attendant circumstances: (1) The scribe who asks what he must do to obtain eternal life (Luke x.); and the Pharisee who asks which is the great commandment, for the purpose of tempting Jesus (Matt. xxii., Mark xii.).—(2) The discourse at the Pharisee's meal, and the similar discourse, Matt. xxiii. For the leading points in such a discourse are very likely to have been repeated, and the time and place are both different: the one was at a meal, the other in the temple; the latter during the Passion week, which was certainly not the time of the

Pharisee's entertainment.—(3) The warning to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees (Luke xii. 1), and the similar warning (Matt. xvi. 6, Mark viii. 15). The occasions were different, though both were perfectly appropriate; and the saying itself was well fitted for repetition.—(4) The words of Jesus in Luke xii. 2, 3, and the similar words in Matt. x. 26 sqq.—And lastly, (5) certain gnomic sentences in the discourse contained in Luke xiii. 22 sqq., which are also found in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. vii. 13 and 21, viii. 11, etc.).

4. The words, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, etc.," do not seem likely to have been repeated; and as Matthew gives the precise time and occasion, we may conclude that Luke attached them to the previous discourse on account of the subject-matter alone.

§ 23.

COMPARISON OF THE SEQUENCE IN LUKE WITH THAT OF MATTHEW AND MARK.

As Luke gives very little information respecting the order of occurrence, and what he gives is also found in Matthew and Mark, we learn but little new from him. His 1st and 3d chains belong to the *Syndesm S.*, his 2d, 4th, and 8th to G., his 5th to D., his 6th to T.; his 7th, 9th, and 10th remaining unattached. From the addition of the 1st and 3d to S. we obtain the following results:—

1. The occurrence in the *synagogue at Nazareth* took place before Jesus removed to Capernaum.

2. The *raising of the young man at Nain* occurred the day after the healing of the ruler's servant (probably on the way to the desert).

3. The *choice of the disciples* preceded the Sermon on the Mount; and the *short section a* (*vide p. 94*) is therefore to be added to the *Syndesm S.*

4. The short section *d* (mission of the disciples of John) comes after the raising of the young man at Nain, and closes the *Syndesm S.*

The *Syndesm S.* will therefore assume the following form:—

Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth.

Removal to Capernaum.

Call of four disciples.

Choice of the twelve. Sermon on the Mount.

Man with the palsy healed on descending from the Mount.

The housemates of Jesus try to take Him (Mark—in the inn).

Jesus goes to Capernaum. The centurion's servant.

The man possessed in the synagogue.

Peter's mother-in-law.

Journey into the desert the following day. The young man of Nain (on the road).

Shortly afterwards, the mission of John's disciples.

But the *Syndesm* G. must come before the Sermon on the Mount and the selection of the twelve, since it contains the call of Levi; consequently, S. and G. together form but one *syndesm*. This we will call A., viz. :—

SYNDESM A.

S. *Jesus goes to Nazareth.*

Removes to Capernaum. (Call of the four.)

G. *His stay there.* (Blind and dumb. Charge of league with Beelzebub. Pharisees ask for signs. Mother and brethren.)

Journey to Gadara. (Scribe, who wishes to follow. Parables. Tempest. Gadarenes. Discourse on fasting. Jairus' daughter, etc. Blind men. Dumb man possessed.)

Fresh stay in Capernaum. (Man with palsy. Call of Levi. "Is not this the carpenter's son?")

S. *Sermon on the Mount*, preceded by the selection of the twelve disciples.¹ (Leper. Centurion's servant. Man possessed. Peter's mother-in-law. Jesus goes into the desert.)

There is also the mass of unconnected passages, peculiar to Luke, which we call L.

CHAPTER V.

GOSPEL OF JOHN.

§ 24.

PLAN AND ARRANGEMENT.

In John too we seek for a plan. There is an excellent earlier work treating of this subject by Frommann (on the Genuineness and In-

¹ There is nothing surprising in the fact that previous to the choice of the twelve, viz., at the stilling of the tempest, and the meal in Levi's house, "His disciples" should be referred to. There must naturally have been *disciples*, before Jesus could select the more intimate circle of twelve from their number. The call of six different disciples (John i. and Matt. iv.) actually took place *before* the stilling of the storm.—The expression, "the twelve," does not occur in any one of the accounts which, according to our conclusion, *precede* the selection of the twelve.

tegrity of the Gospel of John, in *Ullm. Stud. und Krit.* 40-4). Frommann properly starts with the supposition that the 1st Epistle of John accompanied the Gospel and introduced it to the readers. In fact, if we once admit that the Gospel and the 1st Epistle were the productions of the same author, it is much more natural to interpret the first three verses of the Epistle as relating to the account which the Gospel contains of what the writer had "seen and heard and handled," than to regard them as relating to the (doctrinal) contents of the 1st Epistle itself. We may gather, then, from this Epistle, that John wrote to churches in which the *true* faith did not *universally* exist,¹ but which he was desirous of leading to the faith in the same manner in which he had himself been brought to it, namely, by *looking at the Word made flesh*.

We obtain essentially the same result if we look altogether away from the question, whether the Gospel and the 1st Epistle of John had the same author, and confine ourselves to the Gospel alone. For in chap. xx. 31 the *circle of readers* is described as one to which the author writes, *that they might believe, and believing, might have life*; and hence the right faith did not yet exist among them. The manner in which he hopes to excite the faith, which he knew to be wanting, is evident from chap. i. 1-18, and especially from vers. 14-16. He speaks of the Logos, which was with God and was God, through whom all things were made, who was from the beginning the *life* of men and the *light* of men, but was not comprehended (accepted) by the *darkness* into which it shone. Of this Logos he says, that it had become flesh, and had been seen by him, as one in whom the *δόξα* of the Father had appeared, full of grace and truth. He also says (ver. 16), that he had felt in himself the life-giving power of the Logos. He then (vers. 17, 18) finishes the paragraph with two parallel clauses:—

- (1.) The *law* was given by Moses: *grace and truth became (geworden, ἐγένετο) through Christ.*
- (2.) God (as He is directly contrasted with man, on the *footing of the law*, in which the light was thoroughly kept back by the darkness) is invisible. "No man hath seen God at any

¹ The arguments are confessedly directed chiefly against *Docetism* and *Gnosticism* on the one hand, and against the *want of love* (which is so often connected with fruitless speculation) on the other. The writer has evidently Docetism in view in John i. 14 and xix. 34. It cannot be proved that he alluded to any particular Gnostics, such as those of the second century, with their elaborate systems. Thiersch has shown that the writings of John are unquestionably directed against the first wild, demoniac, form of Gnosticism, such as we find alluded to in the 2d Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, the pastoral Epistles, and the Revelation,—a form which is only conceivable in the first century.

time:" the *Son* has for the first time revealed His essential nature.

The design of the Evangelist, then, can have been no other than this: to set before his hearers the incarnate Logos, the illuminating, quickening *light*, just as He had appeared to him, that they also might *receive* Him (cf. ver. 12); in other words, to set Jesus forth, as the manifestation of the *δόξα* of the Father.

Here lies, then, the essential distinction between John and the Synoptists. The latter had to do with opponents outside the Church, the former with those within. Matthew exhibits the New Testament revelation in its identity with the Old; Mark, in its simple exalted contrast with the follies of Heathenism. Luke, indeed, appears to have had in view the conflict between apostolical Christianity (Acts xv.) and the false teachers among the Jewish Christians, or, at all events, the form of Christian doctrine as developed by the Apostle Paul. John, on the other hand, in opposition to the unbridled subjectivity and antinomianism of the first Gnostics, upholds the *objective reality of the incarnation of God in Christ*. He has consequently a more artistic and conscious plan than the Synoptists. He not merely places the figure of Christ in His *δόξα* before the view of his readers, as Mark has done; but carries through the conception and idea of the *eternal δόξα made truly visible in the historical Jesus* in conscious opposition to the erroneous ideas of the Gnostics with regard to the relation between the eternal Logos and the temporal appearance of Jesus. To him the glory of Christ is not an object of phantasy, but of *speculation*. And since the object to be set forth by him is the relation between the history of Jesus Christ and the eternal existence of the Logos with the Father, he passes beyond the historical appearance, and introduces the super-terrestrial and super-historical opposition between the Father and kingdom of light, and the father and kingdom of darkness. He sets out, therefore, with definite speculative *momenta*; and by these his arrangement is consciously determined.

What are these *momenta*? In the *proœmium* we find *three leading thoughts*: *a.* In Jesus the *δόξα* of the Father, or Jesus the Logos; *b.* The conflict between the light and the darkness; *c.* The testimony of John.¹ In carrying this out, the testimony of John had naturally to

¹ The last appears to stand in a very isolated position by the side of the other two; a purely historical element in association with others of a speculative character. But ver. 8 must not be overlooked. John the Baptist was *not the light*, but simply *bore witness of the light*. Compare ver. 17, and it becomes perfectly obvious that the author has in his mind the contrast between the standpoint of the

be placed first, on account of its position in the order of time. In the subsequent course of the actual life of Jesus, the two other points (the manifestation of the glory, and the conflict) might be brought out side by side. Only so much is evident, that John would necessarily select such events as served to illustrate clearly some one of these points. *Frommann* is, therefore, perfectly correct, when he assigns as the reason why John chiefly confined himself to the visits to Jerusalem and the journeys thither, the fact that his design was to depict the conflict between Jesus and the "darkness," and His ultimate victory through apparent defeat. It was in Jerusalem that the power of the darkness was concentrated; and the appearance of Jesus there had ten times the importance that it had in Galilee. In Jerusalem all was at stake. The three journeys to the Passover, especially, form three *leading epochs* in the advancing conflict.

We know, therefore, at the outset, what we have to expect in relation to chronological order. From John's design alone it is clear enough, that he intended the different journeys to the feasts to be regarded as occurring in succession. And this is also apparent from the manner in which occurrences are linked together. For example, we do not find in John a number of short, loosely connected, and separable incidents; he gives for the most part long and elaborate accounts. He never omits to mention the place (*e.g.*, "He remained in Galilee;" "But when His brethren were gone up, then went He also up to the feast;" "In the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple;" "Jesus went to the Mount of Olives;" "He came again into the temple;" "He went out of the temple." Chap. vii. 9, 10, 14; viii. 1, 2, 59). Thus all the events which occurred upon one particular journey are linked together by distinct notices of the way in which Jesus proceeded from place to place.—The simple question, therefore, is,

Law and that of the Gospel. John, the Israelitish prophet, like Moses, the Israelitish lawgiver, had merely the commission to bear witness of the light. The Old Testament theocracy was merely preliminary, not an essential part. (The same thought occurs in Gal. iii. 24, in another form; in Paul psychological, in John speculative and historical.) The connection between vers. 5 and 6 is now perfectly clear. Ver. 5 relates to a time *before* the Logos became flesh. It shone in the darkness, but as something altogether distinct and foreign. The Logos, therefore, was present in the Old Covenant: the truth was there, but as something rigid, foreign, unattained, as *law* only; whilst the hope of future mediation was given in *prophecy*. John passes, therefore, quite naturally from ver. 5 to the crowning point of the Old Testament development, viz., to John the Baptist: to his person and testimony.—Vers. 9 sqq. contain a totally different thought from ver. 5. In ver. 5 we have the *shining* of the light into darkness, which rejects it; in vers. 9 sqq., the *coming* of the light into the world, *εἰς τὰ ἴδια*, by which it is *not received*.

whether the different journeys are arranged without regard to chronological order, and whether some journeys may not be omitted altogether.

Both are improbable ; first, because John is accustomed to notice the time and place with such great exactness ; and again, because he gives not only links of connection, but chronological data also. The different journeys too are linked together by marks of their consecutive order (cf. v. 1, "After this ;" vi. 1, "After these things ;" vii. 1, "After these things." *Vide* also the close connection ; John x. 39, after which follows the last catastrophe). The most decisive, however, are such passages as chaps. iv. 46, vii. 1, where John notices changes of place without recording any particular events. From this it is obvious that local and chronological data were regarded by him as possessing an importance of their own ; and that his design was to write in the order of sequence. These two questions, therefore, only remain : 1. Is the chronological order, as given by John, at variance with that of the Synoptists ? 2. Can the latter be dovetailed into the former ?

There is no necessity, here, for us to construct a table similar to that which we have drawn up in the case of each of the Synoptists, as there are no loose chains to be found in John. At the same time, for convenience in comparing them, we shall give a chronological table of the contents of the Gospel.

| Chap. | Time. | Place. | Event. |
|-------|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| I. | | Bethania (Bethabara). | The priests' question to John. |
| | The next day. | | "Behold the Lamb of God." |
| | The next day. | | Two disciples follow Jesus, and stay with Him till the evening. |
| | (Shortly after.) The next day. | On the journey to Galilee, i. 43. | Simon comes to Jesus. Jesus finds Philip, and Philip Nathanael. |
| II. | The third day (after setting out), ver. 44 ; the second, therefore, after the last incident. | Cana. | Marriage at Cana. |
| | After this. | Capernaum. | Jesus goes to Capernaum for a short time (ver. 12). |
| III. | PASSOVER. | Jerusalem. | Purification of the temple. Nicodemus. |
| | John the Baptist not yet cast into prison (ver. 24). | Land of Judæa. | Jesus travels about in Judæa ; His disciples baptize. Question put to John by his disciples. |
| IV. | | Journey to Galilee, iv. 3 and 45. | Samaritan woman. |

| Chap. | Time. | Place. | Event. |
|-------|--|--|--|
| V. | After two days. | Canā. | Nobleman from Capernaum. |
| VI. | A FEAST OF THE JEWS. Passover near. | Jerusalem. Over the sea. | Sick man at Bethesda. Feeding the five thousand. Jesus walks upon the sea. |
| VII. | The next day ? PASSOVER. | Capernaum. | Discourse on the bread of heaven. Jesus travels about in Galilee. |
| VIII. | Feast of Tabernacles near. | Jerusalem. | Discourses of Jesus in the temple. (Woman taken in adultery.) |
| IX. | | | Man born blind. |
| X. | | | "The good shepherd." |
| | Feast of Dedication. | Solomon's Porch. Place, where John had baptized. | Discourses of Jesus. Jesus remains there. |
| XI. | | Bethany. | Lazarus raised. Pharisees' counsel, to put Jesus to death. |
| XII. | Six days before the Passover. The next day. PASSOVER. | Again in Bethany. | Mary anoints Jesus. Entrance into Jerusalem. |

§ 25.

SYNOPTICAL COMPARISON OF JOHN AND THE SYNOPTISTS.

In reference to the question, which of these events are to be regarded as identical with similar ones in the Synoptists, we hold *presumptively*, the *introduction of Peter, etc., to the acquaintance of Jesus* (John i.) as *not* identical with *the call of the four disciples*, Matt. iv. De Wette and Strauss do indeed (in spite of the difference of place) maintain the identity of the two facts in this way, that, according to De Wette, John has given the fact in its original form; and according to Strauss, both are myths. De Wette should have shown it to be impossible that Jesus, after becoming acquainted in a slight occasional way with four of John's disciples, could have called them to be His own disciples and permanent attendants when He met them afterwards at home. Strauss does indeed assist us to see clearly the impossibility of this. He maintains it is not true that John speaks only of a passing acquaintance. "Since, if we are to understand the *δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου* in the synoptical narrative and the *ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ* as referring to a permanent following, it is surprising how any one

can take the similar ἀκολουθεῖ μοι in another sense." We reply : it is surprising that a man who writes a life of Jesus has never read the 40th verse. For there it stands plainly written : These disciples remained that whole day with Jesus ; from which any ordinary understanding would conclude that they went away the next day again, and that the ἀκολουθεῖν is here used only of a momentary following.

We shall defer to the Second Division the discussion of the question, whether a repetition of the *cleansing of the temple* was probable.

We have already shown the non-identity of *the nobleman* (John iv.) with *the centurion* and that the occurrence of *both* events involves nothing impossible (*vide* pp. 60–61).

The *anointing by Mary* we regard as identical with the anointing recorded by Matthew and Mark, specially on account of the time when it is said to have occurred. The justification of this view will be found in Division Second.

The *feeding of the five thousand*, and *the walking on the sea*, appear to us identical with the similar occurrences in the Synoptists, because of the connection of events.

§ 26.

SYNOPTICAL COMPARISON OF JOHN AND THE SYNOPTISTS WITH REGARD TO SEQUENCE.

(*The first Syndesm.*—The Journeys to Feasts. The Feast, John v. 1.)

The *syndesms* already obtained from the Synoptists may be fitted into John's arrangement in the following manner, with perfect ease and without distortion :—

1. The Syndesm A. commences after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, and shows, that after a short stay in *Nazareth* (Luke), Jesus removed to *Capernaum*.—Now, where can this be placed in John ? Evidently not after chap. i. 43 ; for, in the first place, we find from chap. iii. 24 that John was not yet cast into prison ; and we also learn from chap. ii. 12, that, although Jesus did go to *Capernaum* for a short time before the first Passover, it was only for a short time.—The removal to Galilee, related in Matt. iv. etc., is rather identical with the journey described in John iv. 3 and 45, which happened *after the first Passover*.—This will explain the statement of John, that the miracle at Cana and the healing of the nobleman's servant were the first two miracles that Jesus performed (John ii. 11, iv. 54).

The course of events, therefore, was the following. After the temptation (which occurred, according to the Synoptists, immediately after His baptism), Jesus went into Galilee with two disciples, Philip

and Nathanael, and remained at first for a short time with His mother (John ii. 1 and 12). On the *first Passover* He returned to Judæa, and travelled about there for some time (chap. iii. 22 sqq.). After that, He removed first of all to Nazareth, and then to Capernaum.¹

The first brief sojourn of Jesus in Galilee (John i. 43–ii. 13) is *passed over* by the Synoptists. But when they relate (Matt. iv. 12, etc.), that after John was cast into prison, Jesus went into Galilee, since the time of his imprisonment is evidently adduced as a fixed point, assumed to be familiar to their readers, they give us to understand that, up to that time, Jesus must have been living in *Judæa*. Consequently, they hint as distinctly as John at a stay which Jesus made in *Judæa*, but which was barren of remarkable events (John iii. 22 sqq.).

John, on his side, evidently keeps the Synoptists in view, and takes care to avoid even apparent discrepancies. Thus, in chap. ii. 12, when relating the fact that Jesus went down to Capernaum, he expressly mentions that He did not stay there long, lest the reader should confound this brief visit with the longer stay narrated in Matt. iv. 12 and the parallel passages, and the journey noticed in chap. i. 43 with that described by Matthew. For the same reason, he states in chap. iii. 24, “John was not yet cast into prison,” which says in other words, the facts mentioned in chaps. ii. iii. occurred *before* the imprisonment of John.

But many critics, instead of inferring from the difference in the times a difference in the journeys mentioned in Matt. iv. 12 and John i. 43, take for granted that the journeys are the same, and then from the discrepancies as to time infer contradictions. They even go so far as to attribute to John a distinct intention to contradict the Synoptists (*vid. De Wette*, p. 54).

The only apparent ground for such an assertion is that adduced by *De Wette*, and adopted by *Strauss*, *Bruno Bauer*, *Gfrörer*, and *Bleek*,—viz., that, “according to John ii., Jesus commenced His public ministry in Judæa, whereas Matthew (iv. 12) says that He commenced it in Capernaum.” It is not affirmed, however, in Matt.

¹ The healing of the nobleman’s son must have taken place while Jesus was living at Nazareth. Jesus went over from Nazareth to Cana (John iv. 46), and there the nobleman, who may have become acquainted with Him during His first stay there (ii. 12), came and presented his request. It can hardly have taken place after Jesus had taken up His fixed abode at Capernaum; in which case the nobleman would have merely sent after Him to Cana. The former is supported by the expression, “when he heard,” etc. (ver. 47), and especially by the words, “after two days,” in ver. 43.

iv. 12 that Jesus commenced *His ministry* after the imprisonment of the Baptist, but merely that He then removed to Galilee and Capernaum. *Bleek* appeals to Matt. iv. 17; but even there it is not stated that Jesus began to preach for the first time in Capernaum, but that He then began in Capernaum "*to preach, and to say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.*" With this kind of preaching, therefore,—viz., a direct announcement that the fulfilment of the prophecies of the establishment of the kingdom of Jehovah was close at hand, and a direct appeal to rally round Himself as the founder of this kingdom,—Jesus certainly cannot previously have commenced in Judæa. That is to say, He cannot have appeared in Judæa as a *Rabbi*, collecting a circle of disciples publicly and expressly for such a purpose as this. But even John says nothing about any public ministry of *this kind* in Judæa. A public ministry in another sense, John certainly does say that Jesus had already commenced in Judæa. It is true, the first sign which Jesus gave, occurred in a family circle; and even the disciples that He gathered round Him (John i. 37 sqq.) were attracted in the unpretending form of private friendship; they did not remain constantly with Him, but merely accompanied Him from time to time, particularly on the two journeys mentioned in John ii. 1 and iii. 22. But on the second of these journeys, Jesus did step forward publicly in Jerusalem, when He purified the temple; though even then not with a public ministry as *Rabbi*, calling men to enter into the kingdom of God, and commencing an independent Messianic work; but with an act of zeal, such as any unofficial individual might have performed. And we need nothing more than this one act, to explain how it was that the attention of the ruler Nicodemus had been attracted to Jesus. Nothing further remains, therefore, than the two passages, John iii. 22, and iv. 1 sqq., where Jesus is said to have collected a large circle of disciples. Yet even this public ministry at the Jordan (not in Jerusalem) undoubtedly bore the same relation to that which Matthew says He commenced at Capernaum, as the call of the first disciples in Judæa (John i.) to that of the same disciples in Galilee (Matt. iv.). A sufficient clue to this is given in John iv. 2: "Jesus Himself baptized not, but His disciples." It was the disciples of Jesus, who had formerly been John the Baptist's disciples, who here began to baptize in the neighbourhood of the Baptist himself. They evidently considered it their duty to work for their Lord in the same manner as he did. At all events, they worked in the same form as the Baptist. And as those whom the latter baptized returned to their homes, and did not continue with him; so, no doubt, did those whom the disciples of Jesus baptized go back to their homes.

And, like the Baptist, the disciples of Jesus also contented themselves with pointing once for all to the Lamb of God. Even here, therefore, no allusion is made to a public ministry of *the same kind* as that which Jesus is said by Matthew to have commenced in Capernaum. The disciples followed implicitly the Baptist's form, and Jesus suffered this for a while, but only till it was in danger of growing into a *positive public ministry*, in the full sense of the word, independent of John (John iv. 1 sqq.). Such a ministry it was His purpose to commence in *His own way*, and first of all in Galilee; and He had no wish to be drawn into a publicity at variance with His plans, by the well intended zeal of His disciples.—Thus John iv. 1 sqq. and Matt. iv. 17 are in perfect harmony with each other. The Synoptists pass over these earlier events, and commence their narrative at the point where Jesus enters upon His independent public ministry in Capernaum; that is to say, when He comes forward as Rabbi, having collected around Him a permanent circle of disciples, who live entirely with Him, and making a direct appeal to the people to connect themselves with His work.—The conclusion, therefore, is firmly established, that Matt. iv. 12 is parallel to John iv. 3 and 45.

De Wette is inconsistent when he regards John ii. 12 as identical with Matt. iv. 12, and yet as involving no contradiction. He should by right find here also a discrepancy between the *short* stay in Capernaum and the permanent settlement.—De Wette pronounces it arbitrary in Kuinöl to find in this diversity a new proof that John ii. 12, like John i. 43, cannot be identical with Matt. iv. 12. But is it not arbitrary, when one historian says the fact A happened before the point of time *m*, and another says the fact B happened after *m*, for a critic to say A and B are one, therefore the two authors contradict one another in respect of the time?—The observation in John ii. 12, as also in iii. 24, is *at least as well* explained from a desire to avoid contradiction with the Synoptists, as from an intention to "correct" them. The manner in which Jesus calls the four disciples, Matt. iv. 18, is explained by the earlier brief acquaintance noticed in John i. The "contradiction" that the Synoptists knew nothing of Jesus being at Jerusalem disappears, so far as the beginning of the life of Jesus is concerned, when we observe that by the words, "*after* John was put in prison, Jesus went to stay in Galilee," the Synoptists hint that before that time He had been in Judæa.

2. To settle this latter question,—whether the Synoptists knew of Christ's journeys to the feasts,—we shall (before proceeding to the remaining syndesms) recall to mind the following passages, already noticed in part by De Wette and Tholuck.

a. Matt. xxiii. 37, and Luke xiii. 34: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how *often* would I have gathered thy children!"

b. Matt. xxvii. 57; Luke xix. 38: Joseph of Arimathea, who lived at Jerusalem (for he had a sepulchre there), was a disciple of Jesus.

c. Luke x. 38 sqq.: Jesus is on the most intimate terms with a family residing at Bethany, near to Jerusalem.

d. Matt. iv. 25; Mark iii. 7: "Then followed Him great multitudes from Galilee, and Decapolis, and *Jerusalem*, and Judæa." How came the inhabitants of Judæa and *Jerusalem* to follow Jesus, if He never came to Judæa and Jerusalem? Is it probable that the mere rumour induced a great multitude to set out on a pilgrimage to Galilee, without knowing where He might be found, first to seek Him out and then to follow Him farther? Or, do not the general formulæ employed by Matthew and Mark much rather imply, that Jesus occasionally passed through the places mentioned?

e. Luke occasionally gives as vague indication of time, "It came to pass, as He went to Jerusalem" (compare chap. ix. 51 with xvii. 11). In the former passage, the journey is expressly referred to as the *last*. In the latter, on the other hand, the "going to Jerusalem" is alluded to in an indefinite manner, and without further explanation, as something that was altogether a matter of course.

3. The most important question is, whether in John v. 1, ἐορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων denotes a feast of the Passover. This was the opinion of Calovius, Lightfoot, Chemnitz, and others, after the example of Irenæus and Luther. It is now almost antiquated. In chap. iv. 35 we read; that when Jesus was on His way to Galilee, there wanted four months to the harvest. The first question that arises here is, whether the harvest intended is that of the winter or the summer fruits. The former began in May, the latter in September. Three cases may be supposed. a. We may imagine that the harvest intended is that of the winter fruits in the same year in which the first Passover, mentioned in chap. ii. 13, occurred. But this is altogether out of the question. However early the Passover may have fallen, the journey cannot possibly have taken place before the end of March. What becomes, then, of the four months between the journey and the beginning of May?—b. The harvest of summer fruits in the same year may be the one alluded to. Four months before that time would be the end of April. But we find from chap. iii. 22, that Jesus went to Judæa, tarried there and baptized. And according to John iv. 1, He remained there long enough to baptize "more disciples than John." What becomes of all this time, if He returned at the end of April or beginning of

May? Moreover, at that time the harvest of winter fruits would have just commenced; and would it have been a natural thing to pass this over altogether, and say with reference to the later harvest of summer fruits, "There are yet four months, and then cometh (*the*) harvest?" And would it have been possible for Jesus to add, with any hope of effect, "Lift up your eyes and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest,"—a paradox to be understood of the spiritual harvest, and which had no meaning except *as a paradox*?—*c.* The harvest referred to might have been the harvest of winter fruits which fell in the *following* spring (the time of the second Passover). Jesus must in this case have remained in Jerusalem (Judæa?) till the end of December or beginning of January. In January He would have come into Galilee; and in that month the healing of the nobleman's son would have occurred. The feast, therefore, which followed shortly after might have been either a Passover or a feast of Purim, but not a feast of Dedication.

Against the supposition that it was a feast of the Passover, we may adduce not merely the fact that another feast of the Passover is mentioned directly¹ afterward (chap. vi. 4), but the term applied to it, *ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, without the article. Not the slightest reason can be given why a Passover should ever have been spoken of in this way, and especially why John should have departed from his usual mode of speaking of it in this particular place.² The most probable conclusion, then, is, that the feast referred to was the *feast of Purim*, which happened about a month before the Passover; not, however, for the reason assigned by *Hug*, that *ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* means *the* feast of the Jews, the one feast which peculiarly affected the Jews and their deliverance, but because no other feast occurred between January and March of comparatively minor importance.

Still a *second* question has to be disposed of: Does John iv. 35 furnish a chronological datum at all? *Krafft* refers to the analogous *λέγετε* in Matt. xvi. 2, and maintains the possibility, and probability, that the words quoted by Jesus may have been a common *proverbial saying*, which could only be used in ordinary cases at seed-time ("yet four months"), but which Jesus might apply in a figurative sense to any other time of the year. The common saying ran thus: "There are four months from seed-time to harvest;" Jesus says (alluding to the rapid conversion of the Samaritans), "In My spiritual field there

¹ Though it would be by no means *impossible* that John, who passes over the events which happened in Galilee almost without exception, should have passed by a whole year spent in Galilee.

² *Vid.* John ii. 13, 23, vi. 4, xi. 55, xii. 1, xiii.

is a far shorter interval between the seed-time and the harvest." In this case it still remains a possible thing, that the feast alluded to may have been a *feast of Tabernacles*; a conclusion which *Krafft* defends on internal grounds that are well deserving of consideration. The feast of Tabernacles was a humiliating memorial of the thirty-eight years spent as a punishment in the desert. There was certainly a typical parallel between the thirty-eight years' disease which sin had brought upon the impotent man (chap. v. 14) and the thirty-eight years of punishment in the desert, even as between the deliverer Joshua and the deliverer Jesus. And the warning given by Jesus in chap. v. 14 was a warning addressed to the whole of Israel, not to reject Him, the true Joshua, lest a worse judgment should come upon them.

But if the feast mentioned in chap. v. 1 was the feast of Tabernacles, it could not have been the one which followed the *first* Passover (John ii. 13); for the large *Syndesm A.* cannot possibly be placed between the Passover and feast of Tabernacles of the same year. It embraces a lengthened stay in Judæa, a journey to Galilee, a sojourn in Nazareth, a removal to Capernaum, and a prolonged stay there broken up by several journeys. There must, therefore, have been another feast of the Passover, between the two mentioned in John ii. 13 and John vi. 4. And in Luke vi. 1 there is an evident allusion to such a feast (*vid.* p. 115).

§ 27.

THE REMAINING SYNDESMS.

The *Syndesm A.*, then, is to be placed immediately after the return of Jesus from the first Passover. If we call the year in which this Passover occurred (taking the year in our sense, from January to December) the *first year*, the *Syndesm A.* will occupy from January to September of the second year.—(Jesus, having returned to Galilee, *lives in Nazareth*. When paying a visit to Cana, the nobleman comes to him with his petition. The occurrence in the synagogue, related by Luke, induces Him to go to *Capernaum*. Thence He takes a journey to *Gadara*, and, after travelling about, delivers the Sermon on the Mount.)

2. The *Syndesm D.* comes after the feast of Purim, and embraces the Passover of the *third year* (John the Baptist had been beheaded before this).—(Jesus sends out His disciples, awaits their return, goes into the desert, feeds the 5000, walks upon the sea.)

3. This is followed in a short time by the journey to the feast of

Tabernacles, and the journey to the feast of Dedication in the December of the same year. After this, as we learn from John, Jesus went no more into Galilee, but to Peræa, where He remained (with the solitary exception of His journey to Bethany to the raising of Lazarus) till the fourth and last Passover. From the Synoptists also (Syndesm T.) we learn, that before His last sufferings, Jesus went to that part of Peræa which borders upon the land of Judæa, and there remained.

In this way, then, the two would harmonize most perfectly, were it not that, according to John, Jesus went to Peræa from *Jerusalem* (from the feast of Dedication), and according to the Synoptists, from *Galilee*. There are two ways of solving this difficulty. We may assume either that John omits to state that Jesus went first into Galilee once more, or that the Synoptists omit the journey to the feast of Dedication between the discourses on ambition, etc., and the journey to Peræa. The former assumption appears at the very first sight to be extremely forced. Is it likely that John, who is accustomed to describe so minutely the places which Jesus visited, and how often He returned to Galilee, should have completely passed over so long a stay as that which occupies the first half of the Syndesm T.?

But is the second assumption less constrained?—It is true, Matthews says (chap. xix. 1), “When Jesus had finished these sayings, He departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan.” But the apparent harshness and constraint vanish when we look into the matter more closely. It is evident from John, that after the feast of Dedication Jesus did not return any more to Galilee, but spent the whole of the last four months previous to His sufferings in the border country between Peræa and Judæa (John x. 40, xi. 54). Is it so very incredible that Matthew and the rest of the Synoptists, who have not mentioned any of the journeys up to Jerusalem to the feasts, should have omitted also to notice the fact, that on His journey to the northern extremity of the Dead Sea, Jesus passed through Jerusalem, for the purpose of being present at the feast of Dedication? Is it strange, that he should simply have stated generally, that Jesus left Galilee, went to the border country between Judæa and Peræa, and there remained?—The journey to Phœnicia, then, the journey to Decapolis, with the feeding of the 4000, the transfiguration, and the last tour through Galilee, occurred in the autumn of the third year.

Thus we see that, notwithstanding all the freedom with which the Evangelists treat the subordinate question of the *time* when the events occurred, so many separate notices are found, indicative of the order in which different occurrences took place, that whoever applies him-

self to the task with an *honest mind*, interpolating nothing, but confining himself simply to the *definite data* which lie before him, may arrive at a perfectly satisfactory result, as to the course of the life of Jesus. And whoever is not ashamed to believe in a living God, will also not be ashamed to acknowledge the finger of God Himself in this feature of the Gospels, in the possibility of restoring so completely the true order in which the events occurred. And even with regard to the *purely historical credibility* of the Gospels, important conclusions may be drawn from this fact. *Strauss* had his *dreams* about four writers, every one of whom "flattered himself" that he was writing in chronological order, and who nevertheless fell into innumerable contradictions of one another. But we have *found* four writers, three of whom had no intention of writing in chronological order, but yet who have put us in a position, by means of the perfectly natural and unconnected notices which they have scattered here and there, to restore the proper order: an order whose correctness can be thoroughly discerned by the scrutinizing glance of *internal criticism* alone. And in making this assertion, we fearlessly challenge those leaders in scepticism, who affirm that the facts narrated by the Synoptists cannot possibly be made to harmonize with the order of events given by John, and who have made no attempt whatever to accomplish this result, to point out a single instance in which we have failed to adhere closely to the chronological data which the text supplies, or in which we have introduced data that are not to be found in the text itself.

§ 28.

COLLECTIVE RESULT OF THE INVESTIGATION RELATIVE TO ORDER OF SEQUENCE.

The following is the collective result of our investigation, and shows the order in which the whole will be arranged in the Second Division:

| Time and Place. | Events. | Source. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| FIRST YEAR. (Judæa.) | I. JESUS AND JOHN THE BAPTIST. | |
| | Preaching of John. | Synoptists and John. |
| | Baptism of Jesus. | Synoptists. |
| | Temptation. | John. |
| | Testimony of the Baptist. | John. |
| | First meeting with future disciples. | " |

| Time and Place. | Events. | Source. |
|----------------------|--|--------------|
| (Galilee.) | II. JESUS STILL IN HIS PARENTS' HOME. | |
| SECOND YEAR. | Marriage at Cana. Jesus a short time in Capernaum. | John. |
| Passover (Judæa.) | <i>First Passover journey.</i> Purification of the temple. Conversation with Nicodemus. | " |
| | Longer stay in Judæa. Jesus and John the Baptist at the Jordan. | " |
| THIRD YEAR. | <i>Journey to Galilee</i> (after the imprisonment of the Baptist). | " |
| (Samaria.) | Samaritan woman. | " |
| (Nazareth.) | <i>Jesus in Nazareth.</i> Excursion to Cana. The nobleman. | " |
| | Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth. | Luke. |
| | III. JESUS IN CAPERNAUM. | |
| (Capernaum.) | Call of two pair of brethren. (Peter's draught of fishes.) | Synd. G. |
| | Healing of a blind and dumb man. Charge of alliance with Beelzebub. | " |
| | Exclamations of a woman. | " |
| | Pharisees require a sign. | " |
| | The mother and brethren of Jesus want to see Him. | " |
| | <i>Gadarene journey.</i> | |
| | Scribe wishes to follow. | " |
| | Parables. | " |
| | The storm allayed. | " |
| (Gadara.) | Gadarenes. | " |
| (Capernaum.) | Question about fasting. | " |
| | Jairus' daughter, and woman with issue of blood. | " |
| | Two blind men. Dumb man possessed. | " |
| | Man with palsy let down through the roof. | " |
| | Call of Levi, and meal in his house. | " |
| (Nazareth.) | Question, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" | " |
| | <i>Excursion to the scene of the Sermon on the Mount.</i> | Synd. S. |
| | Choice of the twelve disciples. | " |
| | Sermon on the Mount. | " |
| (Galilee.) | Leper. | " |
| | The people in the inn want to take Jesus. | (Mark.) |
| (Capernaum.) | The centurion's servant. | S. |
| | The man possessed in the synagogue. | " |
| | Peter's mother-in-law. | " |
| (Nain.) | Jesus goes into the desert. | " |
| | Young man at Nain. | (Luke.) |
| | Disciples sent by John. | d. |
| | Prayer of Jesus. | b. |
| | IV. TWO JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM. | |
| (Jerusalem.) | <i>Journey to the feast of Tabernacles.</i> | John. |
| | Sick man at Bethesda. | " |
| FOURTH YEAR. | | |
| Passover. | The Twelve sent out. | D. and John. |

| Time and Place. | Events. | Source. |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------|
| (Galilee.) | Fear of Herod. Return of the Twelve. | D. |
| (Lake of Gen- nesareth.) | Feeding of the five thousand. | " |
| (Capernaum.) | Jesus walks on the sea. | " |
| September. | Discourse on the bread of life. | John. |
| (Jerusalem.) | <i>Journey to the feast of Tabernacles.</i> | |
| | Discourses in the temple (the woman taken in adultery). | " |
| | The man born blind. | " |
| | "The good shepherd." | " |
| <i>September to December.</i> | V. LAST STAY IN GALILEE. | |
| | Scribes come from Jerusalem. Discourses. | T. |
| (Phœnicia.) | Canaanitish woman. | " |
| (Decapolis.) | The deaf and dumb man. | " |
| | Feeding of the four thousand. | " |
| | Pharisees require a sign. | " |
| | Conversation about leaven. | " |
| (Bethsaida.) | The man born blind. | " |
| (Cæsarea Philippi.) | Peter's confession. First announcement of suf- fering. | " |
| (Galilee.) | <i>Transfiguration.</i> The boy possessed. | " |
| | <i>Wanderings through Galilee.</i> | |
| | Second announcement of suffering. | " |
| (Capernaum.) | Conversation, who is the greatest. <i>Return.</i> The temple-money. | " |
| | Discourses on ambition and offences. | " |
| | VI. JESUS IN THE BORDER COUNTRY BETWEEN JUDÆA AND PERÆA. | |
| (Jerusalem.) | <i>Feast of Dedication.</i> Discourses in Solomon's Porch. | John. |
| (Jordan.) | Conversation on divorce. | T. |
| | Little children brought. | " |
| FIFTH YEAR. | | |
| (Bethany.) | Raising of Lazarus. | John. |
| (Jordan.) | <i>Journey to Jerusalem.</i> | T. |
| | "Good Master." | " |
| | Parable of the labourers in the vineyard. | " |
| | Words of Peter: "Lord, we have forsaken all." | " |
| | Third announcement of suffering. | " |
| | Request of the sons of Zebedee. | " |
| (Jericho.) | Blind men of Jericho. Zacchæus. | " |
| | ENTRANCE INTO JERUSALEM. ¹ | |

¹ The incidents which we find, particularly in Luke, without any *data* indicative of their relation to one another and to the other accounts, must be placed somewhere between IV. and V. They are the following:—The rubbing of the ears of corn: the withered hand: the anointing by the woman that was a sinner: the incident in Samaria: the mission and return of the seventy disciples: the scribe (Luke x.): the good Samaritan: Mary and Martha: discourse on prayer: the meal in the Pharisee's house: discourse in Luke xi. 7 sqq.: Jesus asked to arbitrate, consequent discourse: report of the massacre of the Galileans: the impotent man: similitudes of the kingdom of heaven (Luke xiii.): "the strait gate:" warning against Herod: man with dropsy, and subsequent discourse: parables and discourses, Luke xvi.—xvii.: ten lepers: eschatological discourses: the unjust judge: Pharisee and publican.

Before passing from this subject, we must just call attention to the *internal fitness* of this result, the order and unity which it gives to the work of Christ. From His removal to Capernaum onwards, the whole may be divided into *three periods*. In the *first period* (from the autumn of the second year to the autumn of the third), Jesus manifests Himself in *Galilee* as RABBI, announces that the kingdom of God has come, and seeks to make men disciples, or members of that kingdom. He invites them, by their own *conversion* (*μετάνοια*), to render the establishment of the long-promised kingdom of God a possible event. This has its *culminating point* (not its starting point) in the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus did not commence in this majestic manner, with His royal edict, without further preparation. He waited till His *unassuming* ministry had collected a large number round Him, and *then* promulgated the fundamental law of His kingdom. Then also, when a separation between those who had been converted and those who had not, could no longer be delayed, He formally *organized* His attendants and His labours, by selecting *twelve* from the whole number of His followers, to be His special messengers.—From this point we enter the *second period* of His ministry, which extends to the autumn of the fourth year. He now comes forward with power and energy among the people, and enters thoroughly into the *spiritual war* with the nation. He formally sends out His disciples into the towns; He repeatedly appears in Jerusalem, and proclaims Himself as Messiah. By a series of the most stupendous miracles, He seeks to arouse the people. In a word, He endeavours to win by conquest the conversion of Israel. But Israel hardens itself *en masse*; and its opposition is concentrated and organized. This second period is concluded with the *transfiguration*, in which the lawgiver and the prophet offer to Him the homage and the recognition which the hardened nation has refused.—In the *third period*, from the harvest of the fourth year till the Passover of the fifth, He *retires into solitude* (with the single exception of the feast of Dedication, at which He makes a last attempt to convert the people), and directs all His energies to the preparation of His *disciples* for their future calling as witnesses to Israel. His hour being now come, He places Himself freely in the hands of His enemies.

We now pass to the Chronology of the Gospels, from which we shall gain a significant confirmation of the results at which we have arrived on the subject of Sequence.

CHAPTER VI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOSPELS.

§ 29.

THE TAXING OF QUIRINIUS.

THE first chronological *datum* furnished in the New Testament (for the purpose of determining the time when Christ was born), is the *taxing of Quirinius* (Luke ii. 1 sqq.). The second and more complicated one serves to indicate the year in which *John the Baptist* commenced his ministry. The difficulties raised from time immemorial respecting the *taxing of Quirinius*, and lately revived by *Strauss* and *Bruno Bauer*, may be resolved into the four following questions:

1. Did Augustus ever issue an ἀπογραφὴ embracing the whole empire?
2. Could Judæa be taxed under Herod?
3. Has Luke confounded the taxing under Herod with the later one by Quirinius?
4. How did it happen that Joseph and Mary had to travel to their native place on account of the taxing?

The *first* question has reference to the fact, that no contemporaneous author gives any account of an edict issued by Augustus for the taxation of the whole empire. The *second* relates to the circumstance, that in countries not yet reduced *in formam provinciæ*, but governed by *regibus sociis* (as Judæa was under Herod the Great), the right of taxation belonged to these *regibus sociis*, and not to the Romans. The *third* difficulty arises from the fact, that, according to Josephus (Ant. 18, 1, 1, *cf.* Acts v. 37), Quirinius did not take a *census* in Judæa till the year 11 of the Dionysian era,¹ after the banishment of Archelaus; whereas in the passage in question Luke evidently intends to say, that the *census* took place in the year 5 B.C. according to the same era. The *fourth* rests upon the fact, that, according to the Roman custom, it was neither necessary for men to travel to their native place, nor for women to appear in person at all.

Before proceeding to examine these difficulties more minutely, we would make two preliminary remarks. The first is, that Luke was very well acquainted with the Quirinian census (*vid.* Acts v. 37). The second, that ἀπογράφεσθαι is used both for *taking a census* (*i.e.*,

[¹ *Vid.* note 1, p. 147—ED.]

an account of the different inhabitants and their property) and for imposing a tax (on the basis of such a census). For the latter, the Greeks also used the word ἀποτίμησις.

So far as the *first question* is concerned, we will neither evade it by the forced *exegesis* still retained by Hug, that πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη means the land of Judæa, nor by Lange's view, that "as the taxing edicts, though issued to different provinces at different times, were essentially *one and the same*, Luke may have had in his mind the taxing which took place at that period here and there throughout the Roman empire;" for Luke speaks too distinctly of a δόγμα which was issued in those days, enjoining one single ἀπογραφὴ for the *whole orbis*. We are also willing to grant to Strauss and Bruno Bauer, that the traces of a general census of the empire, which Savigny thought he had discovered in Cassiodorus and Suidas, furnish no certain historical basis; since it is but too probable that the accounts on which the allusions referred to were based, were originally drawn from Luke ii. itself.

Nevertheless, we maintain that there is nothing in the way of the assumption, that Augustus did issue a command to take a census of the whole orbis. In support of this, we appeal to nothing but the *breviarium imperii* spoken of in Tacitus (Ann. 1, 11) and Suetonius (Octav. 101), and so often adduced in this discussion. After the death of Augustus, Tiberius ordered a *libellus* to be read to the Senate, in which *opes publicæ continebantur, quantum civium SOCIORUMQUE in armis; quot classes, regna, provinciæ, TRIBUTA AUT VECTIGALIA et necessitates ac largitiones QUÆ CUNCTA SUA MANU PERSCRIPSERAT AUGUSTUS.*—Strauss thinks, indeed, that "Augustus might have ascertained the number of troops and the amount of money which the Jewish princes had to contribute, without a *Roman census*." But who says anything about a *Roman census*? When the question arises, Why was Joseph obliged to go to Bethlehem? Strauss says, no reason can be discovered; for it was not required by the Roman form of taking a census. So that in one place he says that a Roman census was unnecessary in Palestine, and in another that it was incredible. Very good; the census was *not a Roman one*, so far as Judæa was concerned, but a *Jewish one*, enjoined by the Emperor upon the *rex socius*. For some kind of census must have been taken in the different provinces and social states of the Roman empire, if Augustus was to ascertain the TRIBUTA AUT VECTIGALIA and the *quantum SOCIORUM in armis*.¹ But when Strauss says, "For Judæa, Augustus had the

¹ Cf. Winer, Realwörterbuch ii. p. 470 seq. "The Emperor Augustus possessed a *breviarium imp.*, in which was stated *quantum sociorum in armis*, and Palestine can hardly have been omitted." It is against Winer, then, that Bleek

later Quirinian census in his possession," we simply ask, whether an emperor who attached such importance to the order with which the affairs of the empire were administered, and particularly to this *libellus*, that he wrote out the latter with his own hand, would be likely to wait till one state after another had been reduced in *formam provinciae*? or whether it is probable that, so far as Judæa especially was concerned, he contented himself to govern for *two and forty* years without a census, until in the 43d year an Archelaus happened to be banished? It is certainly far more probable, that if Augustus wished to know the number of the *cives* and *socii in armis*, etc., he immediately made his wishes known to the proconsuls and allied kings throughout the empire. And this is what Luke says he did in the year 5 B.C. of the Dionysian era, *i.e.*, in the 27th or 28th year of his reign.

"But no contemporaneous author makes any allusion to the fact." The reason why *Josephus* is silent, has been satisfactorily explained by *Hug.* Apart from him, with the exception of *Suetonius*, who writes with the utmost brevity, we have no other history of this particular period; since there is a gap in *Dio Cassius* at this very point, of no less than ten years. But without laying stress upon this, is it so general a custom with historians to record such *purely administrative* proceedings,—we might almost say, such police regulations? If it had been the imposition of a *tax*, this might also have had a political aspect; it would have been an important step towards the annihilation of a social state; but we know that ἀπογραφή may, and does mean a *census*. A command to draw up an account of the population, and the persons liable to taxation, could be issued with a stroke of the pen. It would cause so little excitement, and appear to a *Roman* author a matter of such trifling importance, that the silence of ten authors would not be surprising, much less that of one compendious biographer.

The foregoing remarks also furnish a reply to the *second* question, whether *Augustus* could take such a census in the country of a *rex socius*? We have already answered the objection that a *Roman taxation* was impossible in the country of a *rex socius*, by the repeated remark, that nothing in the world compels us to think of *taxation*, but that it is to a simple *census* that reference is made. Moreover, as *Winer* has said, "the institution of such an ἀπογραφή was by no means at variance with the political relation in which Herod stood to should direct his remark, that "it was not necessary to number the *whole of the inhabitants* in order to ascertain *quantum civium in armis*." But what does *Bleek* do with the *tributa et vectigalia*? Was it the *soldiers* only who paid taxes?

the empire;" and even if the census had been ordered for the purpose of a future Roman taxation, "the possibility of such a census could not be absolutely denied."¹—But lastly, we remark that the journey of Joseph to Bethlehem is sufficient of itself to prove that the census was taken in the *Jewish* form.

This also sets at rest one part of the *fourth* difficulty, viz., that Joseph went to Bethlehem, which was not necessary according to the Roman custom. The difficulties are all solved by the same assumption, that so far as Judæa was concerned, the census was taken in the *Jewish* form. This explains both how such a census could be taken in Herod's country and yet by order of Augustus, and also why Joseph should go to Bethlehem.—Passing on to the second part of the *fourth* question, viz., *why Mary was obliged to go with Joseph to Bethlehem*, it seems strange that, after *Tholuck* has defended the *Jewish* form as explanatory of Joseph's journey, he should explain *Mary's* journey by conceding to his opponents the *Roman* form, "which required the attendance of women."² For only one of the two forms can have been adopted; not the *Jewish* for Joseph, and the *Roman* for Mary. Let us keep, therefore, to the *Jewish*. And so far as Mary's journey is concerned, all necessity for conjecture is removed, if we simply read what Luke has so plainly written. After assigning the reason for Joseph's journey, "because he was of the house and lineage of David," he adds, that he went with Mary οὔση ἐγκύω. It was not on account of the census, therefore, that Mary went; but Joseph went to Bethlehem, and took Mary with him, because she was with child. No explanation, certainly, is needed of the fact, that in such agitated times, in the midst of a census, when confusion and disturbance might well be apprehended, Joseph should prefer to take Mary with him, rather than leave her among strangers when so near to her confinement; especially as he could not know beforehand that he should find no lodgings in Bethlehem.

The *third* difficulty only remains. Luke says, "This census was taken, as the first, when Quirinius was proconsul of Syria," and yet the well-known taxation under Quirinius did not take place till A.D. 11. Now, it is evident from Acts v. 37, as compared with Josephus, Ant.

¹ Among the passages cited by *Winer* (Josephus, Ant. 16, 4, 1; 17, 5, 8; 17, 2, 4; 16, 9, 3), see especially the last. Augustus γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται. (Wrote to Herod that whereas of old he had used him as a friend he should now use him as a subject.)

² *Winer* has correctly pointed out, that from what Dionysius Halic. has said (Ant. Rom. 4, 15), it merely follows that the women *were included*, not that they had to appear in person.

18, 1, 1; 20, 5, 2; B. J. 2, 9, 1, that Luke was not only acquainted with this latter taxation, but knew all the circumstances attending it; and it is perfectly inconceivable, therefore, that he should have been ignorant of the *time*, especially as in Acts v. 37 he calls it ἡ ἀπογραφὴ, “the taxing,”—the one, notorious taxing, the taxing κατ’ ἐξοχὴν.

For this reason, *Winer* assumes, as *Casaubon*, *Grotius*, and others had done, that *Quirinius*, who was at that very time (5 B.C.) in the East as a *magistratus extraordinarius* (Tac. Ann. 3, 48), took a census in Judæa by the express command of *Augustus*. But he guards himself against the false exegesis of his predecessors, who have endeavoured to explain ἡγεμονεύειν, as indicating an extraordinary magistracy of this description. “*Ἡγεμονεύειν τῆς Συρίας*,” he says, “can only mean to rule over Syria, not to hold a superior office in Syria;”—and we might add, how is it credible that *Luke*, who was acquainted with the later census taken under the proconsulate of *Quirinius*, should have failed to distinguish it from a former one taken by *Quirinius*, but not as proconsul; and still more, that he should have used the ambiguous misleading word ἡγεμονεύειν? *Winer*, therefore, is not disinclined to adopt the conclusion, that *Quirinius* had already taken a census as *magistratus extraordinarius*; but he also assumes that *Luke* was mistaken as to the ἡγεμονεύειν, and thought that *Quirinius* was proconsul when he took the earlier census.¹

But it is still as inconceivable as ever that *Luke*, who was so thoroughly acquainted with the minute details of the later taxing, should have been ignorant of the time when *Quirinius* was proconsul, and should have added nothing to distinguish the first unknown and fruitless census from the later and more celebrated taxing. And had he really thought that *Quirinius* was proconsul when the first ἀπογραφὴ was made, he would have written αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἦν ἡ πρώτη τοῦ Κυρηναίου τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμενεύοντος. *Winer’s* supposition, therefore, does not meet the difficulty. The contradiction would still remain, that in Acts v. 37 *Luke* shows that he was acquainted with the “taxing” by *Quirinius* in the year 11 A.D., and therefore ought to make some distinction between this and the census taken before;

¹ [There is good reason to believe that *Quirinius* really was proconsul at the time of our Saviour’s birth as well as at the subsequent period. The reader will find a full discussion of the point in a work by Aug. Wilhelm Zumpt, *Commentationum Epigraphicarum ad antiquitates Romanas pertinentium*, vol. ii., Berolini 1854. It is there shown (pp. 88–107) that there occurs a blank in the succession of Syrian proconsuls at that period, and a variety of proofs are adduced that the blank should be filled up by the name of *Quirinius*.—ED.]

and nevertheless he speaks in the Gospel, chap. ii. 2, of the census taken 5 B.C. as happening in the proconsulate of Quirinius, as if the two were perfectly identical.

We do not stop to discuss the various perversions of the text, by which it has been attempted to bring a different sense out of Luke ii. 2, such as taking *πρώτη ἡγεμονεύοντος* for *πρὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονεύειν*, etc., etc. They are quite unnecessary, as the simplest and easiest solution lies close at hand. We have already pointed out (p. 100, 101) that Luke added the word *πρώτη*, for the purpose of showing that at the very time when Christ was born, the first steps were taken towards a *new and unheard-of* humiliation of the people of the theocracy. "The census took place (and that as the *first*) when Quirinius," etc.

If *πρώτη* is disposed of in this manner, the question arises, How are we to explain the rest? Two inferences may be drawn, as we have seen, from Acts v. 37: *first*, that since the third Gospel and the Acts were written by the same author, it is certain that Luke cannot have fallen into an anachronism, and ante-dated the Quirinian census taken in 11 A.D.; and *secondly*, that when Luke speaks of a census which was taken at the time of Christ's birth, he must have *made a distinction* between this and the later Quirinian census, which he calls in Acts v. 37 *ἡ ἀπογραφὴ*, the census *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*. The true explanation must be one which is in harmony with these two propositions. *Paulus* has given it already. He does not "*alter*" *αὐτή* into *αὐτή*, as *Winer* says,—for there was no alteration required, since Luke's autograph read, not *αὐτή* or *αὐτή*, but *ΑΤΤΗ*; but he accentuates the indefinite *ΑΤΤΗ* as *αὐτή*: "*The taxing itself* took place when Quirinius," etc. In this way, then, Luke indicates the relation between the *ἀπογραφὴ* in Luke ii. 1 and the Quirinian census.

The following was the simple state of the case. Augustus issued an edict (affecting the administration), that throughout the whole empire, and in the allied states, *accounts* should be taken of the number of the inhabitants, and (what might easily be connected with them) of the property and liability to taxation. Although in allied states like Judæa the accounts were taken by the allied rulers according to the national custom, the simplest politician could easily foresee, that Augustus was keeping quietly in the background an intention to reduce these states gradually, as occasion might offer, into the condition of provinces, and to enforce the *Roman taxation*. In Judæa, as is well known, this was accomplished through Quirinius, on the banishment of Archelaus.¹

¹ There were *three* distinct events, therefore: 1. The publication of the edict, that a *census* should be taken by *degrees* throughout the entire *orbis terrarum*; 2.

The design of Luke was to show how the birth of the Messiah and the spiritual deliverance of Israel coincided with the time of their political bondage. And he had certainly a perfect right to regard the census as essentially one with the Quirinian taxation (which was unquestionably based upon the census), and to treat the census as the first step towards the taxation. It was only in this light that the census, which was taken according to the Jewish form, could be regarded as the commencement of the bondage of Israel. But he wishes the reader to look at it in *the same light*. Hence he adds a parenthesis to the notice of "the Emperor's dogma," to the effect that "the ἀπογραφὴ itself took place—as the first—under the proconsulate of Quirinius." In Luke's view, therefore, the Quirinian taxation bore the same relation to the census of Augustus, as "the occurrence of the ἀπογραφὴ itself" to the "issuing of the edict for an ἀπογραφὴ." Now an ἀπογράφεσθαι (in the form of a census) occurred at the time of Jesus' birth. But as ἀπογραφὴ has also the fuller meaning of a *tax*, Luke could employ it in this *double sense*, to show that the ἀπογραφὴ which commenced in the census of Augustus was completed in the Quirinian taxation. And for the very same reason, it would not have done to use the word ἀποτίμῃσις, since his direct intention was to show, that the census was one and the same act with the subsequent taxation.—In this way πρώτη receives a meaning; the construction becomes clear; the whole design of the passage is obvious; the lexicon signification of the words and the grammatical construction are retained; the history is perfectly harmonious; and, above all, the discrepancy which Strauss and others point out, viz., that what Luke knew perfectly well when he wrote Acts v. 37, he did not know when he wrote Luke ii. 1 sqq., is entirely removed.¹

the taking of this census in Judæa under Herod; 3. the enforcement of a *tax* throughout the whole empire (in Judæa, about the year 11), for which the edict had prepared the way.—In ver. 2, Luke merely distinguishes the third (not the second) from the first.—The objection brought against me by Wieseler may easily be disposed of. The edict mentioned in ver. 1 I regard as one affecting the entire *orbis terrarum*. But there is nothing at variance with this, in the fact that Luke should regard the *subsequent* and *gradual* enforcement of a Roman tax as the final result of the edict previously issued, enjoining a census alone; and it seems to me perfectly natural that, in stating the time when the tax was enforced, he should mention Judæa alone.

¹ If ver. 1 does not refer to a census taken under Herod the Great, Joseph's journey to Bethlehem is simply incomprehensible. A Galilean, living under the Galilean tetrarch Herod Antipas, even though Bethlehem were his native place, would certainly not have been required to travel into the land of Judæa, which was under another ruler.

§ 30.

LYSANIAS OF ABILENE.

The time in which John the Baptist commenced his ministry is described very minutely in Luke iii. 1, viz. :—

1. When Pontius Pilate was governor in Judæa.
2. During the tetrarchy of Herod (Antipas) in Galilee.
3. During the tetrarchy of Philip in Ituræa and Trachonitis.
4. During the tetrarchy of Lysanias in Abilene.
5. During the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas.
6. In the 15th year of Tiberius.

Apart from No. 4, it is admitted that all these data perfectly coincide. *Pontius Pilate* was governor of Judæa from about the year A.D. 25 to 36,¹ i.e., from the 12th to the 23d year of Tiberius. *Herod Antipas*² was tetrarch of Galilee from the year 1 (Dionysian era) to the death of the Emperor Tiberius (i.e., during the whole of his reign and some time previously). *Philip* reigned from the year 1 (Dionysian era) to the 19th year of Tiberius (A.D. 33).—On account of his influence, *Annas* was regarded as high priest, as well as *Caiaphas*, even after his deposition.³ *Caiaphas* had been created high priest by *Valerius Gratus*, A.D. 25 (the 11th year of Tiberius⁴), and continued so till the year 36, when he was deposed by the proconsul *Vitellius*.⁵

So far, the data all agree. But this does not appear to be the case with *Lysanias of Abilene*. *Strauss* informs us that “*Josephus* speaks of an Ἀβὶλα ἡ Δυσανίου; and mentions a *Lysanias*, who was governor of *Chalcis* in the *Lebanon*, in the vicinity of which the district of *Abila* is to be sought, and who was therefore *without doubt* the governor of *Abila* also. But this *Lysanias* was put to death by command of *Cleopatra* 34 years before Christ. No other *Lysanias* is mentioned by *Josephus*, or by any other writer of that age.” In proof of all this, he cites a number of passages from *Josephus* and *Dio Cassius*, most of which are to be found in *Winer's Realwörterbuch*, pp. 9, 10. We will look closely at these citations.

1. From the *Antiquities* (14, 7, 4) we learn that a *Ptolemy*, son of *Mennæus*, ruled over *Chalcis* (in the *Lebanon*): “*Ptolemy* the

¹ Vide *Josephus*, Ant. 18, 4, 1, and 2 and 3.

² Cf. the passages from *Josephus* in *Raumer's Palästina*, pp. 290 sqq. *Idem* for *Philip*.

³ Cf. John xviii. 13; Acts iv. 6.

⁴ *Josephus*, Ant. 18, 2, 2.

⁵ *Josephus*, Ant. 18, 4, 3.

son of Mennæus, who was the ruler of Chalcis, under Mount Libanus."¹

2. From the Wars of the Jews (1, 13, 1) we learn that the son and successor of this Ptolemy the son of Mennæus was named *Lysanias*: "Lysanias had already succeeded to the government, upon the death of his father (and he was Ptolemy the son of Mennæus)."

3. In Ant. 15, 4, 1, we read that this very *Lysanias of Chalcis* was put to death by Antony (34 B.C.), at the request of Cleopatra: "She hurried Antony on perpetually to deprive others of their possessions and give them to her. And, as she went over Syria with him, she contrived to get it into her possession; so he slew *Lysanias the son of Ptolemy*, accusing him of his bringing the Parthians upon those countries. She also petitioned Antony to give her Judæa."

4. In Ant. 19, 5, 1, Josephus states that, 75 years afterwards (viz., 41 A.D.), *Agrippa I.* was reinstated by *Claudius* in his ancestral kingdom, and received in addition an "Abila of *Lysanias*." "Now when Claudius had taken out of the way all those soldiers whom he suspected, which he did immediately, he published an edict, and therein confirmed that kingdom to Agrippa which Canis had given him, and therein commended the king highly. He also made an addition to it of all that country over which Herod, who was his grandfather, had reigned, that is, Judæa and Samaria. This he restored to him as due to his family. But for *Abila of Lysanias*, and all that lay at Mount Libanus, he bestowed them upon him, as out of his own territories." Also in the Wars of the Jews (2, 11, 5): "Moreover he bestowed on Agrippa his whole paternal kingdom immediately, and added to it, besides those countries that had been given by Augustus to Herod, Trachonitis and Auranitis; and still besides these, that kingdom which was called the kingdom of *Lysanias*." Compare the similar gift conferred upon Agrippa II. (Wars of the Jews, 2, 12, 8). Cæsar "removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom; for he gave him the tetrarchy which had belonged to Philip, which contained Batanea, Trachonitis, and Gaulonitis; he added to it the kingdom of *Lysanias*, and that province which Varus had governed."

Let us now examine Strauss's positions. If we had not the important passage from the Wars of the Jews (2, 12, 8), and another, to which we shall refer presently, from Antiq. 20, 5, 2, the matter

¹ [Our author always quotes Josephus in the original Greek. For the convenience of general readers, his quotations are given in this translation in English (*vid.* Whiston's Josephus).—ED.]

would stand as Winer and Tholuck put it. *Winer's* conjecture would be a *possible* one, that "the Lysanias mentioned in No. 4 is the same person as the son of Ptolemy mentioned in Nos. 2 and 3." But what would follow from this? Nothing else than what Winer infers: Josephus mentions an earlier Lysanias, who died 34 B.C.; Luke a later one: there must therefore have been *two* men of that name. Or, more exactly,—it is very possible that Augustus gave back to the descendants of the old Lysanias a part of his possessions; against which, the silence of Josephus, who gives only occasional notices of this extra-Palestine district, is not a valid argument. Therefore, Winer's conjecture, that although the Lysanias in 2 and 3 be identical with the one mentioned in 4, yet a later Lysanias may have existed, is not refuted thereby, that Josephus in No. 4 does not give express notice, that when he names that district βασιλεία τοῦ Λυσανίου, he does not do it on account of Lysanias, son of Ptolemy, who died 34 B.C., but in reference to a certain later Lysanias.

But on closer examination, the identity imagined by *Winer* turns out to be very *improbable*. In the first place, the conclusion is far too rashly drawn, that "because Chalcis, over which Lysanias the son of Ptolemy ruled, was in the Lebanon, and according to Josephus (Ant. 19, 5, 1), Abila, which was called in his time the kingdom of Lysanias, was there also, therefore the *kingdoms* were the same, and the *princes* also." In Ant. 19, 5, 1, Abila is distinguished by a καὶ from the ὅποσα ἐν τῇ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει, so that it may have been far away from Lebanon, and at all events distinct from Abilene. There is another circumstance also which makes us suspicious of *Winer's* conjecture. Does not Josephus, in the Wars of the Jews (2, 12, 8), speak without reserve of the kingdom of Lysanias along with Trachonitis and Gaulonitis, as if he intended to say that the "*kingdom of Lysanias*" was in existence still? Who in the world would think of calling a province, that for 70 years had had no ruler of the name of Lysanias, and before these 70 years, *only for six years*, "the kingdom of Lysanias"? *Tholuck*, therefore, is not wrong when he says that *Josephus* himself, in the passages cited under No. 4, refers to a *second* Lysanias; for, though he does not *expressly* call him second, it follows as a matter of course that he could not be the one alluded to in the passages quoted in Nos. 2, 3.

But there is no necessity even for this conjecture. Thank God, we need no *possibilities*, and no *probabilities*, where we have *certainly*. Agrippa II. ruled over *Chalcis*, before Claudius enlarged his territory. In the Wars of the Jews (2, 12, 8) we read that Cæsar "removed Agrippa from Chalcis unto a greater kingdom, for he gave him the

tetrarchy . . . he added to it *the kingdom of Lysanias*;" and in Antiq. 20, 5, 2, "Herod, king of Chalcis," is mentioned in connection with an event which occurred when the procurator Tiberius Alexander entered upon his office in the year 48 A.D. Agrippa, therefore, must have ruled over Chalcis from 47 A.D. onwards. Now it was not till the year 52 that he exchanged *Chalcis* for the tetrarchy of Philip, and received in addition the kingdom of Lysanias, or *Abila of Lysanias*.¹ But the kingdom of the earlier Lysanias, whom Cleopatra put to death, consisted of Chalcis. Consequently, if the Lysanias referred to by Josephus in the passages quoted in No. 4 was the *ruler of Chalcis* slain by Cleopatra, he would say in so many words, Agrippa lost CHALCIS, and received in the place of it, *Batanea, Trachonitis*, and CHALCIS also.

Strauss may now decide for himself, whether Josephus meant the kingdom of the Lysanias of Cleopatra's time, when he spoke of that of the Lysanias of the time of Christ; whether, that is, he can have been thinking of one Lysanias when speaking of another. At the same time, we would advise him, in future, to *read* his quotations before writing them down.

The result to which we are brought is this. Even Josephus was aware of the existence of a later Lysanias. The chronological statements of Luke are perfectly correct and extremely exact, and exhibit a remarkable acquaintance with the history of Judæa, which was at that time extremely involved.

§ 31.

CHRONOLOGY OF GOSPEL HISTORY.

The *datum* furnished in Luke iii. 1, and already discussed in the preceding section, gives us a safe starting point in our attempt to discover the exact position which the Gospel history occupied in relation to the general history of the world.² John the Baptist commenced his ministry in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, which

¹ As a passing remark, we may be allowed to observe, that Abila of Lysanias is distinguished by this very epithet from "Αβίλα κατὰ τὴν Περσίαν (Wars of the Jews, 2, 13, 2), which Agrippa first received in the year 54, along with Julias, Tarichæa, and Tiberias.

² The reason why we cannot start from the year of Christ's birth is very obvious. The length of time which intervened between the birth of Jesus and His public appearance is nowhere given with chronological exactness. At the same time, we shall see as we proceed, that it is possible to arrive at a tolerably probable result even with regard to the year of Christ's birth.

was the year 28-29 of the Dionysian era¹ (August 781 to August 782; cf. *Wieseler*, chron. Syn. p. 172). We are therefore justified in placing the public appearance of the Baptist in the summer of 29. For John is hardly likely to have commenced his baptismal work in the September of 28, just before the season of the early rain; much less in winter. In all probability, he waited till after the latter rain (March and April).

Another chronological link is the *imprisonment of the Baptist*. With reference to this, *Wieseler* has conclusively demonstrated,—1. that the war between Herod Antipas and his father-in-law, the elder Aretas, was not immediately connected with the divorce of the daughter of Aretas, and therefore furnishes no chronological datum available for our purpose.—2. Antipas was married to Herodias before Agrippa I. returned from Rome to Palestine (*Josephus*, Ant. 18, 6, 1 sqq.). But Agrippa returned after Tiberius had heard of the murder of his son Drusus by Sejanus, which took place in the year 23 of the Dionysian era,² and the tidings of which were received a few days after the execution of Sejanus by the widow, in Nov. 31.³ Shortly after this, though hardly during the stormy season of the latter end of the autumn, but in all probability in the commencement of 32, Agrippa I. returned to Palestine. *In the beginning of 32, therefore, Antipas was already married to Herodias*.—3. According to *Josephus* (Ant. 18, 5, 1), it was when on a journey to Rome that Antipas planned his marriage with Herodias; and before his return, his first wife, the daughter of Aretas, heard of it and fled. This journey cannot have taken place after the death of Sejanus (in the autumn of 31), for it was on his return that Antipas was accused of having concluded a secret treaty with Sejanus (*Jos. Ant.* 18, 7, 2). *Wieseler* has shown that it was very probably the death of Livia (29) which was the occasion of the journey. In this case, the return of Antipas may be placed in the spring of the year 30. In the summer of the year 30, the marriage with Herodias took place; and shortly after this, John was imprisoned. This imprisonment lasted for some considerable time. It must have been about Easter of the year 32, therefore, that his death took place. *Wieseler*, in fact, has shown that the γενέσια of

¹ [The Dionysian era is the common Christian era: so called after Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot of the sixth century, who was the first to propose that Christians should use the time of Christ's birth as their era. In this era the birth of Christ is fixed from three to five years too late.—Ed.]

² With *Suetonius*, Tib. 52, and *Tacitus*, Ann. 4, 8 and 13, compare *Dio Cassius* 58, 11, and *Suetonius*, Tib. 62.

³ *Tacitus* 4, 8; 6, 25.

x The determination of the date of the birth of Christ is a very difficult problem, and the various opinions are not in agreement. The most common opinion is that the birth of Christ took place in the year 7 B.C. or thereabouts.

Herod was in all probability the commemoration of his ascent of the throne, and was held shortly before the Passover.

3. This chronological result is in perfect harmony with the results of our inquiries on the subject of sequence. The appearance of John occurred in the summer of 29. The baptism and temptation of Jesus, and His first meeting with His future disciples, must also have taken place during the same summer; so that Jesus went to Capernaum before the commencement of the early rain (*i.e.*, before November). At the Passover of 30, He went up to the feast at Jerusalem, purified the temple, and remained for some time in Judæa. His return to Galilee came after the imprisonment of the Baptist, which took place in the course of the year 30 (certainly not before the autumn, since Jesus had met with John in the summer, when *baptizing* in the Jordan). The sojourn of Jesus in Nazareth will fall in the autumn or winter. Jesus went thence to Capernaum, and we gain for the Syndesm A. the interval between the commencement of the year 31 and the feast of Tabernacles of the same year. (During this time the Baptist was in prison.) Before the Passover of 32, after an imprisonment of about a year and a half, John was beheaded. It was in this year 32 that the feeding of the 5000, the (second) journey to the feast of Tabernacles, the last stay in Galilee, and the feast of Dedication, occurred. The death of Christ took place at the Passover of the year 33.

The last result is confirmed by the fact, that in the year 33 of the Dionysian era, the 15th of Nisan fell upon a Saturday (*Wieseler*, chr. Syn. p. 446). At the proper time, we shall be able to show that the Friday on which Jesus died, was really the day *before* the 15th of Nisan.

The following, therefore, is the result of our chronological inquiries, *viz.*: that the *first* year was the year 29; the *second*, the year 30; the *third*, the year 31; the *fourth*, the year 32; the *fifth*, the year 33, of the Dionysian era. According to *this* chronology, more ample room is provided for the ministry of the Baptist, which lasted, according to the Gospels, a considerable time, and also for his imprisonment, than is given by *Wieseler*, who refers Luke iii. 1 to the appearance of *Christ* instead of the *Baptist*, that he may gain a longer time for the ministry of the latter, and leaves only three weeks—*viz.*, from March 19th, 29, to April 11th of the same year—for his imprisonment. How does Mark vi. 20 agree with this? And how does it harmonize with the mission of the disciples of John? It can hardly have been less than a week before his death that the disciples were sent; and if he had been only a fortnight in prison, can it possibly have been such surprising news, that Jesus was working miracles and teaching?

How much more completely is all this in harmony with the result

at which we have arrived? according to which Jesus did not enter upon His peculiar and perfectly independent ministry till after the imprisonment of John, whereas all the events of the second and third years (including the whole of the Synodes A.) occurred between the imprisonment of John and the mission of his disciples.

DIVISION II.

THE CONTENTS OF THE GOSPELS, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THEIR MATTER.

CHAPTER I.

THE YOUTH OF CHRIST.

§ 32.

THE GENEALOGIES.

MATTHEW.

1. *Abraham.*
2. *Isaac.*
3. *Jacob.*
4. *Judah* and his brethren.
5. *Pharez* and *Zara* by *Thamar.*
6. *Esrom.*
7. *Aram.*
8. *Aminadab.*
9. *Naasson.*
10. *Salmon.*
11. *Boaz* by *Rahab.*
12. *Obed* by *Ruth.*
13. *Jesse.*
14. King *David.*

1. *Solomon*, by the wife of
Uriah.
2. *Roboam.*

LUKE.

- Adam.*
- Abraham.*
- Isaac.*
- Jacob.*
- Judah.*
- Pharez.*
- Esrom.*
- Aram.*
- Aminadab.*
- Naasson.*
- Salmon.*
- Boaz.*
- Obed.*
- Jesse.*
- David.*

1. *Nathan.*
2. *Mattatha.*
3. *Mainan.*
4. *Melea.*

MATTHEW.

3. *Abia.*
4. *Assa.*
5. *Josaphat.*
6. *Joram.*
7. *Ozias.*
8. *Jotham.*
9. *Achaz.*
10. *Ezekias.*
11. *Manasse.*
12. *Amon.*
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at the Babylonian Cap-
tivity.

1. *Salathiel.*
2. *Zorobabel.*
3. *Abiud.*
4. *Eliakim.*
5. *Azor.*
6. *Sadoc.*
7. *Achim.*
8. *Eliud.*
9. *Eleazar.*
10. *Matthan.*
11. *Jacob.*
12. *Joseph*, husband of
13. *Mary.*
14. CHRIST.

LUKE.

5. *Eliakim.*
6. *Jonan.*
7. *Joseph.*
8. *Juda.*
9. *Symeon.*
10. *Levi.*
11. *Matthat.*
12. *Jorim.*
13. *Eliezer.*
14. *Jose.*
15. *Er.*
16. *Elmodam.*
17. *Kosam.*
18. *Addi.*
19. *Melchi.*
20. *Neri.*
1. *Salathiel.*
2. *Zorobabel.*
3. *Resa.*
4. *Joanna.*
5. *Juda.*
6. *Joseph.*
7. *Semei.*
8. *Mattathias.*
9. *Maath.*
10. *Naggai.*
11. *Esli.*
12. *Naum.*
13. *Amos.*
14. *Mattathias.*
15. *Joseph.*
16. *Janna.*
17. *Melchi.*
18. *Levi.*
19. *Matthat.*
20. *Eli.*
21. *Joseph* (Mary).
22. JESUS.

1. MATTHEW'S GENEALOGY.—In ver. 16 it is described as that of *Joseph*. From this circumstance, as well as from the fact that it

commences with Abraham; from the stress laid upon "King David;" from the frequent reference made to persons or events of theocratic importance; and lastly, from the division into three periods, the central one being that of the theocratic line of kings,—we may clearly discern the intention of the author: not to give the *natural pedigree* of Jesus, but to prove that He *had a right to claim the theocratic crown*,—an intention in perfect harmony with the general character of the Gospel. We have here also the true key to all the supposed difficulties.

The principal questions to be answered are the following: 1. What did Matthew mean by the 3×14 members?—2. How are they to be reckoned?—3. How are the omissions (*e.g.*, Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah, —Jehoiakim and Zedekiah) to be explained?

A very common assumption is, that the author thought he had given a complete genealogy; and that he either made mistakes when compiling it, or found the genealogy, and placed it in his Gospel without observing the errors it contained (*e.g.*, either Matthew or the original genealogist is supposed to have confounded Ahaziah with Uzziah, and Jehoiakim with Jehoiachin). But this is impossible. He has prepared the genealogy with such care (as we may see from the introduction of Thamar, Rahab, etc.), and has taken so much trouble to compare one part with another (as the three distinct series of fourteen sufficiently prove), that we cannot imagine it possible for a man so well versed in the Old Testament to leave out *five kings* without noticing the omission. (Fancy any one confounding Charlemagne with Charles le Gros!) Moreover, a work which betrayed such ignorance at the very outset would never have commended itself to Jewish Christians, or obtained any currency among them.

Others suppose that he wished to bring out 3 times 14, and therefore moulded the genealogy to suit his purpose. But why should he attach so much value to 3×14 ? And even if he really did wish to make the reader believe that the three series, from Abraham to David, from David to Jechonias, and from him to Jesus, were (strange to say) exactly equal, how could he even hope that a curiosity which rested upon a simple perversion would be accepted without examination?—The only conclusion to which we can come, therefore, is, that the three series, of fourteen each, were not the end the author sought, but *means* which he employed. Undoubtedly he *intentionally made* the three periods equal: not, however, for the purpose of having 6×7 names, or of conveying to the readers the idea that these periods were really all of the same length; but to invite the reader to a closer and more careful examination of the genealogy, and to help him to the discovery of all the hidden references, and allusive hints which it contained.

What would be the questions of chief importance to the reader? In the *first place*, he would examine whether there really were 3×14 members. And if he did so, he would discover that in the third period there were only 13, *unless Mary was reckoned as one*. But how could Mary and Joseph both reckon as members? For this simple reason, that the pedigree is juridical, and not strictly genealogical. The title to the theocratic throne was inherited by Jesus, not directly from Joseph, but through the marriage of Joseph to His mother Mary.

Secondly, when the reader had discovered the *theocratic* nature of the genealogy, he would be sure, on further reading, to be struck with the fact that *five kings* were omitted, and so be led to consider the cause. A reader versed in the Mosaic law could not be long in ignorance as to the reason why *Ahaziah*, *Joash*, and *Amaziah* were left out. According to Deut. vii. 2-4, it was so great a sin to marry a heathen wife, that the penalty of destruction was attached to it. And as the Decalogue expressly declared that the sins of the fathers should be visited upon the children to the fourth generation, we need not be surprised—considering that Joram, who had *married the daughter of Jezebel* (2 Kings viii. 18), and “walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab,” deserved to be punished to the fourth generation, and Judah was spared “for David’s sake” alone (ver. 19)—to find that the author has regarded this as a sufficient reason for leaving out *the descendants of the heathen Jezebel to the fourth generation*, and thus declaring them unworthy to occupy the theocratic throne.—A similar reason may be assigned for the omission of *Jehoiakim*. It was under him that the land passed completely under foreign dominion (2 Kings xxiv. 1-4), and under him, therefore, that the theocratic sovereignty became virtually extinct. But for this reason Jehoiachin has, strictly speaking, no proper place in the theocratic line of succession. He and Jehoiakim together form *one* link in the chain. The fact that the second, Jehoiachin, is selected as the representative of this link, may be explained on the ground that Jehoiakim was the *more unworthy* of the two. He who had thoroughly forfeited the royal office by his guilt—he under whom sin had reached the unpardonable point—he of whom it is said, “He filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which the Lord would not pardon” (2 Kings xxiv. 4), was, compared with Jechoniah, manifestly the more unworthy to stand as ancestor to Him who shed His own innocent blood for others, not the innocent blood of others for Himself.—Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin shared between them, as it were, the *guilt* and *punishment* of the loss of the national throne; and the one who had to bear the *punishment*—Jechonias—required to be named, on account of the theocratically

important event, the Babylonish captivity, the main part of which took place under him.

(3.) An attentive reader would also hardly fail to be struck with the parallelism between "Judah and his brethren," and "Jechoniah and his brethren." In both cases, a migration into a foreign land along with all the brethren, *i.e.*, with *the whole theocratic family*. This is sufficient of itself to explain the much controverted expression, *brethren* of Jechoniah. They were "brethren" in a theocratic sense = relations, fellow-countrymen. (In this use of the word in both the Old and New Testaments, cf. Exod. ii. 11, iv. 18; Num. xx. 3; Acts iii. 22, vii. 23.)—At the same time, there is no foundation whatever for the assertion, that "Jechoniah had *no brethren* in the strict sense of the word." *De Wette* says, that "in 1 Chron. iii. 16 Zedekiah is called a son of Jechoniah, and in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10 a brother; whereas it is evident from 2 Kings xxiv. 17, and Jer. xxxvii. 1, that he was neither brother nor son, but *uncle* to Jechoniah, and a son of Josiah."

Let us look first at 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. It is there stated that Nebuchadnezzar "made Zedekiah, his (Jechoniah's) brother, king over Judah." The reference, therefore, is to *King Zedekiah*, of whom it is expressly stated in 2 Kings xxiv. 17, that he was Jechoniah's *uncle*. According, therefore, to the well-known *wide* sense of the word אח, he is here called his *brother*.

But what is the case with 1 Chron. iii. 16? According to *De Wette*, Zedekiah is there called a son of Jechoniah. The words run thus: יְהוֹיָכִים יָבִיחָהּ בְּנוֹ זְדַבְיָהּ בְּנוֹ יְהוֹיָכִים.—Now who would ever think of referring the suffix in the last word to Jechoniah? The sons of Jechoniah are named in ver. 17, and introduced as sons of Jechoniah. The suffix refers in both instances to Jehoiakim, and therefore Zedekiah and Jechoniah are *brothers*.—But we must not allow ourselves to take 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10 as a proof that the writer imagined that Zedekiah was a *brother* of Jechoniah, and was ignorant of the fact that he had an uncle of the same name. For in ver. 15 we actually find a Zedekiah mentioned among Josiah's sons. He knew of *two* Zedekiahs therefore,—the more celebrated one (son of Josiah, brother of Jehoiakim, and uncle of Jechoniah, ver. 15, called אח in the wider sense in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10), and one less known (son of Jehoiakim, and brother of Jechoniah, ver. 16). *Jechoniah therefore had a brother.*¹

¹ This is not the only instance in which *De Wette* has cited the very passages, in which Matthew exhibits the *most remarkable accuracy*, as proofs of carelessness and error. For example, at ver. 12 he says, *Phadaiah* is omitted between Salathiel and Zorobabel, and appeals to 1 Chron. iii. 19. But he has evidently overlooked the fact, that in Ezra v. 2. and Hag. i. 1, Zerubbabel is called a "son of Shealtiel;" and

(4.) The three series have also another important signification. The history of Israel shaped itself into three periods. It was revealed to Abraham (Gen. xv.) that his seed should be in bondage in a foreign land, and should be set free in the fourth generation. The descendants of Abraham were actually kept in servitude in Egypt, and were set free by Moses; but only partially: Moses did not bring them into the promised land. Joshua brought them in, but did not completely conquer the land. After another period of servitude (Judg. xiii. 1 cf. 1 Sam. iv. 2, vii. 2, 13), Israel aroused itself, and hoped to strengthen and secure its position by the choice of a king. But Saul did not realize its hopes. It was *David* who first secured the triumph and glory foretold to Abraham, for which the nation had ever longed. *From Abraham to David the history of Israel moves downwards for a time, and then ascends.*—The vision of Abraham was fulfilled. Through humiliation (from the time of Abraham to that of Aram, the 7th member) it had passed onwards to eminence (from Aminadab to David). But in the counsel of God this was not its true exaltation. What had taken place in the earthly sphere was to be repeated in the spiritual. This *first period*, therefore, was followed by two others, which were analogous to the two halves of the first. The outward glory of the kingdom of David fell into ruin. The kingdom was divided. The fear of God fled more and more, and carried prosperity with it. During *this period* (from Solomon to the captivity) the prophets foretold with ever increasing clearness, on the one hand, a new period of servitude (the captivity), on the other, a *second David* (Micah iv.; Isa. xi., etc.), who should rescue the nation from its bondage.—*Seventy years* afterwards, Israel was delivered from the captivity, but not from the servitude. It was not till after seventy weeks of years that the latter was to be secured. There followed, therefore, a third *leading period*, at the end of which, though outwardly the nation was as powerless as ever, yet inwardly the “election (*ἐκλογή*)” prepared for the reception of the spiritual Redeemer was fully mature.—It is to this internal development of the revelation of God in the Old Testament that Matthew *chiefly* points. This is his ultimate purpose. To attain

because, in the passage cited from Chronicles, Zerubbabel is called a son of Pedaiah, he concludes that Pedaiah came *between* the two. It appears, therefore, as though he supposed Pedaiah to be a *son* of Shealtiel. But can he have been ignorant of the fact that Pedaiah was a *brother* of Shealtiel (cf. 1 Chron. iii. 17, 18, with ver. 19), and consequently that Shealtiel and Malchiram must have died without children? The position of Zerubbabel as the *nephew* and *next male heir* of Shealtiel is a sufficient explanation of Matt. i. 12. It is a very natural inference, however, which *Hug* draws from Hag. i. 1 and Ezra v. 2, that Zerubbabel was begotten by Pedaiah to the deceased Shealtiel in a *Levirate marriage*.

this end, he adopts the simple method of constructing three numerically equal series, and forming them in such a way that even the intentional omissions in the second series contain delicate suggestions of various subordinate thoughts.

(5.) Among other points (*e.g.*, the fact that David alone is called *ὁ βασιλεὺς*, "*the king*"), a very striking feature is the introduction of *Thamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba*. It is certainly not for the purpose of defending Jesus from the Jewish reproach of illegitimacy, that they are mentioned, as *Wetstein* supposes. This would have been the strangest method that could have been thought of. Besides, it is not till a late period that this reproach can be proved to have been cast upon Christians.¹ *De Wette's* is certainly the correct view: "These women were types of Mary, through the distinguished position assigned them in the Old Test. history." The constant rule in the theocracy was, that the Lord showed Himself mighty in those that were weak. And it was certainly the writer's intention, to prepare the reader beforehand to fix his attention upon the peculiar position of Mary in ver. 16.—Thus the whole genealogy is a well devised and carefully executed work of art. We shall now see how thoroughly the hypothesis, which lies at the basis of our interpretation (*viz.*, that the author's object was not to show the lineal descent of Jesus, but to *demonstrate His title to the throne*), is confirmed by a comparison of the genealogy of Matthew, with that which we find in Luke.

2. GENEALOGY GIVEN BY LUKE.—When the author of the third Gospel commences his genealogy with the statement, that Jesus was, *as was supposed*, the son of Joseph, and immediately adds τοῦ Ἠλὶ, it cannot have been his meaning or intention to give *Joseph's* genealogy.² In the Gospel of Luke there is no theocratic interest to be discovered at all. Writing as he did for Gentile Christians, he traced the descent of Jesus from the common father of all nations; and therefore, even

¹ *Vide* Matt. xiii. 55, and Nitzsch's treatise on the "Son of the Virgin," in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1840.

² Modern critics (*Gfrörer*, for example) have drawn very remarkable conclusions. "Who would give seventy-six successive links in a pedigree," he says, "and then finish up (!) by saying, this all rests upon a mistake?" Consequently, as he thinks, the author of the genealogy supposed Jesus to be the son of Joseph; but when Luke adopted the genealogy which was already drawn up, he inserted the words ὡς ἐνομίζετο, "*as was supposed*." (*Bleek* takes the same view.)—In my opinion, it would be much *more logical* to take the fact of Luke having distinctly stated at the *beginning* (not at the *close*) of the genealogy, that Jesus was *not* the son of Joseph, as a proof that the genealogy which he gives, after making this statement, is introduced as that of Mary and not of Joseph.

if he had *found* the genealogy already prepared, as that of Joseph, he could not have introduced it, after such a statement as ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, without giving his readers good reason to think that it was both superfluous and unmeaning. There is evidently a *presumption*, therefore, that the author intended to give the genealogy of Mary.

No internal difficulties had been observed in the genealogy given by Luke, till *Bruno Bauer* made the desperate discovery, that four of the names of the sons of Jacob (Joseph, Judah, Simeon, and Levi) occur in succession, and that the names of the prophets *Nahum* and *Amos* are introduced, from which he infers, with his usual readiness, that the genealogy is fabricated.—I should like to look into the mind of the man, who thought it possible to do Jesus honour by numbering among His ancestors sons of Jacob in the time of *Joram* and *Uzziah*, and the prophets *Nahum* and *Amos*, *twelve generations after the captivity*, or by merely repeating the echo of their names among the ancestors of Jesus. Which is the more probable, that there should have been such a man as this before the days of *Bruno Bauer*, or that in the comparatively small number of Hebrew names, a Judah, Joseph, Simeon, and Levi should actually have followed one another? In Jewish families of the present day, you might find a dozen instances in which four of the patriarchs' names follow one after the other.—Another happy discovery has also forced itself upon B. Bauer. Matthew mentions *Abiud*, and Luke *Rheza*, as sons of Zerubbabel; whereas the Chronicles notice neither one nor the other, but give totally different names. "That is the fact," says *B. Bauer*: "the author has never even thought of the account in the Chronicles of the descendants of Zerubbabel, and hence the marvellous result, that Luke and Matthew, each in his own way, provide a posterity for Zerubbabel, of which the Chronicles have not the most remote idea."

For a second time, it would have been as well if modern critics had examined the passage in the Chronicles a little more carefully. Let us do it for them. In 1 Chron. iii. 19 sqq. we read:—

"And son of Zerubbabel: Meshullam, and Hananiah, and Shelomith, their sister" (we need not be surprised to find בן instead of בני; it recurs in the case of *Hananiah* and *Neariah*), "and Hashuba, and Ohel, and Berechiah, and Hasadiah jushab chesed, five.

"And son of Hananiah: *Pelatiah* and *Jesaiah*.

"Sons of Rephaiah, sons of Arnan, sons of Obadiah, sons of Shechaniah.

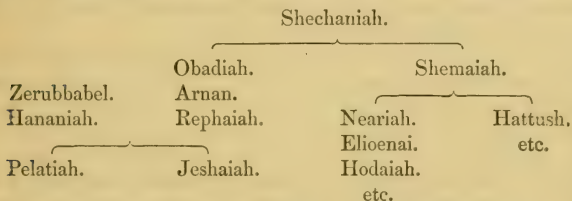
"And sons of Shechaniah: *Shemaiah*.

“And sons of Shemaiah: *Hattush*, and *Igeal*, and *Bariah*, and *Neariah*, and *Shaphat*, six.

“And son of Neariah: *Elioenai*, and *Iheziah*, and *Azrikam*, three.

“And sons of Elioenai: *Hodaiah* and *Eliashib*, etc., seven.”

In the first place, nothing is more remarkable than the passage “sons of Rephaiah,” etc. (ver. 21). Is this in apposition to Pelatiah and Jesaiah? But they were sons of Hananiah. It would in that case be necessary to assume that there was a Levirate marriage (Rephaiah being the physical father); from which, we may remark in passing, it would follow that the mention of the physical father would not be without example. Or we might assume that Rephaiah was named as the maternal grandfather. But what then? “*Sons of Arnan*” would then be in apposition to Rephaiah (sing.), and thus the line would ascend to Shechaniah. From this point it would move downwards again by a different line. The following would then be the pedigree:—



But such a supposition is precluded, in the first place, by the difficulty arising from the fact that the sing. Rephaiah has a plural noun in apposition, “*sons of Arnan*,” and that this is repeated three times. Moreover, it is a striking fact, that in *Ezra* viii. 2, a *Hattush* is mentioned as one of the descendants of David among the contemporaries of *Ezra*, nearly a hundred years after *Zerubbabel*; and that in *Neh.* x. there is also a *Hattush* mentioned in connection with an *Obadiah*. If these two, *Hattush* and *Obadiah*, are identical with those in *1 Chron.* iii. 21, 22, which is very probable, this confirms the opinion, that from *Rephaiah* the line moves, not upwards, but downwards.

But to what does this lead? Simply to the conclusion, that the genealogy is faulty throughout. A rash hypothesis if we had no proofs. But is it not stated that *Shemaiah* had six sons, and yet only five are given!—The construct, “*sons of Rephaiah*,” and so forth, appear to us to be *separate headings*, which there were no means of completing. As far as *Phelatiah* and *Jeshaiah*, the chronicler had traced the line through *Solomon* and *Zerubbabel*; but from this point he possessed only fragments of branch lines, headings not completed,

with the sole exception of Shechaniah. And he gave them just in the fragmentary state in which he found them.

If this be admitted, we need not be surprised to find the list of Zerubbabel's sons incomplete and confused. These are said to be *five*. But we cannot tell how they are to be counted. It is very evident that it will not be correct to commence with Hashubah. And the absence of *Vav* is just as clear a proof that *Jushab-chezed* is merely a cognomen of Hasadiah.

But even then there are *six* sons left instead of five, unless we take Hashubah, which is evidently the same name as we meet with in Ezra viii. 24 and Neh. iii. 17, to be the name of a daughter, notwithstanding its occurring without qualification among the names of men. We may see, therefore, that at this very point there was some obscurity in the mind of the chronicler himself. He had an account of *five* sons. Among them were unquestionably Meshullam and Hananiah. But the other names, which are separated from them by the sister Shelomith, are very likely those of near relations.

To this we may add, that *Abiud* was very probably a *cognomen*, as its formation with *Abi* seems to indicate. *Hofmann* has also pointed out the probability, that the Hananiah of the Chronicles may be the same person as the Joanna the son of Rheza mentioned by Luke. In any case so much as this is certain, that after Zerubbabel, the genealogies of the Chronicles are defective and obscure; and there is not the slightest difficulty in the supposition, that a more complete genealogy may have been handed down as the private heirloom of some particular family.

3. COMPARISON OF THE TWO GENEALOGIES.—That Luke has six more names than Matthew between David and Salathiel, is explained by the simple fact, that Matthew has left out four names: the remaining difference of two in a period of 370 years is not of the slightest importance. From Salathiel to Jesus, again, Matthew gives 12 links (Mary must not be counted as one generation); Luke, on the contrary, 21. But 12 links are obviously not enough to fill up 600 years; and it is evident that Matthew has omitted several names for the purpose of keeping to the convenient form of fourteens, which he adopted as an index to the illusions obscurely hinted at in the genealogy itself.

The divergences observable as we ascend from Joseph to Zerubbabel, may be very simply explained from the fact, that Luke is giving the pedigree of Mary, and Matthew that of Joseph. Consequently, both Joseph and Mary sprang from Zerubbabel. The further divergence as we ascend from Salathiel to David, may be explained by a

Levirate marriage, which we should be *obliged* to assume, *apart altogether from the genealogies*, after Jechoniah's early captivity.¹ Matthew, who was only concerned with the succession to the throne, mentions the legal father of Salathiel; Luke, on the other hand, his natural progenitor. And here again we have a fresh confirmation of the conclusion to which we have already been brought as to the character of the two genealogies.

Many weak objections have been offered to the hypothesis, that *Luke gives the pedigree of Mary*. *De Wette*, for example, opposes it on the ground, that "in Jewish genealogies no account was taken of the female line." As if Mary's father was a female! Her father must certainly have had a pedigree.—*Strauss* again objects, that "as τοῦ throughout the entire series invariably denotes the relation of son, it cannot in this particular instance be applied to that of a son-in-law." In reply to this, *Hoffmann* pleads the possibility of other sons-in-law, step-sons, etc., being included, unknown to us, in this list of 55. But there is no need to speak of possibilities, when we have at least one proof. Zerubbabel is called τοῦ Σαλαθιήλ, and yet he was Salathiel's nephew.—Lastly, the hypothesis, supported by *Schleiermacher* (Luke, p. 26), that Mary was of the tribe of Levi, and therefore could not belong to David's line, cannot be founded upon Luke i. 36, where Elisabeth is called ἡ συγγενής σου. For even if it should be maintained that in this passage something more than mere affinity must be understood, notwithstanding such passages as Luke i. 61 and Acts vii. 14, where συγγένεια is evidently not restricted to blood-relations, and notwithstanding the etymology and the usage elsewhere; yet Mary may have been a relation of Elisabeth's on the mother's side, and on the father's side have belonged to the tribe of Judah. Moreover, the words of Heb. vii. 13, 14, absolutely preclude the possibility of Mary being a Levite.

Assuming, then, that there is no reason why the genealogy given by Luke should not be accepted as that of Mary, a second question of importance suggests itself. Are the Salathiel and Zerubbabel mentioned here the same as those in the genealogy in Matthew? The supposition is a very natural one, as they stand in both instances midway between David and Jesus.² No objection can be brought against

¹ *Hug* himself perceived the general fact, though he connected with it some untenable hypotheses (*vid.* his Introduction to the New Testament, ii. 268 sqq.).

² *Olshausen* (*in loco*) has completely overlooked this. He confines himself to the fact, that in Luke there are 17 links between Zerubbabel and Joseph, and in Matthew 9; but overlooks the analogy in the two genealogies between David and Zerubbabel.

it; and the explanation of the divergence between David and Salathiel (which has hitherto been generally regarded as a difficulty) establishes the identity.

In 2 Kings xxiv. 8, we read that "Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned in Jerusalem three months." Now a king of eighteen years of age, who only reigned three months, and, according to ver. 15, had already a harem, is not likely to have been blessed with children. And even if the dissolute youth really had had children, it must have been a matter of importance both to Nebuchadnezzar and Zedekiah, either to put them to death, or conceal them as dangerous pretenders,—a matter of no great difficulty at so tender an age as theirs. But, as *Hug* has already inferred from the fact that no children are mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv. 12 sqq. along with the mother and wives, in all probability there were no children at all. Now, according to ver. 12, Jehoiachin was taken away into captivity along with his mother, his servants, his princes, and his eunuchs. After Jehoiachin was taken prisoner, Nebuchadnezzar carried away to Babylon all his treasures and those of the temple, all the princes, the mighty men, and the artificers; and, lastly (ver. 17), "he carried into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon" the king's mother (mentioned here again), the mighty men, the *wives*, and the eunuchs. Now it is very certain that he would not allow the dethroned king to retain his court, and still less his harem.—From chap. xxv. 27, it appears that Jechoniah was thrown into a *prison*, where he *pined*, in the strict sense of the word, for 37 years; and from a comparison of 1 Kings xxii. 27, Jer. xxxvii. 15 (cf. ver. 15, the exegetical בית הבור), and more especially from Isa. xlii. 7, it is evident that בית בלא, the prison in which he was confined, was of the worst description—a *black hole*. Now, if ever occasion arose for a Levirate marriage, surely it was in such a case as this, when the line of succession to the theocratic throne was in danger of extinction, and when the captivity had excited to the utmost the theocratic feelings of the nation. A *close relation* of Jechoniah could not have been selected without awakening suspicion. Nor was there one at hand (*vide Hug*); but it was necessary that it should be some one belonging to the family of David, and that he should take one of the wives who had been separated from the king.

In 1 Chron. iii. 17, 18, we actually find, in the first place, that Jechoniah had *seven children*. It is impossible that they should have been born during the three months of his reign. They are, in fact, described as the sons of Jechoniah-Assir (Jechoniah a prisoner); so that they cannot have been begotten towards the end of his life, after

Evil-Merodach had taken him out of the dungeon, when 56 years old, and placed him in circumstances of greater comfort; to say nothing of the improbability of his having seven sons during the short time that he lived after this (for he does not appear to have outlived Evil-Merodach, who only reigned two years: vid. *Hävernick*, Introduction). On the other hand, the assumption of *Hoffmann* is altogether untenable, that it was "as a prisoner" that Jechoniah begat these sons. The expression בית בלא precludes this idea, and also the entire passage 2 Kings xxv. 27, from which it is obvious that Jechoniah was kept in *close confinement* during the whole of the 37 years.

We also find, in the second place, that the genealogies receive as much light as they throw. The Levirate marriage was effected through a certain Neri, a descendant of David in the line of *Nathan*, the nearest related to the royal line (*Hug* l.c.). We can also explain the difficulty pointed out by *De Wette*, that "it was contrary to the legally established custom of the Jews for the natural father to be mentioned in the genealogy." In this case it was of importance that Neri and his descendants should constantly give themselves out as *Nathanidæ*, partly on account of their lower rank, and partly to avert attention; and it was also of especial importance that they should not lose sight of the proofs of their descent from Nathan, that they might afterwards be able to establish the *legitimacy* of the Levirate marriage, which was of such great theocratic importance. We are thus eventually brought to a conclusion in perfect accordance with the character of the first and third Gospels, that Matthew gives the theocratic ancestors of Salathiel, Luke his natural progenitors.

It is hardly necessary to say a word on the other hypotheses for the solution of the difficulty.¹ The assumption of two Levirate marriages (Joseph and Sealthiel) in a space of 600 years is not impossible; but that both times these marriages should be contracted by men who were not brothers is difficult. In the case of Jechoniah there is an assignable reason, in that of Jacob there is not; and we must

¹ The various attempts at solution may be thus classified:—

A. Sealth. and Zerub. not identical in Matt. and Luke.

1. Luke gives the gen. of Mary. 2. In case of Jacob, a Lev. mar. by a cousin or step-brother. 3. Do., an adoption.

B. Sealth. and Zerub. identical in Matt. and Luke.

1. Diverg. at Jacob solved by assumption that Luke gives Mary's genealogy, that at Jechoniah by a Lev. mar.; or 2. former as above, latter through adoption; 3. both through Lev. mar.; 4. both by adoption; 5. former, Lev. mar., latter, adoption; 6. reverse of 5. A. seems to me untenable; B. 2, 4, 5, untenable; 1, 6, conceivable.

either assume here (with Michaelis, Mos. Recht) a step-brother, or a cousin on the mother's side, in order to explain the divergences in the forefathers of Jacob and Eli. The assumption of two cases of *adoption* is in itself less likely, and adoption in the case of Jechoniah is impossible. On the other hand, the assumption of the non-identity of Sealthiel and Zerubbabel in Matthew and Luke appears to me very forced. But what is the use of resorting to *hypotheses*, when we have sure data for *theses*?

By our investigation we have succeeded not only in removing all the difficulties, but also in proving the careful and artistic construction of the genealogy in Matthew, and the perfect harmony of the *divergence* in the two genealogies with the facts of history. By these means we have obtained a convincing proof that there is no foundation for the hypothesis of *Strauss* and *Bruno Bauer*, that the genealogies were constructed at a time when it was generally believed that Joseph was the father of Jesus, and that Matthew and Luke inserted the clauses, "the husband of Mary," etc., and "being as was supposed;" a hypothesis that has no other support than the *pium desiderium* of negative critics to overthrow the supernatural conception on historical grounds.

The following, we maintain, are the just conclusions of criticism: In the first place, it is in the highest degree improbable that two Christians of the first century, who believed in the supernatural conception of Jesus, should each have discovered a genealogy in which He was represented as the son of Joseph, without being stimulated by such a discovery to honest, historical research. If there had been Josephites and non-Josephites, the former would certainly have been condemned by the latter as heretics: the 1st Epistle of John is proof enough of this. But the former would also, as the more honest of the two, and as those who really possessed the truth, have brought all the power of truth to bear upon the others; and it is just as incredible, that in such a conflict fanaticism should triumph over modest faith, as that all the New Testament writers, whose (*un-fanatical*) works are in our possession, should have taken their stand on the side of the former.—And in the second place, *the belief that the genealogies are strictly historical* (i.e., that they were composed from the chronicles, family pedigrees, etc., by Matthew and Luke themselves; that the words, "the husband of Mary," and "being as was supposed," were always there, and consequently furnish no evidence of the previous supremacy of Josephism), *is not affected by a single historical difficulty*. On the contrary, the abundant traces of extreme care and exactness which are to be found in the genealogies, furnish a

very powerful proof of the diligence and historical fidelity of their authors¹

§ 33.

BIRTH OF JOHN.

LUKE I.

In the reign of King Herod there was a devout priest, named Zacharias, of the order of Abia, who had passed a long life with his wife Elisabeth, of the family of Aaron, but hitherto without children. One day, however, when the lot fell to him to offer incense, while the people were standing outside praying, there appeared to him in the holy place an angel of the Lord, who announced to him that he would have a son, and instructed him to call him John. His birth would cause joy to him and to the people; for, being full of the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, and living as a Nazarite, with the power of an Elias he would turn the people of Israel to God, and prepare a people for the Lord. When Zacharias, unmindful of similar O. T. occurrences, and unconvinced by the appearance of the angel, *asked* for a sign, it was granted. But, as a *just* and yet *gentle* chastisement, and at the same time to excite the attention of the people, the sign granted was dumbness, which was to continue till the prophecy was fulfilled. It took place immediately, and did not cease till the child was born. On the day of circumcision, the mother, to whom Zacharias must have communicated in writing both what had occurred and the name prescribed, expressed her wish that the child should be called John. Zacharias supported her wish; and immediately his tongue was loosed, and he gave utterance to a song of praise to the Lord, who had visited once more His long-forsaken people, and *sent to them a prophet*.

¹ [The subject of the genealogies has been discussed in a very elaborate manner recently in this country, by Mill (*on the Descent and Parentage of the Saviour*, forming the second chapter of a work entitled, *On the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels*, Cambridge 1861), and by Lord Arthur Hervey (*The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Cambridge 1853). It would be impossible here to give an account of the views of these authors, who are agreed on all leading points. Suffice it to say, that they both differ from Ebrard's view, that one genealogy is that of Joseph, the other (Luke's) that of Mary. They hold both genealogies are those of Joseph; the one (Matthew's) being intended to exhibit the *legal* descent of Christ from David and Solomon, the other (that of Luke), His *natural* descent through Nathan; and the object of their works is to show how the genealogies can be reconciled on that assumption. Both the works referred to will be found well worthy of perusal by the student.—Ed.]

1. The preservation of the account of the appearance of the angel is the more easily explained, since the dumbness of Zacharias *compelled* him to communicate it to the priests in writing; and, according to vers. 60 sqq., he had made a communication in this manner to Elisabeth.¹ And not only was the hymn, which is so truly full of originality and point, notwithstanding its natural Old Testament ring, of a nature to be *retained* by the hearers, and, through the inspiration which filled him, by Zacharias himself; but the reality of the occurrence was a sufficient reason, and the previous record of the appearance of the angel furnished a fitting occasion, for committing it at once to writing.

2. In this instance *negative criticism* finds itself without any *historical* means of attack whatever. The objections are *entirely* limited to *doctrinal doubts*. In accordance with our principle, therefore, of confining ourselves to the proof that *doctrinal doubts find no support in historical difficulties*, we might declare the question settled. At any rate, we need do nothing more than give a brief *resumé* of the objections that have been expressed.

a. That there are no angels, and, consequently, that angels cannot appear, is a conclusion sometimes drawn (*e.g.*, by *Schleiermacher*) from the premiss, that nothing is a *dogma* which cannot be shown to be an element of Christian consciousness;—a false conclusion, apart altogether from the correctness or incorrectness of the premiss, since a thing may be *historically true* without forming part of a system of Christian doctrine;—at other times, from the fact that angels, if they do exist, are supersensual beings, and therefore unable to appear. To this we reply, *first*, that the category of sensual and supersensual is unphilosophical and unmeaning—that the simple distinction should be between corporeal and incorporeal; and *secondly*, that it is unphilosophical to conceive of a finite object as absolutely incorporeal.—Another objection is, that we cannot think of any *purpose* which the angels can fulfil. They are not required for the production of natural phenomena, since “we are now able to account for all these from natural causes.” To this *Hoffmann* replies, that God certainly does not *require* the angels, unless it be in the same sense as He requires the rain to moisten the earth, and husbandmen to till it. There is a great difference between *uti* and *indigere*.—Nor are they needed, it is said, for the education of humanity; otherwise the angels would be “just as busy now on the smallest occasions,” as they were in the old world. But when *education* has to be carried on, different appliances are needed at different stages, not for the tutor, but for the scholar

¹ Previous to the birth, to *Elisabeth*, ver. 60; as well as after the birth, to the friends, ver. 63.

(*vide Hoffmann*, 129; *Olshausen*, ad loc.).—Lastly, we are told, that as God is *immanent*, they cannot be needed in connection with His operations in the world. But this says nothing; for, according to the thoroughly philosophical doctrine of believers themselves, it is not supposed that there was a chasm between God and the world, across which God Himself could not come, and that this was the reason why He sent His angels as messengers. We admit most fully, in agreement with all true philosophers, that the *course of the world*, which consists partly of the regular course of nature, and partly of the spontaneous action of free subjects,¹ is willed, and therefore arranged and determined, in its beginning, its development, and its results, so far as both its laws and particular events are concerned, by the eternal (immanent) will of a personal God; but we do not restrict the course of the world to the mere surface of the planet Tellus. And as the limits of the course of the world have not yet been discovered, we find no difficulty in regarding it as *possible*, that unusual orders of intelligent creatures should sometimes appear. To pretend to decide that such an appearance was *unnecessary* for the development of our race, and in the history of our planet, and *therefore*, that even if there are angels, God cannot have sent them, is nothing less than attempting to determine, with the presumption of a *priori* intuition, all that is necessary for the course of the world. And to say, that “if God be immanent in the world, He needs no intervention of angels,” is just as wise as saying, “He needed no Columbus to ensure the discovery of America.” If God be immanent, He works both in and through His creatures. And it has yet to be proved that there can be no such creatures as angels. The *possibility* of angels must be granted.

3. It is also argued that the name *Gabriel* (ver. 19) was derived from the Parsic angelology; and therefore, that either the Parsees preceded the Israelites in the discovery of religious truths, or the angel is chargeable with accommodation to an error. But this rests upon the *assumption* that the book of Daniel, in which Gabriel is mentioned, is not genuine. The charge of spuriousness, however, rests upon no other foundation than doctrinal objections to the possibility of prophecy in general, and so special a prophecy in particular. The historical and philological arguments have been sufficiently refuted by *Hengstenberg* and *Hävernicks*. A thorough examination of the history of the captivity *must* establish the genuineness of the book of Daniel. Such greatness of character as Daniel himself possessed, the Maccabean age

¹ The latter is either *ignored* in Schleiermacher's “Glaubenslehre” when the “connection of nature” is spoken of, or this expression is a very unsuitable one.

could neither have invented nor understood. So noble a combination of the most unfettered accommodation to heathen customs, in everything that did not affect the conscience; of warm affection and close attachment to heathen kings (Dan. iv. 16); and, on the other hand, of firm and energetic resistance to everything heathen that did violence to the conscience, is the very opposite of that fanatical hatred to the heathen which prevailed in the Maccabean age.—This is not the place to follow out the evidence of the purely Israelitish origin of the belief in the existence of angels.

4. In reply to the objection of *Paulus* and *Strauss*, which is repeated with jocular scurrility by Bruno Bauer, that the infliction of dumbness as a punishment was severe, not angelic, and, when compared with the impunity of Abraham and Sarah in similar circumstances, unjust, there is no necessity to take so much trouble as *Hess* and *Olshausen* have taken, to prove that it was needed for the moral training of Zacharias (this was just as much needed in the case of Abraham and Sarah), nor to argue, as *Calvin* does, that God can look into the heart, and may have discovered greater sin in Zacharias' heart than in those of Abraham and Sarah. Nor should I like to adopt *Hoffmann's* suggestion, that the greater sin may be attributable to the fact that Zacharias was a younger man. The whole objection may certainly be completely neutralized by the simple argument, that if, in the *ordinary* course of the world, God may sometimes inflict chastisement for faults, and at other times leave the same faults unpunished, He must possess the right to do the same where *miraculous* events are concerned. Whether the particular temporal chastisement be effected in the course of nature or by a miracle, is a question of as little moment as, in the former case, would be the question, whether it was effected by a fire or by disease.¹ To attempt to explain *why* God should have inflicted the punishment of dumbness in one instance and not in the other, is as foolish as to attempt to explain why God should have caused the heathen *Nero* to be put to death by violence, when Duke Alba, whose guilt was so much greater, died a natural death.

In this account, then, there are no historical difficulties whatever; and it stands harmonious throughout, exposed only to feeble and futile objections on the ground of doctrinal scruples.²

¹ *Lange* has some excellent observations on this subject in his *Leben Jesu*, ii. pp. 63 sqq.

² The Old Testament style of the hymn, on which *Strauss* lays stress, is, even on the supposition of the historical reality of the account, so natural, that no objections can be drawn therefrom *against* its historical reality.

§ 34.

ANNUNCIATION OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST.

LUKE I. 35-56; MATT. I. 20 sqq.

Six months after Elisabeth's conception, the angel Gabriel was sent to Nazareth, to a virgin named Mary, who was betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph, of the house of David. Startled at the angel's greeting, "Blessed art thou among women" (for such a sight and such a greeting were enough to fill a humble maiden with astonishment and alarm), she asked what it could mean. And the angel told her she had found favour with God, and should conceive and bear a son, "Jeshua," "Saviour," who should be called "Son of the Highest (*Eljon*)," and God would give Him a title to the throne of David, and *eternal* dominion upon that throne. The clearer it became to Mary *who* the Jesus to be born would be, the more incomprehensible it became, how *she*, a poor and obscure maiden, should be selected as His mother. It was evident to her mind *who* was intended; for (1) the name *Jesus*, (2) the title "*Son of the Highest*," (3) the evident allusion to the *successor* anticipated by David in the Psalms, whose dominion should be boundless, and to the *shoot of David* predicted with ever increasing distinctness by the prophets, and (4) the fact that, whilst it was declared that God would *give* to Him to sit upon the throne of David, she was actually betrothed to a descendant of David (possibly the oldest representative of the royal line), and consequently that, through her expected marriage with Joseph, a son born to her would possess a title to the throne, could hardly fail to present the truth with sufficient clearness to her mind.

But just on that account was it the more incomprehensible to her, that she should have been selected for such an honour. It is true, the angel had as yet said nothing about her bearing a son before her marriage with Joseph, but had simply spoken of it as an event that would one day occur. Yet Mary felt directly that he was not speaking of a child of which Joseph was to be the father. Holding firmly to this on the one hand, and yet on the other hand having no clear idea of a miraculous conception of the Son of God (of one not begotten, but simply passing from eternity into the limits of time), and in her humility being utterly unable to soar to such a height as this, she gave utterance to the words which we find in Luke i. 34,—words indicative of her inward *perplexity*, whose psychological truth can hardly be sufficiently recognised. It is not by Joseph—she feels—that

the child was to be begotten. But is it to be by another man? As a proof that she has no such thought as this, she takes for granted, not that the child *will be* begotten by another, but that the child, of whose conception she can form no more definite idea, *must be conceived already*. This is the direction taken by her thoughts; but here again she is at a loss, "for she knows not a man." The angel now comes to her help with the explanation, that the Holy Ghost will come upon her, and the *power of the Most High* will overshadow her. Is it, then, a work of the Holy Ghost that is announced, all anxiety necessarily vanishes. Through the Holy Ghost her virgin purity and innocence can receive no injury. Rather is she thereby summoned to, and strengthened, in the purest modesty of thought and feeling. And so with the devotion of the most childlike, yet the firmest faith, she replies, "*Be it unto me according to thy word.*"

As a sign of the omnipotence of God, she is told by the angel, that her relative Elisabeth, notwithstanding her age, is with child. The announcement induces her to set off from Nazareth to a city of Judæa, where Zacharias and Elisabeth dwell. As she entered their house, the babe leapt in Elisabeth's womb, and she herself, filled with the Holy Ghost, greeted Mary as "blessed among women;" and expressed her surprise that the mother of her Lord should come to her, telling her at the same time how the babe has leapt in her womb. Mary then gives utterance to her feelings of gratitude, humility, and faith. She pours forth a song of praise, the leading topics of which are, that God, with His grace and strong delivering aid, is near to those who, conscious of their poverty, put all their trust in Him, and that in this way the promises given to the patriarchs will now be all *fulfilled*.

After a stay of three months in Judæa, Mary returned to Nazareth. When her pregnancy began to be apparent (even before her journey to Elisabeth), Joseph had resolved to leave her secretly, and not to expose her by openly putting her away. But an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and enlightened him as to the cause of Mary's pregnancy, and as to the name and future prospects of the child, reminding him also of the ancient prophecy in Isa. vii., that the Messiah should be born of a virgin.

1. Let us for the present assume, that the facts really occurred as related here, and inquire whether, if this were the case, it would be possible for *two Evangelists*, in writing the history, so to "*divide*" *themselves* (as modern critics call it), that the one should give only the annunciation to Mary, the other Joseph's dream. *Strauss* and

Bruno Bauer not only take for granted the impossibility of this, but even maintain that the account in Matthew excludes that given by Luke.

Matthew's intention was to furnish a proof that Jesus was the *son of Abraham and David*, i.e., the seed of Abraham in whom all nations were to be blessed, and the successor to David's throne. At the close of the genealogy, he had already traced the title to the throne, from Joseph through Mary to Christ. The words, "the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus," in the place of the words they would naturally expect, "and Joseph begat Jesus," would strike every reader. They therefore needed an explanation. In the history itself there were two incidents that would serve to explain them—*Gabriel's annunciation*, and *Joseph's dream*. In both the matter was explained, but each in a different way. The fact that Jesus was supernaturally conceived, and the manner in which this took place, were shown with peculiar clearness in the *annunciation*; and the account of Mary's doubts would be sufficient to banish from the mind of any reader whatever doubts he might himself have had as to the possibility of conception through the power of God. But this simply brings out the general, doctrinal point, "*Christ is the Son of God.*" The relation in which Joseph, from whom Jesus inherited the title to the theocratic throne, stood to the whole affair, is only shown in the explanation of the manner in which Joseph was brought to take Mary as his lawful wife, after her pregnancy had commenced, and to acknowledge Jesus before the world as his own child. This point, the *main point in Matthew*, could be most clearly exhibited by a simple narration of Joseph's dream.—If this really was the case, and if the assurance of the supernatural conception of Jesus was hereby implicitly given, any further or more special account of the way in which Mary received the first annunciation, would appear superfluous to a writer whose intention was not to relate all the details and specialities with which he was acquainted, but only what might enter as a necessary element into his own plan.

While we have here a sufficient reason why Matthew should select and content himself with the account of Joseph's dream, it is also easy to see why Luke should have selected the two other events. If we simply consider the *history itself*, the annunciation of the birth of Jesus to the woman who was to be His mother was evidently a *more important* point than the discovery made to Joseph on the subject. It was on *special grounds* alone that Joseph's actions were the more important to Matthew. Luke, on the other hand, who wrote for Gentiles, paid far less regard to the *theocratical* relation; though he

naturally reported the words of the angel, that God would *give* to Jesus to sit upon the throne of David, and showed in the simplest and clearest manner that it was not unknown to him (the writer) that the right was given, through adoption on the part of Joseph, by the fact, that in ver. 27 it is of *Joseph* that he states first of all that he was of the house of David.¹ But to Luke the main point was *the miraculous birth of Jesus*, apart from theocratic considerations altogether. Since Heathenism had thought to satisfy its need of redemption by imaginary sons of the gods, there was already existing (in the minds of the Gentile readers of Luke) a receptivity, as well as a need, for the doctrine of the SON OF GOD.—The *parallel* which Luke draws *between Jesus and John the Baptist*, naturally furnished an occasion for introducing the account of this visit paid by Mary to Elisabeth.

2. Let us now examine the position that the narrative in Luke excludes that of Matthew. Strauss sees in the conduct of the angel that appeared to Joseph a contradiction to that of the angel that appeared to Mary, as the angel in Matthew speaks as if his appearance were the first in this matter. This is not the case, however. The angel only speaks as if the message brought by him to Joseph was the first which *Joseph for his part* had received; in other words, as if Joseph knew nothing of the appearance of the angel to Mary. Bauer accordingly gives up this objection, and only insists on the other objection made by Strauss, founded on the conduct of the two betrothed persons towards one another. To the two critics mentioned, it seems inconceivable that Mary made no communication to Joseph respecting the cause of her pregnancy.

But Mary's conduct is easily explained by the nature of the case. She was not required to speak of the matter in the way of confession, for she had nothing to *confess*. She could not in propriety speak of it in a tone of triumph. But, more particularly, speaking of it to Joseph would not serve the purpose of satisfying him. Such a wonder as the miraculous conception of the Son of God could only be accredited by a miracle. Mary saw that her testimony alone could not satisfy Joseph's mind. It was at once a necessity and her *duty* to trust in God for that. As God had chosen her without any action

¹ In this way, in conjunction with the results already obtained, § 32, we arrive at a solution of this verse which *Strauss* regards as a demonstrative proof, that Luke knew nothing of the descent of *Mary* from David, and therefore had no intention to give the genealogy of *Mary* in chap. iii.—On the similar verse in chap. ii. 4, *vid.* p. 139. Mary's descent from David could not be mentioned there, since this was not the reason for the journey. Neither as a descendant of David, nor on account of the census, did Mary travel with Joseph, but because she was with child.

on her part to be the mother of the Messiah, it was not her part by forethought and management to bring other things into agreement with that divine act. And she could not but expect that God would undertake to make the matter known to Joseph. And we shall find that she did not require to keep the secret long.

Thus we see that, *dogmatic* difficulties in reference to miracles apart, the history is perfectly self-consistent and harmonious.

3. Two great difficulties have been discovered by negative critics, in connection with Mary's visit to Elisabeth: the leaping of the babe in the womb, and the songs of praise. The former, however, has first of all to be distorted and magnified, before any difficulty can be made apparent. The simple statement of the Gospel narrative is, that when Mary entered and saluted Elisabeth, as soon as the latter heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elisabeth, who was already informed of the approaching birth of a Messiah, was now "filled with the Holy Ghost" (that is, in scriptural phraseology, thrown into a *prophetic* state), and having saluted Mary as the mother of the Saviour, mentioned the leaping of the babe as something surprising to herself.—It is certainly wrong to resort to the explanation given by *Hoffmann*, that the leaping of the babe was simply the physical consequence of the mother's excitement, and attributable to some peculiarity in the salutation which is unknown to us. The meaning of the Gospel narration is evidently, that the same operation, proceeding direct from God, which called forth the prophetic vision in Elisabeth's *soul*, produced this shock in her bodily organism—a spontaneous movement of the unconscious embryo. It is a natural suggestion to explain this movement of the embryo, *symbolically*, as a salutation of the unborn infant Jesus. But there is no need of *symbolical* interpretation, when we have the simple fact, that the Spirit of the Lord produced this *σκιρτάν*, with distinct reference to the arrival of the mother of Christ. There is nothing more unreasonable in the thought, that an organism, as yet unconscious, should contain or receive in almost indistinguishable germs those high impulses which are afterwards to waken into consciousness, than in the impulse of the plant to seek the light, or the preformation of distinct moral failings inherited from parents.—There is nothing to create offence, therefore, in the Gospel account. *Strauss* may call it "fabulous," and "purposeless," for the "Holy Spirit to be communicated directly to a being without spirit." But not a word is said about any *communication of the Holy Spirit*, much less about any *direct* communication. We have simply an account of an ecstatic operation upon the bodily organism.

The songs, or more correctly, song, of praise (for vers. 42–46 are simply a brief salutation), are objected to on the ground, that such poetical utterances are to be regarded as the consequence of being filled with the Holy Spirit; and the Holy Spirit would not have suggested so many reminiscences of the Old Testament.—But are we to lay down laws for the Holy Spirit? We need only call to mind, how in the Old Testament Micah links his prophecy to the words of the earlier Micah (cf. Micah i. 2, c. 1 Kings xxii. 28); how the benedictions of the patriarchs seem to be spun, as it were, the one out of the other; how in the New Testament also the Revelation is full of reminiscences of Old Testament prophecies; and how in this instance the scattered elements of the Messianic hopes naturally coalesced, since this song of praise is, strictly speaking, the closing psalm of the Old Testament. The Hebrew language adapted itself most easily to the form of hymns; the limits between prose and poetry being less rigid than elsewhere. Given short pregnant sentences, the natural movement of parallelism, an abundance of Old Testament types, and the ecstatic condition produced by the Holy Spirit,—and the hymn is explained; so that there is not left the slightest residuum of physical, psychological, or historical difficulty.

But there still remains a *chronological* objection, which *Schleiermacher*, I believe, was the first to offer. It was not till after the fifth month of Elisabeth's pregnancy that Mary visited her; and it is "very improbable," he says, that notwithstanding her own approaching marriage, she should have stayed with her three months.—*Hug* has refuted this objection with his accustomed thoroughness. He shows how (according to *Philo*, de legg. spec. ii. p. 550, and *Mischna* Ketuboth, c. vii. sel. 6) virgins were *never* allowed to travel; so that it must have been *after* her marriage that the journey was made. The order of events was as follows:—As betrothed, Mary lived entirely secluded from Joseph, and could only correspond with him through the medium of שולחות (*pronubas*). The angel then appeared to her. She waited in silence to see what else the Lord would do. But as soon as the first symptoms of her pregnancy appeared, these women, with natural surprise and suspicion, brought word to Joseph. The angel then appeared to him, and he *immediately* took Mary to his home. A period of fourteen days at the most would be amply sufficient for all this to occur. And immediately after her marriage, Mary set out on her journey with Joseph's consent (cf. Matt. i. 25).—Now, according to Luke i. 26, the annunciation to Mary took place at the commencement of the sixth month after Elisabeth's conception; and if Mary's visit was paid "in those days," say fourteen days after—*i.e.*, before the end of

the sixth month—her return home, reckoning three full months, would occur before the birth of John. Every part, therefore, hangs together in the best possible manner.—The critics, who reckon three months exactly from the sixth month to the ninth, and find no time for the rest, have forgotten that, from the beginning of the sixth month to the end of the ninth, there are not three months, but *four*.

§ 35.

THE BIRTH OF THE LORD.

LUKE II. 1-20.

The appointment of a census by Augustus having rendered it necessary that Joseph should travel to Bethlehem, his ancestral town,¹ he took Mary with him. During her stay in Bethlehem the time for her delivery arrived. As there was no other place in the house, they had to lay the infant in a manger. But whilst the new-born infant, Jesus, was thus brought to so low a stage of humiliation; outside, in the darkness, the Lord sent His angel to announce to the shepherds in the fields, that in the city of David the Saviour, the Messiah, was born. The shepherds came, and found the child, and told Mary all that had occurred; and she kept the words in her heart.

1. There is scarcely any other portion of sacred history that abounds more richly in religious and æsthetic truth than the section before us. Luke is an eminent artist in the delicate arrangement of *contrasts*; and here he has set forth in more than classic, in truly heavenly simplicity, this the most striking of all contrasts,—which is speculatively developed in the 1st chapter of John, and which contained in the germ all the further developments of the life of Jesus, of His sufferings, His victory, and the essential characteristics of His Church. The Son of God is born; and His very first bed is a trough, a manger from which cattle fed. The Evangelist does not tell us *how it happened* that there was *no other place* to put the child: whether Mary was taken so suddenly ill that she was obliged to find refuge in the nearest stable; or whether

¹ Hoffmann accounts for Joseph's journey on the ground that he was either born in Bethlehem, or a citizen there. And yet Luke says so clearly, *διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐξ οἴκου καὶ πατριᾶς Δαυὶδ*. The right of citizenship is by no means needed as an explanation. Joseph certainly seems to have been born in Bethlehem, since he is said to have been *ἐκ πατριᾶς (πόλεως) Δαυὶδ*. But from the Jewish mode of taking the census, the fact that he was of the *οἶκος (gens)* rendered it necessary that he should go to Bethlehem.

the house at which she was lodging was completely filled with other strangers; or, what seems the most probable and natural, whether it was with very poor people that Joseph and Mary (who were themselves poor, cf. Luke ii. 24) were staying, so that, having no superabundance of furniture, they brought out the best trough which was nearest hand, that the infant might not have to be laid upon the ground. And this infant, of which no emperor or king takes notice, lying out there in a hut on the outskirts of the village, is the Son of God. But whilst hidden from the eyes of the world, He is revealed to those who fear the Lord and wait for His salvation. Israelitish shepherds, who took no part in the bustle of the town, were that same night in the field with their flocks. And there appeared to them the *glory of the Lord*, and an *angel of the Lord*; the mediators of all the Old Testament, theocratic revelation. The substance of their angelic message is, that the *Saviour*, the *Messiah*, is born, and *born in the city of David*. And immediately there is heard the jubilant song of the heavenly hosts.

One question now arises: Are there internal discrepancies and incongruities, even on the assumption that Jesus was the Son of God, or are there not? For when *Strauss* asks for an object, and concludes that it was to announce the birth of Jesus, or to reward the piety of the shepherds, being unable to think of any higher object than such *external* ones as these; it is evident that he starts with the assumption, that Jesus was not the Son of God, and that these things could not have taken place in his honour.¹ For if Christ was the Son of God, what other *object* could be desired than that which the event contains within itself, the sacredness of divine fitness? Is there any truth in Sophocles or Goethe? What is all their æsthetic truth when compared with this (even regarding it from an *æsthetic* point of view alone), that the incarnate Son of God, who lay there in the manger, was proclaimed in the night by the angels of God to pious shepherds watching in the fields? Such *beauty* as this,—the glory of God hiding itself in such quiet seclusion, and yet revealing itself in spite of external humiliation,—would be *object* enough, even though there had been *beauty* only, and not *truth* and *necessity* as well.

¹ Perverse as it is to try and find out an external object for every act of the divine power, and every resolution of the divine will; yet there are many cases in which, besides that free divine necessity which has its object in itself alone, a special purpose may be discerned in special consequences. Thus, just when Mary with her natural maternal feelings was looking *down* upon the child to which she had given birth, and could therefore so easily be led into error through the weakness of the flesh, and forget the Son of God, there came as the necessary counterpoise the intelligence brought by the shepherds.

For the *supernatural standpoint* of the New Testament, the history is *perfectly harmonious*. Only against *this dogmatic standpoint* can scepticism be directed.

§ 36.

PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.

LUKE II. 21-40.

When the infant was eight days old, it was circumcised, and the name JESUS given to it, as the angel had commanded. Forty days after His birth, the legal close of the period of purification, Mary and Joseph took Him to the temple, as He was the first-born, to dedicate Him to the Lord (Exod. xiii. 2 ; Num. viii. 16), and to present the offerings prescribed in the law. When the Son of God was thus presented for the first time in His Father's house, as one consecrated to the Lord, it came to pass that a devout old man, named Simeon, to whom the Lord had given an inward revelation that he should live till the New Covenant was introduced, and see the Anointed of the Lord with his own eyes, entered the temple full of the Spirit, and recognising the child by prophetic intuition, took it in his arms as soon as it caught his eye, and declared who the child was, and what conflicts it would have to endure. Here, in the temple at Jerusalem, was Christ for the first time called the Saviour of the *Gentiles*. And here too, in the temple at Jerusalem, was the first announcement made in mysterious words, of a division of the Old Testament covenant nation into two parts, of the hostility of Israel according to the flesh, and of the conflict and death which awaited the Son of God from the servants of the Lord's house.—A prophetess also, named *Anna*, came in, and spoke of the child to all those who were truly and in spirit waiting for Him.

1. These accounts are so simple and clear, that even *Strauss* and *Bruno Bauer* can find no discrepancies or difficulties in them. The former, therefore, takes refuge in his teleology. "Apart altogether," he says, "from the general objections to the admissibility of any miracles whatever, it is peculiarly difficult to admit that there was any miracle in this case, seeing that no sufficient end can be imagined." Either, he says, it was to spread faith in that child, "of which there is no trace" (*vide ver.* 38), or it was for the sake of Simeon and Anna alone, which would be unworthy of Providence. He again twists the assertion "miracles are *impossible*," into another, miracles are *very*

difficult, and give "Providence" amazing trouble. But either they are altogether inadmissible, and then it is superfluous and absurd to say that "it is peculiarly difficult" to admit them in this instance; or they are possible,—that is to say, above the natural and psychological laws that are known to regulate both our earth and our nature, which have been disturbed by *sin*, there exists a kingdom of greater freedom and glory. And if this be the case, the streams of grace that emanate from that kingdom do not flow down with difficulty, in the most indispensable cases alone; but, on the contrary, wherever *it is possible*, and no determined resistance is offered on the part of sinful humanity. At such a time as that of Christ, when a *new* work was about to commence, which was to be *historical* on the one hand, and yet on the other of *eternal importance* for every age, these streams of grace shaped themselves into gifts of prophecy and miracle; but when the end to be realized is the preservation and further development of something already given, they appear as the ordinary gifts of the Spirit.

2. The cause of Mary's astonishment at Simeon's words has been disputed. "His statement as to the sword," says Strauss, "could not have been the occasion, for Mary had already been amazed; nor his allusion to the relation of Jesus to the heathen, for that had been predicted in the Old Testament. There remains, therefore, only the Messiahship of the child, that could have been a ground of amazement; but if this was the case, it follows that the earlier communications of the angels to Joseph and Mary could not have taken place." But S. had evidently no wish to think of another and far simpler explanation of her amazement. Mary was astonished that Simeon should so immediately recognise as the Messiah, a child of which he had never heard before; and that the words of the old man should consequently agree with those of the angel, and thus so thoroughly confirm them. This was the cause of her *joyous amazement*.

The account, therefore, is free from any historical difficulties; and nothing can be said against it, unless "prophecy and prophetic intuition are absolutely impossible."

§ 37.

THE WISE MEN FROM THE EAST.

MATT. II.

Some time after the birth of Jesus, there came Chaldeans (Astronomers) from the East to Jerusalem, and asked for a "King of the

Jews" who was to be born; because they had seen "His star" *rise*.¹ Not only *Herod*, who, as a tyrant, had good reason to tremble on every occasion, but all the inhabitants of the capital, who were as much afraid of new revolutions as of the wrath of the king, were alarmed at this amazing account. Herod immediately called together the priests and scribes, to inquire of them where, according to prophecy, the Messiah was to be born; and was told that, according to the prophecy of Micah, Bethlehem was the place. He then sent quietly for the Chaldeans, and elicited from them the most precise information as to the whole sidereal phenomenon, and chiefly as to the time of its appearance. When the man, who had in all probability resolved that if such a child should be found it should be put to death, had thus informed himself as to its age and the place where it was to be sought for, he ordered the Chaldeans to search for the child in Bethlehem, and on their return to bring him word, that he might go and "worship Him also." The wise men went to Bethlehem, and again the star stood before them the whole way. When they had found the child, they worshipped Him, and presented Him with royal gifts. But God warned them in a dream not to return by Jerusalem. Herod was enraged that they did not come, and lost no time in using the little information he had already received, as to the age and dwelling-place of the child, for the purpose of executing a plan by which he hoped with certainty to accomplish his design. He therefore issued the barbarous command, that all the children in Bethlehem who were under two years of age should be put to death. But Joseph had been warned by an angel in a dream; and was already on his way to Egypt with Mary and her child.

1. There is no other account whose credibility is attested by such remarkable and convincing proofs as this. We will place all the data side by side.

a. On the 20th May 747 U.C. (the year in which, according to *Ideler's* thorough and unquestionable calculations, Christ was born), the two largest of the superior planets, *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, came so nearly into conjunction in the sign of Pisces, that they would be seen

¹ Ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ (rendered "in the East") would probably be correctly rendered "in the rising," or "we saw it rise." For in ver. 1 "the East" is described as αἱ ἀνατολαί in the plural. According to *Meyer* and *Kuinöl*, ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ is opposed to ἐπ'άνω in ver. 9,—its *rising* in opposition to its *culmination*. The point of importance was evidently that a new star had *risen* or *ascended*. A mere bursting forth, high up in the heavens, would have been meteoric and unimportant. Beside this, the explanation of ἀνατολή is of no consequence whatever for the further understanding of the event itself.

in the morning sky not more than one degree asunder. On the 27th of October they were again not more than *one* degree from absolute conjunction in the 16th degree of Pisces, and would be seen at midnight in the southern sky. On the 12th of November a third conjunction took place in the 15th degree of Pisces; and, according to Kepler, this time Mars was also near.

b. The Jew Abarbanel, who *knew nothing* of such a conjunction in the year 747 U.C., states that there was a tradition, that no conjunction of the planets had been of greater importance than that of Jupiter and Saturn, which occurred in *Pisces* in the year 2365, three years before the birth of *Moses*. He also states that the sign of Pisces was the most important of the signs of the Zodiac for the Israelites; and draws the conclusion from the fact that a similar conjunction had taken place in his own day (1463 ær. Dion.), that the *birth of the Messiah* must be near at hand.—From all this it may at all events be safely concluded, that from time immemorial the Jews had regarded conjunctions in the sign of Pisces as possessing peculiar importance.¹ And as the Israelites were not the inventors of astrology, but received it from the Chaldeans, the latter must also have recognised the significance of such a conjunction.

c. On the 17th Dec. 1603, *Kepler* first observed a conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn* in the sign of Capricornus (the constellation Serpentarius), to which there was added in the spring of 1604 the planet *Mars*, and in the autumn an *entirely new star*, resembling in brilliancy a star of the *first magnitude*, which disappeared again in 1605.

From all these *data* we may draw the following conclusions. Though it cannot be regarded as a fixed law, that new stars appear in connection with the conjunction of great planets; it cannot, on the other hand, be denied that there was something very remarkable in the fact, that the new star which appeared in 1604 coincided with the conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, and the close approximation of *Mars*. Without attempting to explain it either optically or cosmically, we simply ask, whether it is not a very significant fact, that we should hear of another *new star* just at a time when, according to astronomical reckoning, another perfectly similar conjunction occurred? Moreover, the new star appeared twice; first in the eastern sky, then some months later (after its heliacal setting) in the southern sky; and this agrees most remarkably with the calculations of *Ideler*, that there were two conjunctions, first in the eastern, then in the southern sky.--

According to *Ideler* ii. p. 401-2, and *Kepler* (*de stella nova* 1606), to later astrologers also. The reason is to be found in the regular periodical return of the "conjunctions—the fiery Trigon," which occur about every 794 years.

It will be obvious that by *ἀστήρ* I understand not the *conjunction itself*, though even that is not grammatically impossible, but (with *Kepler*) a *new star*, which *may* have appeared at that time along with the conjunction, as it certainly *did* in 1604.

The following objections to my argument are to be found in *Zeller's Jahrbuch* (1847). *a.* "If, notwithstanding Rabbi Abarbanel, there is no peculiar cosmical connection between the sign of Pisces and Israel, what appears in that sign can have no actual reference to the nation of Israel." Nor do we maintain that it has any such reference. We merely appeal to the tradition of Abarbanel as a proof that the *Chaldean and Jewish astrologers* must have assumed in their astrology that there was some connection between this constellation and the Israelitish nation; and from this we have explained how the Chaldeans might arrive at the conclusion, that the phenomenon in question had reference to an *Israelitish* king. In addition to this, however, they were unquestionably also influenced by the prophecies of Balaam and Daniel, which were well known in the East.—*b.* "If such a conjunction of the superior planets recurs at certain intervals (and was not merely an event that took place at that particular time), without a Christ being born each time, then the conjunction at that time could not really have signified the birth of Christ." But what are we to understand by the words "really have signified"? I have given no occasion to saddle me with the foolish opinion, that such a conjunction in objective reality draws after it always the birth of a distinguished man, or that that particular conjunction was the cause of the birth of Christ. All that I have said is, that according to the views which prevailed at that time among the Chaldeans, a phenomenon of this kind might have appeared *to them* to be a sign that the birth of a king of Israel, which they were anticipating according to the prophecies of Balaam and Daniel, was now about to take place. Whether it was a thing worthy of God to turn to account the *erroneous* opinions which were current at any particular time in order to accomplish His purposes, is a question which we shall consider by and by.—*c.* "If *Kepler*, in 1604, saw a new fixed star appear in the same constellation, but this time in the sign of Capricornus, and the star subsequently disappeared, why should not the Magi have seen it also, and have regarded this particular star as that of the Messiah also?" But my argument does not run thus: "In 1604 a new star appeared in connection with the conjunction of the planets, *ergo* (apart from the account given by *Matthew*) there is reason to suppose that in 747 U.C. a new star also appeared in connection with a similar conjunction; but a new star denotes the Messiah, *therefore* the Messiah must have been born in

747." I merely say, Matthew gives an account of a new star which appeared at the time of Christ's birth; and *astronomical calculations* show that at the time when, according to Luke i. and Matt. ii., Jesus was actually born, an unusual conjunction of the planets occurred, and one in connection with the recurrence of which in 1604 a new star *again* appeared. And from this unsought coincidence between the *account in Matthew* and the facts connected with the *two conjunctions* of 747 U.C. and 1604 A.D., I draw the conclusion, that what Matthew says of the new star cannot be a *myth*, since it would be utterly incredible that the account of a new star appearing along with a conjunction which really did take place in 747 U.C., should so remarkably coincide with an analogous *Fact* of the year 1604, and yet be nothing but a myth after all.

Now, if we bear in mind the prophecy of *Balaam*, which, whether the negative critic accepts it as historical or not, was at any rate in existence along with the Pentateuch at the time of the captivity, and had penetrated into the countries of the East; if we remember, again, that, whether the book of *Daniel* be regarded as genuine or not, it proves most conclusively that an attachment on the part of the Jewish exiles to the Chaldean astrology must have been conceivable, or rather certain; and if, lastly, we keep in mind the fact that there were thousands of Jews still living in Chaldea:¹ it will be easy enough to understand, how Chaldean Magi, to whom a conjunction of the planets in the sign of *Pisces* would in itself be a memorable event, who regarded this sign as specially connected with Judæa, and who were acquainted with the prophecy of a star that was to rise out of Jacob, and to rule and conquer, should have been led, by this remarkable phenomenon of a conjunction of two planets in the sign of *Pisces*, with a third planet close by, and an *entirely new star* by their side, to adopt the conclusion, that a *King* must be born, a King of *Judæa*, and in fact the *long-promised King*.² Is it probable that an

¹ Vide Josephus, Ant. 15, 3, 1. The kings of the *Himyarides* (from 100 B.C.), and those of *Adiabene*, Northern Chaldea, were Jews. I am hardly prepared to agree with *Kepler* and *Hoffmann*, that the wise men themselves were Jews. In ver. 2 they speak of "the Jews" in the third person; and throughout appear as *foreigners*.

² They did not understand the prophecy of Balaam to refer to a literal *star* (as *Bleek* erroneously supposes), but to a *King*. It was not from reading Num. xxiv., but from the *Chaldean astrology*, that they derived the view that a real star would be the forerunner of the King. *Hug's* opinion (*Gutachten*, p. 114), that the Magi set out upon their journey on speculation, to see whether *anything important* really had occurred, and therefore whether the phenomenon they had observed denoted anything or not, does not appear to me to be either natural or supernatural.

account, which agrees so remarkably with the results of the *most modern astronomical science*, is an *invention* or a *myth*? It must have been a singularly “clairvoyant” myth, which could shape itself so perfectly to the discoveries which would be made eighteen centuries afterwards!

2 The account of the manner in which the star appeared to the wise men, and the service it did them, has been exposed to two classes of objections,—first *exegetical*, and secondly *doctrinal*.

Yet if we read the narrative given by Matthew, just as we have it, hardly a difficulty is to be found. What the Chaldeans saw was an *ἀστήρ*, i.e., a star like any other,—no meteor or falling star, but belonging either to the fixed stars, or the comets, or the *new* stars. That it was a *new* star, is evident from the fact that they call it the “star of the Messiah.” It was in itself prophetic of the Messiah; and did not merely become so, through its position among the rest of the stars.—In their own country they had seen it *in the east*. It was not by its position in the heavens, therefore, that they were led towards the west; so that we cannot think of it as going before them. It was, on the contrary, as we have said, its appearance in a certain sign of the Zodiac, which in their astrology represented Judæa, and possibly also Balaam’s prophecy, which moved them to visit the capital of Judæa.¹ From Jerusalem they went to Bethlehem, not because the star moved along in front of them (for, as *Lange* correctly observes, it was not till they were on the road that the star appeared), but because Herod himself had directed them to go to Bethlehem (*vide* ver. 8). On the way, they saw the star again; and this time it stood in the south, not merely moving by cosmical motion from north to south, or in the ordinary way from east to west, but, according to the well-known *optical law*, which any one may observe on a clear evening, appearing to go with them or before them. And when Matthew says it “went before them (*προῆγεν*) till it came and stood (*ἔστη*) over where the young child was,” the going and the standing are to be regarded, not as the cause, but as the consequence of their going and of their arrival. The intention of the writer is to describe how, when they had reached at length the desired end of their journey, and stood upon the edge of the table land which separates Jerusalem from the valley of Bethlehem, high up above the village they saw the star shining and twinkling in the heavens. That this is the meaning of ver. 9, and not that the star is described as a *guide*, is very clearly shown in ver. 10, where, instead of reading that they entered the house, we read that they rejoiced exceedingly on account of the star. That they

¹ It is hardly necessary to recall the well-known fact, that people in the East prefer travelling in the night, especially on short journeys.

then made some inquiry (cf. ver. 8) respecting the child and its present abode, is such a matter of course, that it would have been as unmeaning on the part of Matthew to mention it, as it is on the part of Strauss to expect it.

We know, therefore, what opinion to form of the exposition, which forces upon the text the absurdity of saying that the star "danced along the road in front of the Chaldeans, and then planted itself firmly over the roof of the house." And yet even *Bleek* (p. 21) says that in our explanation the text is put upon the rack in the old rationalistic fashion. I think not. In Matthew's whole account, there is not the slightest trace of any *topographical difficulty* on the part of the Magi in *finding the high road to Bethlehem*. The intention of Matthew, therefore, *cannot* have been to represent the star as a *topographical guide*; but rather to exhibit it as a sign from God, that the Magi (when on the road to Bethlehem) were in the *right* way to the Messiah, whereas previously, when seeking Him in Jerusalem, they had been in the *wrong*. Therefore they rejoice on account of the star; and not because it went before them like a lantern, keeping a few steps in advance. At least I can find no trace of anything of this kind in the text.

One remark may be allowed as to the time of year at which the star appeared. According to *Ideler's* reckoning, it is probable that it was seen the first time in the spring of 747, and that the arrival of the Chaldeans took place in *October*. Herod, assuming that the first appearance of the star coincided with the birth of the child, and in order to make quite sure, gave orders that every child *under two years* of age should be killed.

3. Before passing on to the dogmatic objections, we will just briefly notice one or two *historical* objections with reference to *Herod's conduct*.—The first question started is, why did Herod make his inquiry *secretly*; and why such *minute* inquiries? The answer is this: *Secretly*, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem might not know that the matter disturbed his mind; for were they once to know this, they might warn the Chaldeans not to betray the child to a king who was sure to have mischief in his mind. Moreover, Herod wanted to put the child out of the way *before* it was known, and therefore dangerous. Possibly, if *Bauer* had been in Herod's place, he would have made a proclamation, "This afternoon, at three o'clock, I shall examine the Chaldean strangers as to the infant Messiah."—The inquiry was *minute*, because it is customary to inquire minutely about so important a matter as the existence of a pretender was to Herod. *Hoffmann's* remark appears to me to be well founded, that Herod inquired about the time when the star appeared, not merely for the purpose of learning the *age*

of the child, but also with the intention of asking his own astrologers, whether such a star really had appeared, so as to find out whether the visit of the Chaldeans might not be, after all, merely one part of a plot.

This serves to remove another objection, viz., "As Herod did not determine upon his murderous plan till he found that the Chaldeans were not returning, why did he ask them about the age of the child?"—It is true that Herod did not determine to kill *all* the children in Bethlehem till he found that the Chaldeans were not returning, and it was impossible, therefore, to make any further inquiry about this *particular* child; but from the very first, he had evidently had in his mind the design of killing *this* child, or making away with it in some other way. (*Vide Saurin*, disc. histor. critiq. etc., tom. ix. p. 225.) Does Strauss think Herod really meant to *worship* the child (ver. 8)? *Saurin* (p. 226) also suggests, what is quite possible, that when Herod considered the suspicious nature of the whole affair, and the failure of the Magi to return, he may easily have imagined that there was some plot against him on the part of the inhabitants of Bethlehem;—a thought, which would be still more likely to lead him to the determination to murder *all* the children in Bethlehem.

The objection, that no allusion is made by other historians to the horrors of the infant-murder at Bethlehem, is sufficiently met by simply calling to mind how small the number would be of children under two years of age, in a little place like Bethlehem. The murder of a few children vanished like a drop in the ocean, amidst the other far greater cruelties of Herod.¹

¹ Compare, among others, Hoffmann, 262, and *Josephus*, Wars of the Jews, 1, 33, 6. Before he died, Herod had the most distinguished men of the whole nation shut up in the race-course, and gave orders that they should all be murdered at the moment of his death, "that all Judæa and every house may weep, though involuntarily, for me."—See also the complaint of the Jewish ambassadors to Rome, in *Josephus*, Ant. 17, 11, 2: "There were a great many who perished by that destruction he brought upon them,—so many, indeed, as no other history relates; and they that survived were far more miserable than those that suffered under him. . . . They would say nothing of the corruption of their virgins, and reproach brought upon their wives, and those things acted after an insolent and inhuman manner. . . . Herod had put such abuses upon them as a wild beast would not have put upon them, if he had power given him to rule."—A still more detailed account is given in *Hug's* Gutachten, p. 111: "Confessions forced out by torture; executions, including those of his own two sons, who were perhaps the best men in his whole family; the punishment of death inflicted upon such of the Pharisees as had not taken the oath; the burning alive of the youths who pulled down the golden eagle in the temple, along with their leaders; and, immediately after, the assassination of the nominated successor to the throne. . . . This string of murders at the court were enough to lead any historian to overlook the slaughter of a few infants in a little country town."

Stress has also been laid upon the fact, that Matthew does not say a single word about the Chaldeans having expressed astonishment at finding *the King* so poor. But from the time when they learned that the child was neither the son of Herod, nor of a prince, but was to be found in a village, they must have been prepared to find him poor. And this was not too great a demand upon the faith which had undertaken so long a journey.

4. We pass on now to the *doctrinal objections*. To many it is inconceivable that God should have supported the *erroneous opinion*, that the birth of great men is attended by signs in the heavens. But both the biblical history and daily experience afford convincing evidence, that the providence of God makes not error only, but even sin, subservient to the accomplishment of its designs. It would have been incomprehensible, if God had occasioned the *rise* of the Chaldean astrology through the appearance of this star. But the Chaldean astrology was in existence before. And, *in addition to this*, there was also a well-known prediction of the coming of a celebrated *King of the Jews*. Now, if the overruling providence of God did so order events, that, according to the previous premises of the Chaldean astrology, the conjunction and the appearance of the star led the Magi to seek at the right moment the new-born King of the Jews, this would be in perfect analogy to the standing law of divine revelation, that God mercifully stoops to the weakness of men, that He may lead them onward *step by step*. Thus the first revelations of a coming Messiah were linked on to the *political* desires of Israel, and it was not till a later period that they were more clearly explained; whilst the full explanation was reserved for Christ Himself. Thus Paul, again, took as his starting point the altar and worship of the unknown God. Ought God to have given the Chaldeans a revelation, attested by signs and wonders, and thus to have refuted their astrological hypotheses, whilst He sent them *direct* information of the birth of Jesus? Negative critics would justly enough have taken offence at this. In the case of the shepherds, God used the Israelitish form—the Shechinah and vision of angels; and with the Chaldeans a Chaldean form—astrology. This was the true method, and one worthy of divine wisdom, to cure the Chaldeans of their astrology, by leading them, *through* their astrology, to Christianity, which bore within itself the power to conquer astrology.—But (it may perhaps be asked) was this really the case? Do we not meet with astrology in connection with Christianity, and did it not take its stand upon this very passage? Had not the star, therefore, *this* injurious effect, of *confirming* men in their astrological errors, and thus of increasing the difficulty of effecting the overthrow of

astrology? No doubt the star has really produced this effect in the case of persons who have taken the same view of the whole occurrence as the negative critics themselves do, namely, without regard to the law of *true* divine accommodation. But *God* is not responsible for this abuse. It was only amidst the corrupt Christianity of the Middle Ages that it took its rise, and it was soon swept away again by the Reformation. Moreover, if any one maintains that it would have been improper for God to allow this *star* to appear, when it was sure to be so abused, I go still further, and maintain that we have an equal right to say that it was improper for God to allow the *account* of the star to be written, since it was *by this primarily* that the astrology of the Middle Ages was occasioned or confirmed. And if, even with the danger of such abuses, it was right for the providence of God to allow the *account* to be written, it was equally right for the providence of God to let the *star itself* coincide with the erroneous opinions of the Chaldeans, so as to lead them to the source from which the power to conquer all such errors was henceforth to flow.

It was a great mistake, in *Strauss's* opinion, for God to permit the *murder of the infants*, as Matthew says He did. He even goes so far as to explain how it might have been avoided.—But if we were to ask *Strauss* why God permitted Bartholomew's night, he would not keep us waiting for an answer. He would show, that whatever suffering occurs in the ordinary course of things, is the result of *necessary development*, of an *iron necessity*; in other words, that he has no wish whatever to believe in the determination of the ordinary course of things by the *will* of a *personal God*. In contrast with this machinery of the universe, the sphere of miraculous interference is regarded by him as a sphere in which God acts as a *single individual*, and therefore has all the *responsibility* of a single individual. Consequently God is not responsible for St Bartholomew's night, because, in his opinion, this was not connected with the will of a personal God; but for the murders at Bethlehem He is, because they were occasioned by Him, as much as a conflagration by a careless boy.—We come to a totally different conclusion.

We also believe in an "immanence" of God in the world. And in the course of events, which is determined partly by a prearranged necessity of nature, and partly by a permitted freedom of finite creatures, we see the working out of the eternal, but free and self-conscious will of God. But for that very reason we maintain that this will possesses the right of *concursus ad malum*; the right, that is to say, of causing *moral evil*—which exists independently of God and through the caprice of man—to result in *physical ill* (which leads again

to *good* as its ultimate result). And to us it makes no difference by *what means* this realization of evil in physical ill is effected, whether through the ordinary course of events, or by the intervention of higher laws. In the latter case, as in the former, God is not an individual responsible to a presumptuous man; but in both,—Bethlehem, as well as St Bartholomew's night,—God is the eternal, personal Lord, who causes evil to work itself out, when, and where, and how He will, in order that the evil may thereby destroy itself, and good, the absolute purpose of God, be thereby secured.—But it would be folly to attempt to *prove*, in any particular instance, that this end had been secured, whether in Bethlehem, the destruction of Magdeburg, or the massacre of St Bartholomew.

§ 38.

JOSEPH'S DWELLING-PLACE.

It cannot be inferred with certainty, from the words “into his own city” (Luke ii. 3), that Joseph was born in Bethlehem, or even descended from the Bethlehemites; since we find in ver. 4 his descent from *David* assigned as the special reason why he went to Bethlehem. So much is certain, at any rate, that he was not *settled* at Bethlehem (cf. Luke ii. 7).—If the census did not oblige him to go to Bethlehem, yet, as a member of the family of David, he certainly would *wish* to go there. And this having once furnished an occasion for his leaving Nazareth, there were reasons enough why he should remain at Bethlehem: viz., Mary's approaching confinement, which rendered it necessary that he should stay there for some time; the peculiar relation in which he stood to Mary, of which both Matthew and Luke have given an account; and lastly, his poverty, which rendered it easy for him to settle wherever he could find work, whilst neither property nor business called him back to Nazareth. Consequently, in Matt. ii. 11, we find him in a “house” (*oikía*).—But his stay in Bethlehem was speedily interrupted by the flight into Egypt; and on their return from Egypt, though Herod was no longer alive, the reign of his cruel¹

¹ Josephus, Ant. 17, 11, 2: “(Archelaus) seemed to be afraid lest he should not be deemed Herod's own son; and so, without any delay, he let the nation understand his meaning, and this before his dominion was well established, since the power of disposing of it belonged to Cæsar, who could either give it to him or not, as he pleased. He had given a specimen of his future virtue to his subjects, and with what kind of moderation and good administration he would govern them, by that his first action, which concerned them, his own citizens, and God also, when he made the slaughter of three thousand of his own countrymen at the temple.”

son Archelaus was a sufficient reason for their preferring to wend their way back to Nazareth.

1. Assuming all this, the question arises, *Is it probable that two writers* would so diverge from one another, that one would describe Nazareth as the actual abode, and the stay in Bethlehem as merely transitory, and therefore, treating the return to Nazareth as a matter of course, merely record it without giving any further motive, while the other speaks as if Bethlehem was the original dwelling-place, and so assigns special reasons for the removal to Nazareth? In my opinion it is; and even on the supposition that the authors of the first and third Gospels were fully acquainted with the entire objective course of the history, an unconditional answer ought not to be given in the negative. Even in this case it would neither be unnatural nor impossible for each of the authors to write as he has written. We must not forget that such a question as, Which was Joseph's real home? cannot have had any very marked importance either for the Evangelists or their readers. Their attention was directed to totally different things. And if it can be shown that each of the two writers may have been naturally led by his own peculiar standpoint to narrate the account as he has, the relative inaccuracy or incompleteness of the two accounts is fully explained. Now this can really be shown, and without forcing the narratives. *Luke* had already mentioned Nazareth as Mary's dwelling-place, when describing the preliminary preparations for the birth of Jesus (chap. i.), and therefore was naturally induced to state (what appeared almost inevitably to follow from chap. i.) that Joseph also had lived in Nazareth previous to the journey mentioned in chap. ii. 1 sqq.—Now, as the stay in Bethlehem cannot have continued more than a few months, and *Luke* does *not relate* the account of the Chaldeans¹ and the ensuing journey to Egypt, which was only a brief interlude, as Herod died a few months after, nothing was more natural than that he should just give in a formula, which bears the impress of a *general statement*, the brief notice, that Joseph and Mary did not remain in Bethlehem, but returned again to Galilee.

Matthew, on the contrary, to whom the birth in *Bethlehem* was unquestionably of importance, as the fulfilment of a prophecy (chap. ii. 5, 6), and who saw no reason for mentioning the circumstances which occasioned the journey thither, represents Joseph (and, as we have seen, rightly so) as living in Bethlehem (chap. ii. 11); and not having made any previous allusion to Nazareth at all, he cannot speak of the journey to Nazareth simply as a "return." On the other hand,

¹ It bore no necessary relation to his plan.

the more important it appeared to him to record the fact, that by the residence of Jesus in despised Galilee a prophecy was fulfilled (chap. ii. 23), the more occasion had he to describe the peculiar leadings of God by which the removal to Nazareth was occasioned. And though he simply mentions the fact, that Joseph chose *Nazareth* as his dwelling-place, it is certainly implied that he must have had some special reason for going to that particular place; all which is in perfect harmony with Luke's account, that Joseph had lived there before.

The following, then, are the results which we obtain :—1. The stay in Bethlehem was something more than a *journey*. Joseph would have settled there but for the circumstance related in Matt. ii. 22. Matthew is correct, therefore, in speaking of a *dwelling* (*oikia*) in Bethlehem.—2. The stay in Bethlehem was actually so short and transitory, that Luke was perfectly right in describing the removal to Nazareth as a *return*.

In the manner, therefore, in which Matthew and Luke relate the occurrences, there is not the slightest contradiction. If the *two* events occurred as described, it is perfectly conceivable that two writers, giving prominence to different facts, and concerned more about the *substance* of the narrative than about topographical notices, should have such divergences as these in their accounts. The *possibility* of this must be conceded by any negative critic, even assuming that the authors of the Gospels were *fully* acquainted with every point in the objective course of events. *Even then*, the fact of Matthew having so written that, if we had not Luke as well, we should necessarily regard Bethlehem as Joseph's original abode, and Luke so, that if we had not Matthew, we should have no suspicion of any lengthened stay in Bethlehem, does not by any means show that the two accounts are founded upon a variable myth, and not upon one real objective fact.

But the supposition itself is by no means necessary. Luke was not an eye-witness of the life of Jesus; and Matthew was, at all events, not an eye-witness of His infancy. Both must have derived their knowledge from oral or written accounts. And as their informants were, from the very nature of the case, not concerned to relate historical investigations into Joseph's abode, but particular occurrences connected with the infancy of Jesus, it is perfectly conceivable that the different accounts should be imperfect, so that Matthew should not hear of Joseph's original residence in Nazareth, nor Luke of Joseph's determination to remain in Bethlehem until peculiar circumstances decided him to return to his first abode. There is nothing, therefore, in the apparent discrepancy which affords the slightest *evidence* of there being anything mythical in the two accounts; whilst, on the other hand, the fact that the Aramean Matthew, even in the time of

Jerome, contained the sections corresponding to the two first chapters of Matthew, and therefore that the *Apostle Matthew* did write this account, is proof enough of the utter fallacy of any such hypothesis.

§ 39.

JESUS IN THE TEMPLE.

LUKE II. 41-52.

When Jesus was twelve years old, He was taken by Joseph and Mary for the first time to the feast of the Passover; and on their return, He remained behind in Jerusalem, without the knowledge of His parents, who were already on their way back. They had no doubt that Jesus had joined the caravan; and therefore the first ground of uneasiness arose, when they encamped for the night, and found that He was not there, and had not been seen by any of their fellow-travellers for the whole day. With well-founded anxiety for the child, who was left behind in the capital alone, they returned the following day to Jerusalem, and sought for Him the whole evening of this second day, and the whole of the third day, among all their acquaintances, in all the inns, and in all the streets; until at last they found Him, where they least expected, in a room of the temple, sitting in the midst of a circle of teachers, listening to them, asking them questions, and, when questions were addressed to Him, exciting astonishment through the answers which He gave. To the natural inquiry of His mother, "Son, why hast Thou thus dealt with us?" He replied, with a feeling of the purest innocence (since it seemed to Him for His part quite as natural, and as much a matter of course), that He belonged to the house of Him, whom in the fulness of His own *immediate consciousness* He recognised as His Father. Into this feeling Joseph and Mary were unable to enter; and therefore they could not understand His reply. But Mary kept the occurrence in her heart.

1. Critics have proved, in their treatment of this account, what mastery in distortion can do. In the first place, this dilemma is presented to us: Either the parents of Jesus must have had so much confidence in Him, that they could pass a whole day without looking for Him, and in that case it is difficult to understand why they should have been anxious in the evening; or, if there was cause for the latter, it is incredible that they should have remained calm all day.—But if the parents of Jesus had always been accustomed to the most strict obedience from their child, it is conceivable that, travelling as

they did with "kinsfolk and acquaintances," and having told Jesus of the time of their departure, they had every reason to suppose that Jesus would start along with them; and though He was not in their company, they naturally thought that He was with some of their relations. But when evening came, and they found that no one had seen Him, the very fact that they were so accustomed to obedience from Him would cause them the greater anxiety, as they would feel sure that some *misfortune* must have occurred to detain Him. And this natural parental feeling would not be suppressed by the reflection that "the Messianic career had been ensured by angels to the child." (Zeller's Jahrb. 1847.) What *contradiction* there can be between those promises and the present anxiety, I cannot imagine. The thought that the child was *dead*, would unquestionably have been irreconcilable with the angels' words, were it not the very nature of anxiety to leave no time for reflection, or for calm meditation upon consolatory truths. Though even granting that Mary remembered those words, might she not still be afraid lest some other accident had befallen Him, lest perchance He had been waylaid; and would she not regard it as the most sacred duty imposed upon *her*, to rescue a child whose destiny she knew from possible danger, and to devote herself to the task with the greatest energy and care? Every attack of this kind, that may be made upon the sacred history, however wise in its own esteem, turns out to be the most glaring folly.

2. Several objections rest upon studiously false exegesis. Strauss mentions the custom, that the scholars of the Rabbis in the *consessus* were wont to *stand*. But this notice is doubly worthless; as, in the first place, Strauss himself is obliged to admit that the sources from which he (or rather his *vade-mecum* Lightfoot) has taken the notice are doubtful; and, in the second place, it is not a regular *consessus*, a constituted assembly of doctors, that is referred to in the passage. Jesus sits not along with other scholars beside one or more teachers, but as a single scholar in the midst of the doctors. The boy has not forced Himself into a constituted consessus, but through occasional confidential intercourse with single doctors, He has led more and still more of them to gather about Him.

When Strauss finds in the words ἐν μέσῳ τῶν . . . the meaning that Jesus sat at least on equal terms with, if not in a place of honour among, the teachers, we must bear with him in this idiosyncrasy. To us the expression simply points to the remarkable circumstance, that a boy of twelve years old should be found, not among other boys, but among grave elderly persons.

The sharp-witted man has made much also out of the "asking

and answering questions." He calls to mind, in a most unnecessary way, the account of some *apocrypha*, in which Jesus is said to have "taught in all the faculties." Yet he admits that, according to Luke's meaning, the questions spoken of may have been, not questions addressed by a catechist to his pupils, but questions, on the contrary, addressed by an inquiring pupil to his instructors. But though *he* has no objection to offer, he tries to throw obstacles in the way of this natural explanation of the text ("hearing and asking them questions"), by adducing a peculiar opinion from *Olshausen*, and the view held by *Hess*, that Jesus gradually and indirectly brought the Rabbins to see how untenable were the views they held. But what in the world could lead to the conclusion, that the conversation turned upon rabbinical opinions, and had for its object the conversion of the Rabbins to Christianity? Surely a dispute about rabbinical eccentricities would not have chained Jesus to the spot, or have given Him such inward peace and joy as to make Him feel that "He was in His Father's (home)." What if, on the contrary, Jesus had just heard some passages from the prophets read, had asked for an explanation, put some questions, and from the fulness of His own innate knowledge had given answers Himself, which were so striking as to leave everything that the teachers said far behind, and therefore to excite the greatest astonishment! Thus deeply absorbed in the Old Testament revelation, and in everything that He heard read, and recognising with joy His Father's *holy* nature and His own; not only could He *forget* the journey home, but feel, this absorption in the eternal wisdom is my own element, and every other employment is as nothing compared with this, the necessary occupation of my soul.

When His parents came in, Jesus said to them, "How is it that ye sought Me? wist ye not that I must be ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μου? Here also have Strauss and B. Bauer shown what false exegesis can do. Strauss regards the words of Jesus as a dogmatic dictum concerning His Messiahship; Bauer as an unmistakeable rejection of a father who is no father. According to the latter explanation, Jesus, with malicious pride, repels the address of Mary, which proceeded from motherly love ("he there is not My father; I have a better"). B. Bauer has got these representations from his own heart. According to the text, there is no reproof in the reply of Jesus. It contains nothing but the most thorough and affecting *sincerity*. In His inmost soul He had (not *thought out* by reflection, but) *felt* so deeply and fully that the one end of His whole nature and existence was to be engaged in τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, that He could only think of this as a perfect matter of course, and naturally wondered that Mary should not have

known it as well. But for that very reason Joseph and Mary did not understand His answer. They could not enter into His point of view, or His feelings. Though Mary knew well enough that "that which was born of her was the Son of God," yet she had no inward perception that the word of the Father could be such sufficient comfort to the soul, and that even to a boy. But whilst unable to understand her own son, she kept all this, in quiet, devout humility, within her heart.

CHAPTER II.

CHRIST AND JOHN THE BAPTIST.

§ 40.

PREACHING AND BAPTISM OF JOHN.

MATT. III. 1-12; MARK I. 1-5; LUKE III. 1-15.

IN the thirtieth year after the birth of Jesus, John, the son of Zacharias and Elisabeth, made his appearance in the waste districts which stretch along the western side of the Dead Sea to its junction with the Jordan, *preaching*, and *baptizing* those who attended believingly to his word, as a symbol of their confession that they were worthy of death. The substance of his *discourses*, as given in a *general* way by Matthew (iii. 2) and Mark (i. 4), was twofold: *a summons to repent, and an announcement that the time had come for the forgiveness of sins in the kingdom of heaven.* John lived in the desert like the Old Testament prophets, with the strictest abstinence from all enjoyments, crucifying the flesh. The fame of his preaching attracted people in all directions, from the smaller towns in Judæa, and also from the capital itself. Every one wanted to see the new prophet; even the leading men of the world, whose haughty nihilistic tendency was generally described by the name *Sadduceeism*, as well as the humble classes, who, with the exception of a few of *genuine piety*, were characterized by a *pharisaic spirit* of pride, on account of their external, trivial fulfilment of the law. Without giving the preference to either class, John addressed to both descriptions of men, who were flocking to him with curiosity, cutting words that went to the heart, of which both Matthew and Luke have furnished specimens (Matt. iii. 7-10; Luke iii. 7-9). He called them a generation of vipers; denied to them the hope of escaping the wrath of God, if they continued to boast of their lineal descent from Abraham; and set before

them the coming Messiah as the judge and destroyer of the *pseudo-Jewish*, or carnally Jewish, power,—*the coming One* who, according to Mal. iii., was to subject Israel to a *refining process*, and to separate the pure ore from the dross (the new, and New-Testament, Israel from the old, carnal seed of Israel). But to those who asked sincerely what they were to do, the Baptist, according to their different circumstances, gave special commands to deny themselves (Luke iii. 10-14). When the opinion was expressed that he was really the Messiah, he gave it the firmest denial, humbly acknowledging his own inferiority to the coming Messiah, and that of the baptism by water to the baptism of the Spirit.

1. The spot in which John baptized has given the critics great trouble. It is true the whole matter is very simple. Matthew describes it in the most general terms: "in the wilderness of Judæa," which means the piece of barren, rocky land enclosing the western shore of the Dead Sea, and stretching uninterruptedly to the neighbourhood of Jericho.¹ Luke, on the contrary, gives the more detailed information, that John did not stay all the time in one place, but moved about in the "country about Jordan." Now, even if the *narrow valley* of the Jordan was cultivated, this would not prevent those who went out to him, and who had to travel through uncultivated, rocky, barren regions before they could reach the southern extremity of the fertile plain of Jericho, which is very narrow here, from saying, "John is away in the desert."²

It is therefore useless trouble which Strauss gives himself, when he remarks that the wilderness of Judæa lay farther south, and refers to Winer (Realw. s. v. Wüste), when it is said that "the wilderness of Judæa *appears* to have stretched from the right bank of the Kidron to near the south-west end of the Dead Sea," since to all those who

¹ See Schubert's Travels; especially the description of the lower part of the valley of the Kidron, and the excursion from Jerusalem to Jericho.—Also Josephus (Wars of the Jews, 4, 8, 2): "They also found the city (Jericho) desolate. It is situated in a plain; but a naked and barren mountain of a very great length hangs over it, which extends itself to the land about Scythopolis northward, but as far as the country of Sodom and the utmost limits of the Lake Asphaltitis southward. This mountain is all of it very uneven and uninhabited, by reason of its barrenness." Also, 4, 8, 3: "The country as far as Jerusalem is desert and stony; but that as far as the Jordan and the Lake Asphaltitis lies lower indeed, though it be equally desert and barren."—See also Maundrell (A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem).

² It is therefore not necessary, with Hug (Gutachten), to understand by the "wilderness," the few hundred paces breadth of sandy tract which is left dry in summer by the retreating Jordan, though this would be a wilderness of Judæa.

have visited the neighbourhood, not only the right, southern, but also the left, northern, bank of the Kidron, nay, the whole region to Jericho, appears to be one continued waste; and this most northern section can hardly be changed into a fruitful land by Strauss's assertion; so that, after all, the Evangelist is right.

2. The suggestion that the *rite of baptism* may possibly have been adopted by John, in consequence of such passages as Isa. i. 16, "Wash you, make you clean;" Ezek. xxxvi. 25, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean;" and Jer. ii. 22, "Though thou wash thee with nitre, and take thee much soap,"—we might admit so far as this, that the Holy Ghost and the special communications, which directed the conduct of John, may certainly have linked themselves on to certain Old Testament passages that were present to his mind. But even if there were no other circumstance which rendered it *impossible* that there should be any connection between these passages and John's baptism, such an assumption is, from a biblical point of view, not *necessary*.

Apart from all this, the notion that the rite of baptism was a symbol of *purification*, is utterly inadmissible. The symbol of purification was *washing*¹ (Matt. xv. 2; Mark vii. 2). John must have had some reason for regarding the rite already existing as insufficient. The O. T. idea of washing was, at any rate, so far intensified, that John the Baptist declared the *whole nation* as such unclean. But the *mode* of the symbol itself was of pre-eminent importance. In the place of simple *washing*, he introduced *immersion*. Every one who passed through this new rite of being dipped by John completely under the water, was led at once to seek the meaning of the rite in something more than simple *purification*. And since what John required was not mere "improvement," but the *most thorough confession of sin* (cf. Mal. iii. 7 sqq.) and *change of heart* (*μετάνοια*), the most natural interpretation of this immersion in the waves would be, that it was a symbol of *their confession of utter unworthiness and condemnation*. The baptism of John was a sign, that the man was *deserving of death*.²

¹ *Weisse* (i. 255) admits the difference between baptism and washing. Though the only difference he sees, is that the latter were *repeated*, whilst the former took place *once only* in the whole life. But there was a meaning in the new *form* of immersion, and not merely in the fact that it was performed once for all.

² Consult my *Dogma v. h. Abendmahle*, p. 38. *Planck* says the reasons assigned by me are not decisive "against the general explanation handed down from time immemorial." And if he likes to hold the modern rationalistic explanation as "the general one handed down from time immemorial," no one can prevent him. He may ignore if he will the apostolic view (Rom. vi.; 1 Cor. x.; 1 Pet. iii.); *Zwingli's Comm.*, p. 132: "*Signo isto nihil aliud facie, quam ut rudes rerum cœles-*

So much has the baptism of John in common with Christian baptism, Rom. vi. 4. The difference is, that in the latter penitential submission to death is followed by the communication of new life, the coming forth of a new man; the latter, therefore, is more than a mere symbol.—This signification of the rite of baptism is in perfect harmony with the word βαπτίζω, which embodies simply the notion of *immersion*, not of *washing away*.—So far the baptism of John was something entirely new; and was introduced in consequence of divine revelation, *i.e.*, of a command from God,—a fact that presents no *historical difficulties*, whatever *dogmatical* difficulties it may present for Strauss.

3. A supposed contradiction has been pointed out in the fact, that according to Matthew, the reproaches of John were confined to the Pharisees and Sadducees; whereas according to Luke they were addressed to the multitudes (ὄχλοι). Perhaps *Bruno Bauer*, who thinks this a contradiction, still holds the antiquated notion, that the Pharisees and Sadducees were two organized *sects*, distinct from the rest of the nation. But a very slight acquaintance with the New Testament and Josephus is sufficient to show that at the time of Jesus the *whole nation* was divided into these two parts (cf. Acts xxiii. 6). The one part firmly opposed the growing Romanism and Hellenism, and enforced the most stringent observance of everything Jewish; the other played the enlightened man of the world, and sought to exhibit to the Romans its nihilistic cosmopolitanism. Thus, in various degrees, the whole nation was embraced by these two extremes,—the Pharisees on the one hand, who really were an organized sect, so far as they possessed a distinct ceremonial, and the Sadducees on the other; and there remained but a very small handful of such as adhered to neither of these morally false tendencies, but were waiting in the truest sense for the redemption of Israel.—In this respect, therefore, there is not the least contradiction between Matthew and Luke, in the fact that Luke represents John as addressing reproaches to the whole multitude, and then in vers. 10 sqq. gives an account of his addresses to such

tum doceam vos posthac, si modo salvi esse cupitis, aliam omnino vitam induere oportere. Ut quemadmodum qui abluntur, tanquam novi prodeunt, sic vos primum actione visibili in abstersionem anteactæ vitæ inducam;" *Luther's Smaller Catechism*, "that our old Adam may be drowned (ersäuft), and a new man come forth;" *Calvin's Mortificatio* (Inst. iv. 15, 5); and the analogous doctrines of all evangelical theologians. The old saying is in point here, "When the eyes are shut, the man cannot see." In Planck's opinion, complete immersion is to be explained on *mathematical* principles: partial washing of the body signifies purification for a portion of our life; the washing of the whole body, purification for the whole life: the proportion of the *body* washed being a measure of the proportion of *time* purified!

as were honourably disposed; whereas Matthew simply speaks of the reproaches as addressed respectively to the Pharisees and Sadducees.

§ 41.

THE BAPTISM OF JESUS.

MATT. III. 13-17; MARK I. 9-11; LUKE III. 20-22; JOHN I. 32-34.

As John the Baptist lived in Judæa, and withdrew into the desert to prepare himself in solitude for the calling he had received, he was not personally acquainted with Jesus. But when the time for the public appearance of Jesus drew nigh, John received from the Holy Ghost a revelation to the effect, that Jesus would come to him, and that, as an attestation of the fact that it was He, he should see the Holy Ghost descend upon Him in a visible form. Jesus came from Galilee to the Jordan, and went to John with a request to be baptized. But even before the promised sign was given, at the very sight of the holy Jesus, John knew immediately who was standing before him; and since he could not comprehend how the sinless one could submit to the symbol of guilt and death, he gave expression to his amazement. But when Jesus declared His determination to fulfil all righteousness, he baptized Him. And now the promise was fulfilled. The Holy Ghost descended in a visible form; and a voice from heaven said, "This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."—Thus did Jesus declare His determination to *take upon Himself the impurity of the nation in the midst of which He lived, and of which He was a member, and, though guiltless, to devote Himself to death*; and to Him as well as to John came this testimony from the Father, that He was the right person, and that this was the right way, to deliver the world from sin, and to baptize with the Holy Ghost.

1. A *historical difficulty* has been discovered in the statement that John did not know Jesus (John i. 31). In explanation of this fact, I am neither disposed to appeal, as *Lücke* does, to the distance between Galilee and Judæa; nor to lay the principal stress, as *Hug* has done, upon the circumstance, that although there were special reasons for Mary to visit Elisabeth, there were no such reasons in the case of the boy Jesus. For this is just the question in dispute; and Jesus, at any rate, had been at least once in Jerusalem. But it is sufficient to note the simple circumstance, that according to Luke i. 80, a peculiar impulse of the Spirit led John at a very early age to seek the solitude of the desert; and his parents neither opposed this impulse, nor even

apart from it would have sought by any *human* arrangement to bring about a meeting between the two, unless urged to do so by some evident direction from God.

2. There is no greater difficulty in the revelation which was made to John, according to John i. 33; nor in the fact that he *recognised Jesus at the very first glance, even before the descent of the Spirit*. For the latter was unquestionably psychologically possible, even without any special revelation. The man who looked so deeply into the hearts of the hundreds of all kinds who flocked around him, and could so completely unmask the sanctimonious face of the hypocrite, could not fail to be struck, and most powerfully impressed, by the sinless, holy, gentle, and exalted aspect of Jesus. And whether his words, "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?" expressed nothing more than an *indefinite consciousness* that he was in the presence of one who was holier than himself; or whether the Spirit produced a *definite conviction* that it was really Jesus the Messiah; in either case it was by no means unnecessary or superfluous that the *promised sign*, the descent of the Holy Spirit, should also be granted, and thus that truth be *sealed*, which was of such importance to John himself, and of greater still in relation to the office he sustained.—It was perfectly natural, therefore, that when, on a subsequent occasion, he wished to convince his disciples that he knew *for certain* that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah (John i. 32 sqq.), he should appeal not to the *inward* certainty which he felt at the first sight of Jesus, but to the *outward sign*, which was granted to him by the Lord.

It is evident, therefore, that to explain the discrepancy which *Strauss* and *Baur* find in the fact that, according to Matthew, Jesus was known to John before His baptism, whereas John himself states that he did not know Him till afterwards, we need not have recourse to the plausible solution of *Semler*, *Planck*, and *Winer*,¹ that "in John i. 33 the Baptist means to say, it was not till then he knew Jesus as the Messiah, though he had known Him personally before;" nor even to *Neander's* exposition of John i. 33,² "In comparison with what I now discovered, all my previous knowledge of Jesus appeared like not knowing Him at all;" nor, in fact, to any artistic solution whatever.

3. Many contradictions between the different Evangelists are found in the occurrence at the baptism. First of all, the fourth Evangelist omits the voice from heaven. But the fourth Evangelist does not relate the baptism itself; he relates only how John the Baptist refers to the special point of the descent of the Spirit as a proof that this man is the born deliverer, Jesus. Then the Evange-

¹ Realwörterbuch, Joh. d. Täufer.

² Leben Jesu, p. 68.

lists are said to differ in their statements as to who saw the appearance. According to John, as Strauss thinks, it was "specially the Baptist" who saw it; according to Mark, Jesus; according to Matthew, the Baptist; according to Luke, who simply says the Holy Ghost descended, without indicating who saw Him, "a still greater public" appears to have beheld it.

I saw the eclipse of the moon; my cousin saw the eclipse of the moon; everybody saw the eclipse of the moon. What a contradiction!

Since the Spirit of God descended *σωματικῶς εἶδεν*, it was not a subjective vision, but an objective theophany. That John the Baptist could only appeal to *his own* sight, is obvious. Matthew says, "The heavens were opened unto Him (*αὐτῷ*, Jesus), and he (the Baptist) saw the Spirit of God descending . . . upon Him (*ἐπ' αὐτόν*)." (*Αὐτῷ* and *αὐτόν* must both relate to the same subject.) For when it has once been stated that "the heavens were opened unto *Him*," the reader is placed in the natural position of a spectator, with Jesus as the object of his regard; and the whole scene becomes still more *distinct*, when the spectator is permitted to *see* what else occurred. This is also the case in the account given by Mark; for there too it is most natural on account of *ἐπ' αὐτόν* to understand John the Baptist as the subject of *εἶδε*.

4. There still remains an *internal difficulty*. *The appearance of the Holy Spirit is regarded as altogether imaginary*. The opening of the heavens is a subjective conception peculiar to the age. And "the Holy Spirit," we are told, "cannot move from one place to another." Allied to this also is the doctrinal objection, that if Jesus was the Son of God, He could not need the descent of the Holy Spirit.

We will commence with the last point. That Jesus as the Son of God must have possessed the Holy Spirit in every respect, is an opinion which only those will hold who do not admit that there is a distinct *hypostasis* (personality) of the Holy Spirit. The *Son* is essentially one with the *Holy Spirit*, as He is with the *Father*; but for that very reason, as a *personal subject* (*eigenes Subjekt*) He is *distinct* from both. Now, on the occasion of Christ's baptism, the object was not to *make holy* one who *was* holy already; but as the same Holy Spirit who, according to the decided testimony of the Scriptures, had already worked under the Old Testament economy, both in the communication of miraculous powers or official gifts, and also as a spirit of repentance and faith,—as this same Spirit nevertheless entered with visible phenomena into a *fresh relation to the Church as such* on the day of Pentecost; so on the occasion of the baptism of Jesus did this Spirit, with a similar visible phenomenon, enter into a *new relation*

to Jesus and His *work of redemption*. By His submission to baptism, Jesus declared His solemn purpose to give Himself up to death, not as guilty, but for others; and the Father at the same time declared that this was the true method of redemption, and Jesus the true Redeemer, who from this time forth would possess the power and the authority to "baptize with the Spirit," *i.e.*, to impart the Spirit in the New Testament form. This He proclaimed in the presence of the man who, as the crowning point of the Old Testament economy, had concentrated in himself the whole spirit of that economy, *to baptize with water*; *i.e.*, by the preaching of the law, to produce repentance and an earnest desire for salvation. Even under the Old Covenant, it is true, the Holy Spirit had already worked; but only in a *preparatory* form, sustaining the law in the conscience, chastising, educating, and pointing forwards to the future. It was Christ who first baptized with the Spirit in the full sense of the term; and by communicating the fulness of the Spirit, absolutely united God and man. The commencement of this absolute union was the day of Pentecost (compare John xvi. 7 with Acts ii.). The appearance at the *baptism* of Jesus was a solemn declaration, that the vicarious submission of Jesus to death was the true way to ensure the possibility of this *union of God and humanity through the Spirit*.—This phenomenon, therefore, was primarily a *declaration on the part of God*; and it is in this light that it is represented in the Gospels (cf. John i. 32 sqq.).

At the same time, *it had unquestionably an objective significance for Jesus Himself*, which any one may comprehend who has learned how to distinguish the *substance* of a man's soul from his *conscious life*.¹ In substance, Jesus was the eternal Son of God; but through the simple act of His incarnation, He had, by voluntary self-limitation, made the human form of existence, both in time and space, entirely His own, and therefore reduced His conscious life within the limits of a human sphere. In the development of His *consciousness*, He had just reached that point in which He clearly apprehended the vocation given to Him by the Father; and at this very point the fulness of the Spirit is assured and granted to the *conscious life* (*Bewusstseynsleben*, lit. life of consciousness) *within Him*.

¹ No man is conscious here on earth, at one and the same moment, of all that he is, or of all that he possesses, as the *substance* of pneumatico-psychical being. A somnambulist, when waking up from magnetic sleep, will continue the clause which was broken off (sometimes in the middle of a word) as he fell asleep. Consciousness was suspended, the substance remained unchanged. A man who has been insane, or delirious with fever, knows, when he recovers, all that he knew before; though during his illness it has all been withdrawn from his *consciousness*.

The dove flew down, and it *remained* over Him; *i.e.*, it did not fly up again, but remained till the whole phenomenon passed away.

The opening of the heavens is criticised by *Strauss* as if it meant a rent in the brazen, Homeric vault of heaven. An allowable criticism, if the Israelites, who were acquainted with "the armies of heaven," and the "captains of the heavenly hosts," had held any such notion! For ourselves, we are content to understand by the opening of the heavens, as in Acts vii. 55, a visible manifestation of the "glory of God" (*Shechinah*), which may be nonsense from a negative point of view, but from the standpoint of the Bible is unquestionable truth.

5. One question still remains: "*Why should Jesus have come to be baptized?*"¹ Bruno Bauer, like a good Hegelian, finds no difficulty in the idea of Jesus letting Himself be baptized with a personal feeling of sinfulness, because, forsooth, "the greater a spirit is, so much the more must he be sensible of the contrast." *Strauss*, on the other hand, starting from the supposition that Jesus had no need to be baptized for personal sin, cannot conceive why He should want to be baptized. The meaning of baptism, he says, was partly to point to "the coming one;" and Jesus, who was Himself "the coming one," could not be pointed to Himself. It was also partly to stimulate to departure from sin and improvement of life. But apart from the impossibility of one man performing a representative repentance for others, John *appears*, according to Matt. iii. 6, to have required a kind of confession before he baptized any one; and Jesus certainly can have made no such confession.—Now, one would naturally suppose that, according to Matt. iii. 14, John *appears* not only to have asked Jesus for no such confession, but, on the contrary, to have declared himself ready rather to make one to Him. But our acute critic helps us over this scruple. He gravely conjectures that the strife between Jesus and John might have arisen thus, that the latter asked a confession which the former refused, and that then the latter absolutely declined to baptize Him.

All this nonsense is unnecessary. No doubt the substance of John's *preaching* was to exhort to repentance, and to point to Jesus. But how both of these (the latter especially) can have been expressed symbolically in the *rite of baptism*, I find it impossible to explain. The idea exhibited in the rite was not that of *washing away*, or of *sanctification*; but it was a manifestation on the part of Jesus of *His desire to take upon Himself the sin of the people, and therefore to declare Himself liable to death.*

¹ *Hoffmann* and *Osiander* see in the baptism of Jesus a profession of willingness to keep the law; *Kern*, a proof of respect for John's baptism.

§ 42.

THE TEMPTATION OF JESUS.

MATT. IV. 1-11; LUKE IV. 1-13; MARK I. 12, 13.

In His baptism, Jesus had made a positive and solemn declaration of His willingness, though innocent, to suffer death itself, and all the consequences of sin. With this resolution, He was now about to enter upon His public ministry. But previous to His appearance in the towns and before the world, the Spirit of God, which was His own Spirit, impelled Him to go into the desert, and to spend forty days there in fasting and prayer. Now to the *understanding* of Jesus two courses presented themselves: *either* to carry out the work prescribed by the Father, which would inevitably involve this consequence, that He, the Holy One, would not only have to bear the pain of looking upon the sins of other men, but would have to bear the hatred of sinners, and to endure in His own person the culmination of malignity; *or* to withdraw, partially or entirely, from such suffering, which He could not do, however, without prejudice to His work, that is to say, without acting contrary to the will of God. As the fulness of the divine essence was in Jesus, His will always decided for the former; but as the divinity within Him was in the form of humanity, the mode in which His holy will acted was with Him, as with all men, that of *choice* between the different possibilities presented to Him by His understanding. The possibility of His being tempted, arose from the fact, that His self-determination to the right never took place in any other way than under the form of *choice*; and, therefore, that in every case the *possibility* of sin was to Him a reality, so that His holiness consisted not in an *inability to sin*, but in an invariable, yet *thoroughly human and perfectly free, determination on the side of good*. For as *Satan*, when the possibility of being *either* good *or* evil first presented itself to the *understanding* of our first parents, approached them with the enticements of evil in a concrete form, so was it with Jesus now. Satan (at first, possibly, without appearing *visibly*) knew how to arrange, on the one hand, the sufferings and pains to which humanity is subject, to be felt by Jesus in the desert in their most alarming forms, and, on the other hand, visions of earthly, and therefore sensual, gratification, to present themselves either to His eye or mind. But Jesus, continuing fasting and praying, constantly resisted the temptation. At length Satan assumed a visible form. The temptations of Jesus, as the second

Adam, must be in all respects as decided as those of the first. But such disguise as the serpent offered (which was well adapted to the weak and childlike condition of the first Adam) would have been ill adapted for Jesus. The dignity of Jesus demanded that the prince of this world should approach Him without a mask, coming neither as a deceptive “juggler,” nor as a “spectre,” nor as an “angel of light,” but in the form of the fallen archangel. What this form was, I do not know, and it would be foolish to wish to know. So much, however, may be determined: 1. negatively, that it was no cloven-footed caricature taken from German mythology, but a form resembling the human body (just as all the angels appeared to *men* in a form analogous to their own); and 2. affirmatively, that all the Belial friendliness, and at the same time all the repulsiveness of satanic malignity, were expressed in this form,—the former *enticing*, the latter full of *threatening*, in case the former failed. Satan urged upon Jesus, that after His forty days’ fast He should procure Himself bread from the stones; thus interrupting the fast, which was salutary to His spirit, and applying His miraculous power to His own personal gratification;—in a word, *escaping from the first suffering which His work required, and that by a sin*. But Jesus replied, that to do His Father’s will was more precious food to Him than the mere nourishment of the body. Satan then led Him to a pinnacle of the temple, and told Him to cast Himself down without being hurt; and thus secure, by means of an act that would gratify carnal curiosity, the influence which He ought to obtain by spiritual power over the conscience alone, and at the same time to appeal to the help of the Lord, and to His miraculous power, to preserve Him in an *unnecessary danger*. But one who refused to escape from sufferings by sin would not presumptuously *brave* them; an act which would really be *tempting* God. Lastly, Satan led the Lord to a high mountain, showed Him all the kingdoms of the world, and called upon Him to acquire dominion over the world by devoting Himself to his service, and openly renouncing obedience to God. The two roads now lay before Him; and as at His baptism, so here, the Lord decided for the service of God. The angels then came and ministered to Him.

1. In the treatment of this narrative, as may well be imagined, the most diverse expedients have been resorted to by those who, on account of dogmatic disabilities, have been unable to fathom the deep truth within it. Some have regarded it as a *parable*, containing a general truth applicable to all men; viz., a lesson how to act in

temptation.¹ But if so, we must assume that Jesus related the whole as a parable to His disciples, and they most strangely mistook it for history. Now Jesus never takes *Himself* as the subject of a parable, and least of all would He have done so here. But if He took another imaginary person as the subject, it is utterly impossible to conceive how the disciples could have made so gross a mistake as to substitute their Master for a totally different subject. Others, again, who accept the account of the temptation as a *historical fact* taken from the life and experience of Jesus, hold widely different opinions. According to one explanation, the whole was a purely *accidental* occurrence, a *dream* which Jesus once dreamt.² But the same question may be asked here again, How is it conceivable that, if this were the case, the disciples should have made the mistake of thinking it history? Most writers, therefore, are agreed that the temptation was a substantive *event* in Christ's life.—But now, as regards the *nature of the event*, it is certainly wrong, and a departure from the biblical standpoint, to regard it as in such a sense purely *internal*, that the evil *pruritus* arose from the mind of Jesus Himself. In this sense, the temptation must at all events have been entirely *external*. The material of the temptation must be sought in the outward circumstances of the age, the existence of false Messianic hopes, and the possibility of taking two different roads; and the temptation itself, whatever we may suppose its *form* to have been, so far as its *essential* character is concerned, can only have consisted in the fact, that these two roads consciously presented themselves to the mind of the Lord.

Very different opinions, again, have been entertained as to the *form* of the temptation. The furthest extreme on the one hand we find in the so-called "*natural explanation*,"³ which supposes Satan to have been a Pharisee, who came to Jesus with proposals in accordance with the merely carnal expectations of a Messiah. But how can we conceive it possible that Jesus should have clothed such an occurrence in so strange a form? A Pharisee would scarcely have proposed to Jesus to cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the temple. Others, again, have assumed,⁴ that the history of the temptation is a *symbolical account* of a decision which took place in the mind of Jesus between the two roads which lay before Him. But how could Jesus clothe

¹ Baumgarten-Crusius, Bibl. Theol. § 40. Schleiermacher on the Writings of Luke, pp. 54 sqq. See, on the other hand, Ullmann on the Sinlessness of Jesus.

² Meyer, Studien u. Kritiken, 1831, 2, pp. 319 sqq.

³ Tübinger Quartalschrift, 1828.

⁴ Hase, Leben Jesu, § 55. Ullmann, Sinlessness of Jesus. Neander's Life of Jesus. Compare Olshausen, commentary on the passage; and Weisse, ii. 18 sqq.

such an occurrence in such a form? As it has been correctly observed, "this would have been to give a turbid mixture of truth and fiction." No other course is open, than to conclude that we have here a real temptation by a personal tempter, a necessary counterpart to the temptation of the first Adam; and the only question that can present itself is, *whether the whole occurrence took place in a perfectly waking condition, or in the form of ecstasy and vision.* For the incredulous, the latter may certainly be an allowable refuge. A visionary condition does not exclude personal action or the decision of the will (*vide* Isa. vi. 5 and 9). If this hypothesis be correct, the body of Jesus continued in one place; and it was in the spirit, in *ἐκστασις*, that He felt Himself taken to the pinnacle of the temple, and to the top of the mountain; whilst the Satan who appeared to Him was not merely subjective, existing in His own fancy, any more than Jehovah or the angels in the Old Testament visions. The occurrence would still be a real one.—But there is much to be said against this explanation. First of all, internal *decorum* seems to demand, that the second Adam, like the first, should make His great decision in a perfectly calm and waking condition. And, secondly, in such an ecstasy the temptations, with the exception of the third (Matt.), would have been no real temptations at all. The first connected itself closely with the actual bodily fasting. The second would never have had the character of an actual temptation, unless there was really a crowd of spectators present, before whom Jesus might make an effective appearance by performing the striking miracle of casting Himself down. In an ecstasy, we must necessarily think of Jesus as *conscious* that it was an ecstasy. But the thought of casting Himself down in the presence of a crowd, of which He knew that it existed merely in an ecstatic vision, could have nothing in it of the true nature of a temptation.—To me, therefore, it is evident, that no other course is open, than to regard the occurrence as *objectively and outwardly real*. We shall now proceed to examine the difficulties to which such an opinion is said to be exposed. We shall commence with the historical ones.

2. The first is connected with the *locality*. Jesus is said to have gone away from John into the desert. But John was in the desert already. How, then, could Jesus go from the desert into the desert? We have already seen, that undoubtedly the scene of John's labours was for the most part the barren region to the north-west of the Dead Sea; but when baptizing, he was in the narrow, fertile strip of land on the banks of the Jordan. From this point Jesus ascended to the actual desert.

The *time* has also caused difficulty. According to Mark and Luke,

Christ was tempted forty days ; according to Matthew, “ the temptation commenced at the end of the forty days.” But where does Matthew say this ? As I read it, he merely says, that the three particular temptations took place at the end of that time. And what discrepancy can there be in such statements as these : *a.* Caius was four weeks in Rome, and at the end of the four weeks was shown St Peter’s ; *b.* Caius was four weeks in Rome, and saw the city during that time ; *c.* Caius was four weeks in Rome, during which time he saw the city, and at the end of the four weeks he was shown St Peter’s Church ?

The remaining objections all reduce themselves to *dogmatic ones*. *Why did the Spirit lead Jesus into the wilderness ? What was the object of the temptation ?* Such questions deserve no answer. To a man who neither believes in fallen angels nor a living God, there can be no temptation. But if in Christ there really was the divine essence in human form, then, as we have sufficiently shown above, His holiness necessarily manifested itself in a constant *choice* of good ; the possibility, or rather the *constant reality*, of a state of temptation was the necessary *consequence* of the incarnation of the Son of God ; and, lastly, it was a part of the internal development of the work of Christ, that before entering upon His public ministry, in which temptation would constantly present itself in innumerable, concrete, and complicated circumstances, He should *once for all* distinctly place before His mind the roads which it was possible to take, and having calmly examined them, decide for the right. For this reason, Satan, who had attempted to undermine the kingdom of Christ in its germ, was permitted to tempt Christ, as he had tempted the first Adam. And for this reason also, it was the Holy Spirit itself which led the Lord to meet this necessary temptation, and while the temptation lasted enabled Him, not to avoid, but to overcome it.¹

3. Hitherto the dogmatic objections have related chiefly to the person and history of Jesus. Criticism turns now to *Satan* as well. *Strauss* says in the most positive terms that *there is no devil*, and appeals partly to *Schleiermacher* (Glaubenslehre i., sec. 44, 1), and partly to the Babylonian origin of the doctrine of the devil. *Schleiermacher* considers “determined wickedness” irreconcilable with superlative insight. But we find nothing about the “superlative insight” of Satan. Superior natural endowments and powers belong to the nature and substance of the angels, even since their fall. Consequently, Satan may not be so restricted to particular spots as men, may have

¹ This supplies the answer to the question of an excellent theologian : *Whether Jesus can have followed the devil willingly ? Whether this would not have been to place Himself in the devil’s hands ?*

greater powers of locomotion, and may know more than they. He may also be superior to man in *cleverness* and *cunning*. But there is an immense leap from refined cleverness, which is perfectly compatible with wickedness, to insight into the truth. The fact that Satan possesses only the former, is the reason why he is so constantly thwarted in his attacks upon the kingdom of God. So far as the Babylonian origin of the doctrine of the devil is concerned, we have not space here to develop our views with regard to the existence of the book of Job previous to the Babylonian captivity, and the genuineness of Isa. xxvii. This we must reserve for another occasion.

4. Insignificant are the following points. The different position of the three temptations in Matthew and Luke is explained by the remark, that only the former gives definite data (*τότε, πάλιν*) for determining the sequence. To the question put both by *Strauss* and *Ullmann*, "*In what way did Satan conduct Jesus from one place to another?*" it is sufficient to reply: We cannot know, and do not need to know. Undoubtedly, by higher powers than those of ordinary locomotion. Even *Bleek* admits that both Matthew and Luke imply this. And no doubt, in such a case, Jesus was "in the *power* of Satan;" a fact which presents as little doctrinal difficulty, as His being at a later period, through *equally voluntary humiliation*, in the power of the children of Belial, of the Sanhedrim, of the Roman soldiers, etc. The Spirit of the Father impelled Him to submit quietly to the temptation. In the endurance of temptation He was perfectly passive; but the more determined was His activity in resisting it. When *Ullmann* asks, how it could be possible to see all the kingdoms of the world at once; we would remind him that in the passage in question the whole context shows, that it was a matter of no consequence whether "*all*" could be seen in the numerical sense, *i.e.*, whether not one was wanting. For, even if the Evangelist had really entertained the idea that the earth was a disc, he could not have intended to say that every single kingdom in the whole world was optically visible from this one mountain. The expression "all the kingdoms" is used here, as it so frequently is, in an indefinite and more general sense. Whoever ascends to the summit of one of the Alps, and, as he looks over Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and France, sees how on every side there is no boundary discernible; but the prospect sweeps away into *infinity*, may receive something like the deep and elevating impression which Jesus must have received upon the mountain, and which Satan intended that He should receive, of the grandeur and glory of the world. At the same time, the expression "in a moment of time" certainly denotes the application of higher powers; a circumstance which

involves no *historical* difficulty, whatever *doctrinal* objections may be offered.

There is no foundation whatever for the remark, that the temptations become more and more romantic, and that when the first suggestion, which was somewhat reasonable, had been rejected, the devil would hardly have proceeded with the second and third. For let us once imagine the mind of Jesus to have been fixed upon the *false* way (that of *earthly glory* associated with *sin*); and the plan suggested, of throwing Himself down from the pinnacle before the eyes of all, would have been by no means "romantic," but perfectly suitable. It would have been a dangerous risk, only on the doctrinal hypothesis, that Jesus did not possess miraculous power. So far as the demand for "worship" is concerned, the matter ought not to be summarily dismissed as a "blunder." Undoubtedly, Satan advances here no longer in disguise, but in his true character; whilst the choice is presented to Jesus in all its most glaring contrasts. But when Satan offers the whole world to Jesus, he reminds Him of the power which he exercises over this world of sinners. The *promise* which he makes, if He will but worship him, involves, therefore, the tacit threat, that he will *let loose the whole terrible force of sin to resist His progress*, if this *προσκύνησις* is refused. This threat on the one hand, and on the other the possibility of ruling over the whole of this glorious earth in carnal security and ease, were calculated to render the choice *so difficult*, that only one in whom the fulness of absolute holiness put forth fresh energy from moment to moment, could have been in a condition to resist the temptation.

5. We have, further, only two perversions to set aside in a sentence or two.

The sojourn "*with the wild beasts*" (Mark i. 13) is evidently mentioned, on account of there being something awful in the thought of spending a long time in such a manner, cut off entirely from human intercourse. *Weisse* and *Bruno Bauer* understand by the beasts, the "passions and desires, which sought to force an entrance into Jesus."

The "*ministering of the angels*" was not the relief of His hunger by *bodily food*, as *Strauss* and *B. Bauer* will have it, but the communication of *spiritual* strength, and a fresh token from God to His Son that He was truly "well pleased."

§ 43.

THE TESTIMONY OF JOHN TO THE PERSON AND WORK OF JESUS.

JOHN I. 19-34.

In the meantime, John continued to preach and to baptize. At length we find him at Bethania,¹ on the left bank of the Jordan. With the attention which he attracted; the severity with which he reproved the Pharisees; and the decisive manner in which, having first spoken of the "coming one," he now pointed to Jesus; it was to be expected that the college of priests would make use of the authority they possessed to test all such as professed to be prophets. With the intention of finding some charge against this inconvenient man, who showed every sign of undermining the influence of the priests over the people, and in the hope of undoing his work with a good grace, a deputation of priests and Levites set out to visit him. John had, no doubt, already described himself as "the prophet in the wilderness (Isa. xl.) who was to make ready the way of the Lord." Such expressions had passed from mouth to mouth, and may have been so distorted as to create the impression that John had called himself *the Prophet* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, who was promised in Deut. xviii. 5.² John may also have stated (according to the words of the angel, Luke i. 17), that he went before the Messiah, as the Elias predicted by *Malachi* (iv. 5); or this association may have suggested itself to the people. Enough, the priests hoped to catch him by the question, whether he was *Elias* (in the literal or historical sense), or *the Prophet* (the one promised by Moses), or the *Messiah* Himself. But John answered all these questions in the negative, and declared that he was the "preacher in the wilderness" predicted by *Isaiah*; and when asked about his right to baptize, he called himself the forerunner and servant of Him, who *was before him* (from whom he had received his commission through *Isaiah*), and who was infinitely greater than he. The next day John saw Jesus in the distance coming towards them. He immediately pointed Him out to his disciples as the Lamb of God, which beareth the sin of the world, the Saviour to whom he himself had hitherto pointed; and as the surest proof of

¹ *Vide Hug*, Gutachten, בית אניה, *house of ships* (a different place from בית היני, near Jerusalem); no doubt a ferry, at which there was considerable traffic.

² *Chrysostom*, *Cyril*, *Theophylact*, and *Euthymius*, among early writers, and *Lücke*, *Bleek*, *De Wette*, of the more modern, all agree that the article necessarily suggests this passage to the mind. See John vi. 14.

this, described the phenomenon which he had seen at the baptism of Jesus.

1. With reference to the *question of the priests*: it is asked, "how it can have been possible to offer to any one honour after honour, without there being any wish that one of them should be accepted?" To this *Schweizer* has aptly replied, that there was nothing the priests more sincerely desired, than that John might declare himself the Messiah, or something of the same kind, and thus give them a *plea for punishing and arresting him*.—The *negative reply* has also been objected to. Such a reply would have been appropriate, we are told, if the priests had really held the "romantic" idea, that John was the historical Elias risen from the dead. In that case he might have replied, "I am not." But as the priests held no such notion, but simply regarded him as *an* Elias (in an official sense), he ought to have answered in the affirmative. Decidedly not. The priests neither thought that John was *the* historical Elias, nor that he was *an* Elias (in an official sense); they merely thought and hoped, that John might *declare himself* to be the risen Elias, and so furnish them with the materials for a charge of blasphemy.—But how, it is asked, could the priests distinguish *the* Prophet from the Messiah? How, we ask in reply, should they know that the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15 was the Messiah? We see very clearly, if we compare John vi. 14 with Matt. xvi. 14, that the Jewish nation at that time regarded the *Prophet* who was to come as a *different* person from the Messiah (probably as Jeremiah, for example).

2. It is regarded by *Strauss*, *Weisse*, and *Bruno Bauer* as impossible that John the Baptist should know anything of the *pre-existence* of Jesus, and of His *vicarious sufferings*. *Gabler*, *Paulus*, and *Hug* endeavour to soften down the meaning of the words, αἶπειν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. *Hoffmann* tries to explain the matter psychologically as a sudden flash of light. But this is quite unnecessary. Apart from the fact that, according to the scriptural account, the Baptist must have learned the nature and pre-existence of Jesus through his parents, and the determination of Jesus to submit to death, through His coming to be baptized;¹ the fact that the Baptist was a prophet, and enlightened by the Lord, is sufficient to set all such questions at rest as "how he can have obtained a foresight of the sufferings of Jesus." The difficulty is again not *historical*, but *purely dogmatical*.

¹ The question, where John obtained the figure of a *Lamb*, is easily answered by referring to Isa. liii. 7.

§ 44.

JESUS GOES INTO GALILEE.

JOHN I. 35-52.

The next day John the Baptist was standing with two of his disciples, *Andrew* and *John*, and as Jesus passed by, he said, "Behold the Lamb of God!" At these words, which pointed Jesus out as "the coming one" proclaimed by the Baptist, the disciples followed Jesus, who turned round, and when He saw that they were following Him, asked, "What seek ye?" They acknowledged plainly, and full of confidence, that they had followed Him with the intention of visiting Him in His own home. He then invited them to go with Him at once. And they remained with Him the whole day (it was then ten o'clock in the morning).¹ When Andrew found his brother *Simon* (either on the following day, or a day or two afterwards), he told him that they had found the Messiah, and brought him to Jesus. Jesus fixed His eyes upon him, and looking into his heart, said to him, "Thou art now named Simon, and art the son of Jonas; but (henceforth) thou shalt be named Cephas (rock)." The day after this, when Jesus was about to return to Galilee, He met with *Philip*, a young man from Bethsaida, the home of Peter and Andrew (he was probably acquainted with them, therefore, and had heard through them of Jesus). Jesus invited him to accompany Him on His journey. Philip found his brother *Nathanael*, and, full of joy, announced to him, that in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph, he had found the Messiah predicted by the prophets. Nathanael could not comprehend how the Messiah could come from a city in their distant and despised province of Galilee. He obeyed the summons, however, and went with him to Jesus. When Jesus saw him come, He greeted him as a true and genuine Israelite, who was seeking for salvation, and without guile. To Nathanael's astonished inquiry, how He knew him, He replied that, before Philip called him, when he was under the fig-tree, He had seen him;—a reply at which Nathanael was so amazed, and which so

¹ I see no reason for adopting any other reckoning here than the *Roman*, which is the one usually adopted by John. In the other case (which *De Wette* supports), the disciples would only have stayed from four o'clock in the afternoon till the evening. But a visit of few hours would not have been remarkable enough to be so expressly mentioned. On the other hand, it was a fact well worthy of notice, that the disciples were so riveted by their emotions of reverence and love, that they remained from ten o'clock till the evening, and could not tear themselves away.

thoroughly convinced him of the Messiahship of Jesus, that we are necessarily brought to the conclusion, that not only was the seeing in question an evidence of miraculous power, but that Jesus adduced the fact of his being under the fig-tree as a proof that He knew Nathanael to be an Israelite indeed. When under the fig-tree, therefore, he must either have been absorbed in *earnest prayer*, or have been occupied in some other way with questions relating to the salvation of his soul. Nathanael's confession was followed by a promise on the part of Jesus, of greater manifestations still.

1. Many commentators have discovered an irreconcilable discrepancy between the first interview of Jesus with John, Andrew, and Peter, and the subsequent *call* of John, James, Peter, and Andrew to the apostolic office. In spite of John i. 40, "they abode with Him that day," and notwithstanding the fact that in ver. 38 (*θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας*) the following is represented as a passing occurrence, it is maintained that Andrew and John became from that time forth followers of Jesus. *Baur* asks, in a tone of confidence, "Where is there the slightest evidence that the Evangelist intended to narrate something general and casual?" We reply, in the words, "they abode with Him that day." It is true that in *Credner's* opinion the meaning is, "they remained with Him that very day, *i.e.*, at once, from that day forward." But (1) the expression employed in such a case would be, not *τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνην*, but *τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν*. *Credner* appeals to John xx. 19; but without any ground, for *ἐκεῖνος* is used there in the ordinary sense, and not in that of *ὁ αὐτός*. (2) Even *τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν* could only be rendered by a very forced construction, "from that day forwards;" we should rather expect *ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας*, as in chap. xix. 27. (3) The expression, "it was about the tenth hour," would be perfectly unmeaning. According to the true grammatical rendering of the preceding paragraph, it has a meaning. When the writer had mentioned the fact that they stayed with Jesus *all that day*, it was important to add that it was not merely in the evening, but early in the morning that they came to Jesus. On the other hand, with *Credner's* explanation such a notice is uselessly minute. For when it is stated that the disciples continued with Jesus from that day forward, it would be ridiculous, in comparison with their whole future life, to mention the *hour* at which they came to Jesus. And if John had actually intended to say that they stayed with Jesus "from that hour," the natural expression for him to use would have been *ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας*. (4) But the most decisive point in opposition to *Credner's* explanation is the circumstance, that John so evi-

dently refers to *three successive days*, a first, second, and third (John i. 43, ii. 1). In this position, therefore, *τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην* can only mean that single day, the first of the three. (5) *παρ' αὐτῷ* is shown by the context (ver. 39) to refer to the *abode* of Jesus, an abode which He left the next day (ver. 43). Their "abiding with Him," therefore, must have been restricted both locally and temporally.—As to the consistency between the synoptical accounts of the calling of the disciples and the supposition of a previous acquaintance, *vide* § 51.

2. In reference to the introduction of Andrew and John to the acquaintance of Jesus, Strauss says that nothing would be less acceptable to John than to send any one away from himself to Jesus. There are certainly *common souls* who can neither recognise and commend one more highly gifted, nor even conceive how such modesty and integrity can exist. Yet I could myself bring forward examples of the contrary from common life. How if the old Haydn, when he saw the first quartett of the young Mozart, exclaimed: "Now I know for the first time what a quartett is." John the Baptist, therefore, required only to be a *noble* man. From a scriptural point of view he was more; he was a prophet, and his office was to point to Jesus.

3. No one ought to find a difficulty in Christ's address to Peter, when he was introduced to Him: "Thou art Simon, son of Jonas." Strauss will have it that the Evangelist relates these words in the sense that Jesus in a miraculous way knew the name and surname of Peter, without Andrew telling Him. There is no reason for supposing this. The words mean, "So your more common name is Simon; but," etc.

Two discrepancies have been pointed out between the account here given by John and that given by the Synoptists. According to the latter, it is said Simon first received the name Peter on the occasion mentioned in Matt. xvi. 18. But if so, Matthew, who throughout the entire Gospel calls the Apostle *ὁ Πέτρος* (*e.g.*, chap. viii. 14, xiv. 28; and the list of Apostles, x. 2), would certainly, when relating in this place how Peter came by the name, have softened down, what must appear so strange to every reader, the fact that the name by which he had always known the Apostle was now given to him for the first time, by stating that "*Peter formerly went by a different name.*" But not only does he introduce no such notice; he does not even intimate that any change of name is intended here. The reader has known the Apostle throughout by the name "Peter;" and Christ now says, "Thou art a Peter, and upon this *πέτρα* will I build My Church" (*i.e.*, it is not without reason that thou art called Peter; the name has a meaning). Who would think here of a change of name?

Another discrepancy is said to exist in the fact, that Andrew at once speaks of Jesus as the Messiah; whereas, according to Matthew, the *first* confession that Jesus was the Christ was made on the occasion described in Matt. xvi. 13 sqq.—But it is a remarkable fact, that Matthew states in chap. xiv. 33, that all the disciples fell down before Jesus, and said, “Of a truth Thou art the Son of God.” It cannot, therefore, have been the Evangelist’s intention to give an account in chap. xvi. of the *first* dawning of the knowledge of the Messiahship of Jesus. Nor is there anything in chap. xvi. 13 sqq. to suggest such an intention. Peter is pronounced blessed on account of his *firm faith*, which cannot be shaken by the different opinions of others, not for any *new idea*. The words, “for flesh and blood hath not revealed it,” might be used to-day to every believer, though he might have been grounded in the faith for years.

4. The words of Nathanael, “Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?” are a great stumblingblock to Strauss. He finds no trace of Nazareth being specially despised. But Nathanael does not speak of Nazareth in particular, but only as a little town of the poor district of Galilee. “But if we take the words as if Nathanael meant what he said of Nazareth, of all Galilee, it is difficult to imagine how a Galilean would despise his own land.” But of despising there is no mention: Nathanael only cannot understand how the Messiah should come out of that poor, distant, and by *the Jews* despised, province.

The way in which Jesus looks into the heart of Peter and Nathanael, Strauss calls an *odorando judicare*, and B. Bauer finds in it a new proof of the “artificial manner” of John. We do not appeal to the deep psychological insight which even common men not seldom have; still less, with Weisse, to a magical power of vision; but simply to the Bible doctrine of the person of Christ. We do not therefore need the explanation, that Jesus saw Nathanael with the bodily eye under the fig-tree; nor the observation that, according to rabbinical accounts, the Israelites usually chose fig-trees, that they might study the law beneath them.—The fact that Andrew immediately recognised Jesus as the Messiah, presents difficulty only to one to whom it is impossible that Jesus should have been the Messiah. Under the Bible assumption, that Jesus was the Son of God, and John the Baptist a prophet, these discrepancies all vanish, and the whole history is in perfect harmony.

CHAPTER III.

JESUS IN HIS PARENTS' HOME.

§ 45.

THE MARRIAGE AT CANA.

JOHN II. 1-11.

JESUS had now arrived at Nazareth with His two disciples. And after what Mary had already experienced, as well as the extraordinary occurrences which took place at His baptism, and the things which the disciples had heard from the mouths of both John and Jesus, all of which were, no doubt, reported to Mary, there can be no question that she was looking with firm expectation for Jesus to manifest Himself before long in miraculous splendour.—On the third day (reckoning from the last occurrence, the call of Nathanael) there was a wedding in the small neighbouring town of Cana, in a family with which Mary was intimately acquainted, and which cannot therefore have been very rich (cf. John iii. 1, 2, 3, and the relation in which Mary stood to the servants, ver. 5). Mary was there, to help; and Jesus was also invited, along with the two disciples, who had continued with Him ever since their journey. As there was a want of wine, Mary turned to Jesus, with a feeling of impatience, which could hardly wait for the first fitting opportunity of exhibiting the divinity of her Son; and by merely informing Him of the want (with a firm expectation, therefore, that as a matter of course He would supply the deficiency), solicited Him to display the heavenly power which stood at His command (John i. 52).—Jesus, by way of evincing His astonishment at, and His disapproval of, her maternal vanity and her false expectation of an outward display of pomp and glory, addressed to her the affectionate, yet serious words, “Woman, why dost thou mix thyself up with My affairs? My hour (to appear in glory) is not yet come.” Mary saw, however, whether from His looks, or from the fact that He went out, instead of returning to the guests, that He intended, though perhaps not in the way she expected, to supply the want. She therefore told the servants (who did not yet know Him) to do whatever He should bid them.—Jesus directed them to fill with water six large stone pitchers, which were intended for the purpose of religious purification; and then to draw some out immediately, and

take it to the governor of the feast. When the governor tasted, he found it excellent wine. This was Jesus' first miracle. And thus He revealed His glory.

1. Let us examine in the first place the *exegetical or internal difficulties* which the history contains. And, first of all, a difficulty is pointed out in the fact, that although Mary had never seen Jesus work a miracle (John ii. 11), she should have assumed in so unhesitating a manner that He was possessed of miraculous powers. To *Strauss*, indeed, it presents a difficulty, only so far as he hopes that the mythical character of the history of the childhood of Jesus may be conceded. But without making any such concession, we simply point (as *Lampe* has done) to the account which Mary must have heard from Philip and Nathanael.

On superficial consideration, the two following points appear real difficulties: (1) that so *modest* an intimation, "they have no wine," should have called forth so severe an answer; and (2) that after receiving apparently so *distinct a denial*, Mary should still take for granted that Jesus would render assistance.

Of those who admit that a miracle was wrought (we pass by the so-called "natural" explanation without remark), some have attempted to find something wrong in the words, "they have no wine;" whilst they exaggerate the force of the reply, *τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*, and change the meaning of the words, "My hour is not yet come." This is the case with *Chemnitz*. Mary is represented as abusing her maternal authority over one who, in His character of Messiah, no longer needed to follow her, by *directing* Him to work a miracle.—The words, "My hour is not yet come," on the other hand, are explained as meaning, that Jesus would work a miracle, but not just when the wine was *beginning to run short* (*ὑστερεῖν* = חסר *diminui*); He would wait till the want was more apparent, and more generally felt.—But all this is neither in harmony with the text, nor with the character of Jesus.

It would be far better to adopt *Bengel's* explanation, that Mary did not ask for a miracle at all, but simply observed that there was no more wine, by way of reminding Jesus that it was time to go: whilst the reply of Jesus, "My hour (for going) is not yet come," led her to conclude that He intended to provide for the deficiency. But what does *τὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί* mean? And are not the words, "My hour is not yet come," far too emphatic? Besides, why should John have preserved a conversation so unimportant as this would have been?

The only way to obtain a natural explanation, in perfect accordance with the text, is to compare the section before us with the pro-

ceding chapter. Mary's words undoubtedly involve a *very decided* expectation that Jesus would render assistance; and the very fact, that she thought it quite sufficient just to mention the want, and felt it to be unnecessary to make any request, is a proof that this was the case. They do not involve a *command*, or any other stretch of her authority; though they certainly deserve reproof, as indicating an expectation, mingled with some amount of vanity, that Jesus would make some display of outward pomp (*vid. Saurin ix. 324*). The word *γυναί* (woman) is the Aramæan *אִנְתָּה* (not *אִישָׁה*), the ordinary mode of address, both respectful and affectionate (*vid. John xix. 21*); and therefore is by no means indicative of estrangement. On the other hand, the words *מָה לִּי וְלָךְ* unquestionably contain a reproof, though not in the harsh, unkindly form suggested by the rendering, "what have I to do with thee?" The literal rendering of the words is, "what is to Me, and (what) to thee?" and the meaning, "that is My affair," or, "leave that to Me," are words which any son might address to his mother on a similar occasion, without any want of affection, or any violation of filial obedience and regard.—Still further, it is evident from ver. 5, that He must have given occasion to Mary to address the servants as she did. What could have put it into her mind to tell the servants to follow her Son's directions, if Jesus had not gone either to the servants themselves, or into the place where they were? And if He did this, there is no further ground for the question, how Mary could expect Jesus to provide for the emergency, after the answer He had given.

It is a mere perversion of the narrative to suppose the twelve or eighteen firkins of wine to have been all drunk. There is nothing inconceivable in the thought, that Jesus may not merely have relieved the necessities of the moment, but also have made a welcome present to the (probably needy) family, and thus have brought a blessing into their house. Such a blessing would certainly have been no "dangerously large quantity" for the friends of the devout Mary, or for a company which Jesus joined. It is only a proof of a diseased mind, to imagine that the guests gave themselves up to sensual indulgence when the wine arrived. If it was thus that Jesus "manifested forth His glory" as the Son of God, the joy of the company at the present received must have been mingled with a general feeling of reverence for the Son of God; and thus the miracle would furnish an occasion for Jesus to speak of His office and work.

The superfluous question as to the *purpose* of the miracle also falls away. It was not wrought to gratify the flesh. Nor was it merely to prove that Jesus did not desire the asceticism of John; for He had

already proved this by coming to the marriage. The simple purpose was the one mentioned by the Evangelist, to manifest Himself as the Son of God ; and the way selected was one in which He could at the same time confer a welcome favour upon a worthy family.¹

Lastly, so far as the dogmatical *possibility* of such a change is concerned, *Strauss* thought he had set the question at rest, by proving satisfactorily that it could not be explained—as *Olshausen* maintains that it can—as an “accelerated process of nature.” But this merely overthrows the *semi-natural* explanation of the miracle. For our part, we regard it as a *creative act*, which *Bruno Bauer* has correctly declared to be the only possible interpretation, and which has no difficulty whatever, except to the utterly unbelieving.

• § 46.

FIRST JOURNEY TO THE PASSOVER. JESUS PURIFIES THE TEMPLE.

JOHN II. 12-25.

From Cana Jesus went down for a few days to Capernaum, with His mother, His brethren, and His disciples ; and as the *feast of Passover* was at hand, He proceeded thence to Jerusalem. There He found in the fore-court of the temple the money-changers and dealers in cattle, carrying on their profitable trade in the holy place. With holy zeal, and the warrant of His office, He made a whip of cords, drove out both cattle and dealers, overturned the tables of the money-changers, ordered the sellers of doves to remove their cages, and commanded that His Father's house should not be made a house of trade. No one was able to withstand His divine power ; but afterwards the Jews demanded that one who could in so special a manner call God His Father, should attest by a miracle His claim to be a prophet. Jesus reproached their disposition to desecrate and persecute everything holy, and at the same time exhibited *Himself* as possessing in His own person the absolute authority of the founder of the temple, and perfectly free from every obligation to produce credentials as a (mere) prophet. “Destroy this temple,” He said, “and in three

¹ [The apologist has no interest to make out a great motive for the miracle,—greater, *e.g.*, than the furnishing of a gift that would be a comfort to the family—a sort of marriage present.—Taking the first use of miraculous power in connection with the temptation in the wilderness, the moral glory of the first miracle lies in the comparative insignificance of its occasion. The moral of it is this : See ! He who would not use His power for *Himself*, even in a case of extreme *need* (Matt. iv. 2, 3), uses it for others, even for increase of their *comfort*, and to express friendship and goodwill.—ED.]

days I will raise it up." Whilst He thus threw back upon the Jews alone the charge of having acted *against* the temple which was founded by the command of God, He attributed to Himself not only the *divine power* to establish a temple and worship, but the fixed *determination* to do so; presupposing at the same time, as possible and probable, that the hardness of the Jews would issue in the casting down of the temple of Jehovah. By this, Jesus no more intended an outward casting down of the stone temple, than the Jews had hitherto incurred the guilt of such an act, or of an outward desecration. He rather referred to the ultimate issue of that resistance to Himself, the Son of God, which had already begun. To bring animals into the temple, was in itself no desecration; for they had to be brought into the temple for the purpose of sacrifice. The desecration had been an *internal* one: the place of the *covenant* and of the *manifestation* of God had been abused to carnal purposes. The throwing down, therefore, must be understood symbolically, namely, as denoting a complete frustration of the purpose for which the temple existed. In Christ there had appeared the personal *covenant* of God with men, and the absolute *manifestation* of the Father. When the Jews rejected Christ; when Judas betrayed Him, and the Jews cast the price of blood—the money for which they had purchased the last *hostia*—out of the temple, that it might not *be made unclean*;—then was the temple inwardly *thrown down*; then was the end for which it existed frustrated; then the living temple was driven out of the stone one, the soul out of the body; *then* the temple ceased to be *theocratic*, and the honour of being the dwelling-place of God passed over to the Christian Church. In the same way, by the rebuilding of the temple, Christ meant the establishment of a *new covenant* through His resurrection, and prophetically announced "three days" as the time.—The Jews, who were neither able, nor intended, to understand the meaning of these words, were repelled by the reproach involved in the expression, "Destroy this temple," and cooled their warmth by an interpretation, the shallow falseness of which must have been apparent to themselves. But the disciples of Jesus retained the deep and marvelous words in their heart, and after the resurrection of Jesus understood perfectly what He meant.

1. We shall postpone the question, whether this purification of the temple is identical with the one described in Matt. xxi., or whether such an action could be well repeated, till we come to consider the latter account; and proceed at once to the *internal difficulties*. How Jesus should be impelled by the sight of this dishonourable

trading in the sanctuary to act as He did, is too obvious for us to need the supposition of *Gfrörer*, that Jesus drove out the traders, because in the *Targum of Jonathan*, at Zech. xiv. 21, the clause, "there shall be no more the Canaanite," is rendered, "there shall be no more a *trader* in the house of the Lord." To *Bruno Bauer* the means employed by Jesus, the whip, appear to be very unsuitable;¹ whilst he ridicules as sentimental the opinion expressed by *De Wette*, that it was perfectly natural for the sellers of doves to be sent away unpunished.—But, for our part, we can neither find in the innocence of the doves a proof that the sellers of them were less to blame than the others; nor can we agree with *Neander*, that the whip was merely a *symbol* of the judgment which awaited them. But of a fight all round, such as *B. Bauer* seems to suppose, there is no trace in the narrative. The Lord employs the whip primarily upon the *cattle*. Mere words, such as *Bauer* seems to have thought most fitting, would have been of little avail with sheep and bullocks; and the sellers would certainly have made sport of Christ, rather than drive them out of their own accord. It was necessary in this case to *act* as frivolous scorners always deserve. When the cattle were driven out, the owners followed of course. The sellers of doves were not treated more *mildly* than the rest: He *commanded them* instead of *driving*, simply because, whilst sheep and oxen may be driven with whips, cages must be carried.

Strauss assures us, that so many people would naturally not have allowed themselves or their cattle to be driven out by one man. And it is contrary to *bon ton* to suppose that a miracle was wrought. From *his* doctrinal standpoint, this is an insoluble difficulty.—*Schweizer*, again, thinks that ver. 18, where the Jews demand a sign, prevents us from assuming that a *miracle* was wrought. But it may have been effected by *divine power*, though the striking feature was not this power, but the *success*, and the authority which Jesus *claimed*. To support the latter, Jesus was required to produce a sign in the stricter sense of the word, in which greater prominence should be given to the miraculous.

2. The consideration of the quotation in ver. 17, from Ps. lxi. 10, we shall postpone to the Second Part, and pass on at once to the words of Jesus in ver. 19. *Lücke* and others interpret these words as meaning, that Jesus would sweep away the whole Jewish religion, and possessed the spiritual power to establish in the shortest time a new and more spiritual religion. In support of this explanation, they

¹ "The people," he says, "would in that case have had to do, not with holy zeal and displeasure, or with a spiritual greatness which they could not withstand, but with an opponent for whom they were quite a match."

appeal to Acts vi. 13, where Stephen is *accused* of having spoken blasphemous words against the holy place. This accusation,—which Stephen proves to be false, by showing that he regards the temple as unquestionably *divine*, though neither primitive nor destined to perpetual duration, but forming part of a period of preparation,—some of these writers consider so true, that it furnishes evidence not only with regard to Stephen, but with regard to Jesus Himself, that He expressed the intention, without reserve, to put the finishing stroke to the Mosaic institutions. How admirably do the words, “*My Father’s house*,” and the zeal for His sanctuary, accord with such an explanation !

If Jesus had really said, Herein consists My authority to purify the temple, that I am able in the shortest time to substitute a spiritual worship for the Mosaic ceremonial, it would undoubtedly have been “useless trifling,” “an unworthy caprice,” to express in the very same words the *perfectly heterogeneous* thought, “Slay Me, and in three days I will rise again.” But as Jesus neither can have given utterance to the thought thus forced upon Him, that *He* would abolish the *ceremonial law* (what He was now contending for was, that it should be maintained in its purity ; and what He contended *against* was, not the ceremonial law, but the traffic in cattle), nor was speaking of Himself at all (for He brings an accusation against *the Jews*, that *they* are destroying the temple through their frivolity) ; and as such an explanation of the words, “in three days,” is utterly untenable ; we adhere to the explanation which we have given above, as the only one which is in perfect accordance with the text. Jesus accused the Jews, that they were inwardly desecrating the temple, and would soon completely destroy it. At the same time, He told them that He could, and would raise it up again in three days. In making the latter announcement, He had in mind a mode of destroying and raising up again, with which the Jews were as yet utterly unacquainted. He was not trifling with them therefore, as *Gfrörer* supposes, but telling them something which should serve as a subject of constant *thought*, and an occasion of immediate *repentance*, and which became after His resurrection an important witness for Himself. This enigma, therefore, was the reply of Jesus to their request for a sign ; and bore precisely the same relation to that request as Isa. vii. 14 sqq. to ver. 11 ; Ex. iii. 12 to ver. 11 ; and Matt. xii. 39 to ver. 38 (cf. Matt. xvi. 4 and Luke xi. 29). To those who desired an immediate miraculous sign, there was given instead an obscure, enigmatical prediction, pointing to a distant future. Even *Baur* acknowledges this.

§ 47.

CONVERSATION WITH NICODEMUS.

JOHN III. 1-21.

Jesus remained in Jerusalem till the feast was over, and worked miracles there. And many believed on Him, though only externally, on account of the miracles. There came to Him on one occasion, a Pharisee, named *Nicodemus*, a member of the Sanhedrim, on whom Jesus had made a deep impression. His heart was divided between the pharisaic disposition to seek righteousness before God and distinction among men through outward actions, and an inward voice which compelled him to recognise something divine in Jesus. That he might not lower himself in the estimation of the people, he came *by night*, and sought to commence a conversation by an evidently rather flattering acknowledgment of His miraculous power and divine calling. He certainly was desirous of learning something from Jesus, of which he stood in need; though he did not know himself either *what* or *how*. Jesus, taking no notice of the *compliment*, proceeded at once to meet the *want*, and commenced by showing him what it really was. "Thou *canst not enter into the kingdom of heaven*, unless thou art born again." Thus He attacked severely the whole pharisaic trust in righteousness by works, and demanded a *new heart*; couching the demand, however, in a most expressive figure. *Nicodemus* was puzzled by these few brief words. He knew well that something was intended by being born again, but he could not tell *what*. In such cases, one naturally begins to speak about the words in their *immediate and literal sense*, if only to show how unsuitable this is, and thus indirectly to induce the other to explain its deeper meaning. This is what *Nicodemus* does in John iii. 4. "A new birth," he says, "is surely impossible in a physical sense." Jesus then reminds him of the *baptism of John*, which cannot have been unknown to Nicodemus, and at the same time of the demand for *repentance* which was associated with it, and the promise of one who was to baptize with the *Spirit* (ver. 5). He shows him that the time for the baptism of the Spirit has arrived, and that the latter, the new birth of a man by the Spirit, is essential to salvation (ver. 6); at the same time, He tells him that this new birth is not like the natural birth, *outward and visible*, but like the blowing of the earthly רוח, the wind, irresistible in its effects, yet in its coming and going quiet, unnoticeable, and *sudden*.

Nicodemus, who now perceives to what Christ refers, but does not

know by what means this spiritual renovation is to be secured, inquires how this can take place—how it is possible to attain to such a result. The Lord does not *describe* the means, but *employs* them. He does not *tell* him he must repent, but brings him to *repentance*. For He condemns without reserve a mind decided only to what is earthly, which neither will (ver. 11) nor can (ver. 12) embrace the heavenly; and yet only a heavenly mind, which springs from heaven, is fitted to *come* to heaven (ver. 13). At the same time, He points out the positive means of escaping from the acknowledged misery. Men are all born of the flesh; one only, *the Son*, has sprung from heaven. He has *come down* from heaven (ver. 13), and has been set forth and exalted by God as the deliverer of man, in the same way as the brazen serpent was exhibited for the deliverance of the Jews, namely, that men may put confidence in Him, that they may no longer seek salvation in themselves, but in Him only, and *for His sake alone* hope to be saved.¹—Jesus could not have selected a more striking illustration by which to explain to a Jew the thoroughly inward nature of the New Testament redemption, through *faith* (vers. 15, 16).—Once more (vers. 17, 18), Jesus expressly opposes the fundamental characteristic of Pharisaism, which asks to be judged, not saved; and then proceeds to show (vers. 19–21) what is *the real essence and criterion of true judgment*, viz., the question, whether a man loves or hates Jesus, the light that has come into the world; whether he yields himself up to Him to be chastened and sanctified, or hardens his heart. He then finishes by pointing to that *internal κρίσις* which results from faith, and to the necessity for that *decision*, which does not shun the light (of day).

1. With this exposition we can only pity those who “can find no connection,” and must pronounce it a complete *perversion*, to say that “the Evangelist intentionally makes Nicodemus talk foolishly, for the purpose of exalting by the contrast the wisdom of Jesus.” The foolishness is all introduced by *Strauss* himself.

In *Baur's* opinion, as the Synoptists do not mention Nicodemus either here or in connection with the burial of Jesus, the whole is an invention of the fourth Evangelist. Such arguments are not worth refuting.

¹ The brazen serpent was a *figure* of the poisonous serpents, and yet was not itself poisonous but healing. And so the Lord on the cross was a *figure* of a transgressor and ill-doer, and yet was the Saviour. In this respect also, the words of Jesus contained a deep enigmatical sense, which could not till a later period become perfectly clear to the hearer's mind.

§ 48.

JESUS AND JOHN THE BAPTIST AT THE JORDAN.

JOHN III. 22-36.

After the feast of Passover Jesus still remained in Judæa, and let His disciples *baptize* (John iv. 2); thus continuing, like John, to summon those who heard to give the old life up to death, and to commence a new life. *John the Baptist* was baptizing at the same time in Ænon, near to Salem (not in Judæa, therefore, but higher up, probably on the Samaritan border). About this time, as some of the Jews began to dispute with some disciples of John *περὶ καθαρισμοῦ* (probably declaring their own washings quite sufficient, and John's baptism unnecessary), the latter imagined that Jesus might be the cause of the diminution in the respect entertained by the people for John, and complained to their master that all were flocking to Jesus. But John replied to this complaint in words, which the Evangelist interprets. In his own diminution, and the increase of Jesus, he recognises the leading of God, which is in perfect accordance with their respective personality and work. He even expresses his joy at the increasing activity of Jesus, acknowledges once more the divinity of Christ, and points to the necessity of *faith in Him*.

1. *Chronological difficulties* are said to exist in the fact, that in so short a time so many disciples should have gathered round John the Baptist. Some time must have elapsed before it was known that a John had appeared in the desert; still more, before any had gone out to him; still more, before his doctrine was embraced; and a very long time before he had gained any notoriety. *Hug* has met these objections successfully (Gutachten, p. 137 sqq.). In the first place, several months had passed since John first appeared (*vide* § 31); and there still remained a *whole year* for him to collect disciples. In the second place, as *Hug* has shown, it is not true that John baptized "in a distant and unknown place." *Thirdly*, according to the account in the Gospels, and from the very nature of the case, it was not gradually, but suddenly, that the rush to John took place. His appearance attracted all the world to the Jordan so long as it was *new*. And *lastly*, his doctrine was not a complicated system, which required a triennial course to comprehend, but a simple, convincing demand, "*Repent*." This was done at once, or not at all. Penitent disciples, deeply impressed by the preaching and personal character of John, attached

themselves immediately to him. The objection, therefore, is *un grand rien*.

Nor is there any greater force in the difficulty discovered in the fact, that John should have *continued to baptize* after the appearance of Jesus. *Bruno Bauer* objects that "he should have baptized with reference to *Jesus*" (did he baptize, then, with reference to himself?), and "ought to have submitted immediately to Him." But could he have done this in any better way than by continuing to call fresh disciples to repentance, and so preparing them for Jesus? *Baur* repeats the question, Why did the Baptist "not lay down his herald's office after so distinctly recognising the *pre-eminence* of Christ?" Because the teachers in a gymnasium do not lay down their office as soon as a new university is founded.

2. The words of John the Baptist (vers. 27-36) are adduced as a leading proof that the discourses contained in the fourth Gospel are not historical, but composed by the Evangelist, on account of their similarity in form and train of thought to his own.—Now, we might say without hesitation, unquestionably the Evangelist reproduces the *thoughts* of the Baptist (and the same might be said of discourses of Jesus); and as he did not remember the whole, word for word, he gave them, in the most free and open manner, in his own style. If the Baptist had said, "I am nothing but *a man*, but Christ is the Son of God, and came to declare the counsel of God," the Evangelist might have expressed the same thought in his own way thus: "He that is of the earth is of the earth, and speaketh of the earth; but he that cometh from heaven is above all." Or if the Baptist had said, "Jesus is mightier than I; He has the Spirit of God, and will give it to you; but ye are not willing. And God has given a fan into His hand, and He will cleanse His floor,"—the Evangelist might have expressed the same thought by saying: "And what he hath seen and heard, that he testifieth, and no man receiveth his testimony. . . . The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into His hand. He that believeth," etc. Now, as the Evangelists were concerned, not about documentary literality, but about the thoughts and subject-matter, such an assumption might be admitted without the slightest difficulty, and without impugning the credibility of John. *But we refuse even this help.* We will come closer, and look the spectre in the face.

Whence did John derive the distinctive peculiarities of his style, and forms of thought? What if it was from *John the Baptist himself*? He had been his disciple.¹ In this light, therefore, it was quite

¹ We are assuming for the present that *John* the Apostle was the author of the fourth Gospel.

possible. But we will look more closely at these peculiarities. It is admitted that in the writings of John no trace can be found of those *fine dialectic links*, by which the Indo-Germanic languages, especially the Hellenic branch, are so peculiarly distinguished, and which we find not only in the writings of Luke and Paul, but in a far higher degree even in those of Matthew and Mark. In this respect the style of John has a *thoroughly Semitic colouring*. The thoughts stand like arrows, side by side, without links, and easily separable. Look, too, at his peculiar modes of *thought and expression*. With regard to the λόγος, it is well known that the Evangelist does not put this term into the mouth of any one whom he introduces as speaking. The distinction of *light and darkness* is also a philosophical one, to which his mind may have been led by a speculative road, though it occurs elsewhere (e.g., Acts xxvi. 18; 2 Cor. vi. 14; Eph. v. 8 and 13), is *even to be met with in the Old Testament* (Eccl. ii. 13), and on a fitting occasion was used by Christ Himself (John iii. 20, 21). So far as the expressions on which *Strauss* lays such stress are concerned,—e.g., σφραγίζειν, μαρτυρία, ἄνωθεν, ἐκ τῆς γῆς,—they are *all genuine Old Testament terms* (Isa. viii. 16; Num. i. 50; Deut. iv. 45; Ps. xix. 8, lxxviii. 56, xcix. 7, cxix. 2, 24, and 99,—ממרום—מישמים—מארץ). They *cannot* have been met with by John for the first time when he was surrounded by Hellenic culture, but are of true Hebraic origin. The one difficulty, which might lead many to shrink from adopting the opinion that the peculiarities of John were derived to a considerable extent from the Baptist, is, that in that case one of the highest and most glorious features in the New Testament would be traceable to one, of whom it was said, that “the least in the kingdom of heaven was greater than he.” This is not what we mean. It must be admitted that the last of the prophets, the forerunner of Christ, who so violently aroused the hearts of sleepers, must have resembled the earlier prophets, an Ezekiel, a Joel, an Isaiah, in the genuine Old Testament force and pregnancy of his imagery. To this man the Evangelist John attached himself from the bottom of his soul. What he saw and heard was heard and seen in the broad dimensions of rich and massive ideas. Now, as Jesus Himself expressed His thoughts in a Hebrew form, John grasped most firmly and thoroughly those portions of His discourses which were most in harmony with the bent of a mind already prepared by intercourse with the Baptist, namely, the prophetically grand, and majestically rich and sublime; in other words, those in which Jesus most fully expressed the plenitude of His divinity. Thus, what the Baptist had commenced and the Lord completed, had grown up within him

into a living and enduring unity, which was now thoroughly his own.¹

In the case before us, he gives the last testimony borne by the Baptist to Jesus *in its original form*.

§ 49.

CONVERSATION WITH THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA.

JOHN IV. 1-42.

When the Pharisees learned that a much larger number of followers had assembled round Jesus than round John, it was naturally to be expected that they would place impediments in His way, and form plots against Him, as they had previously done in the case of John. Now John had been just cast into prison (compare § 31, Mark i. 14 and Matt. iv. 12, with John iii. 24 and iv. 1-3). To avoid similar persecution, lest the still feeble band of believers should be bewildered or crushed, Jesus left the Jordan for Galilee. On His way through Samaria, He came one evening² to Jacob's well, near Sichem, and, being fatigued, sat down there, while the disciples went into the city for provisions. There came a woman to draw water. The request of Jesus, that she would give Him some water, astonished her, since the Jews were accustomed to avoid any intercourse with Samaritans. But Jesus desired to make use of the opportunity for the purpose of calling the woman to conversion and salvation, and said to her, "If thou knewest Me, thou wouldest ask *Me* for *living water*." By this He meant to intimate that He was more than a mere *Ἰουδαῖος*; whilst the enigmatical words compelled the woman to continue the conversation. She *could not* possibly know what Jesus meant, and said to Him, "Thou hast no bucket with which to draw water out of this

¹ I am obliged to maintain the direct contrary of the position taken up by Weisse and others, that John, the Jewish Apostle, represents Jesus in a foreign, Greek speculative dress. Speculative he is, indeed, throughout; but if I wished to imagine a *genuine Hebrew* speculation, I could not fancy it other than that of John.

² *Schweizer* and *Bruno Bauer* would reckon "the sixth hour," according to Jewish calculation, as at mid-day. And the former discovers an impropriety in the fact, that the woman should come to the well at so unusual an hour. But, apart from John's usual custom of reckoning the hours after the Roman style, it must be borne in mind, that in Palestine the time chosen for *travelling* would hardly be the middle of the day, but the morning and evening, or even the night. And the woman's coming is another proof. For even if she had really come for some other purpose than "to draw water," she would not have visited the well at a time when the burning heat would be sure to keep every one else away.

deep well. Thou wouldst have to produce another well therefore (a spring, perhaps, where no bucket was needed, and the water of which was not standing but running—ζῶν). But how could that be done? Art thou greater than Jacob?" Jesus then explained that by ὕδωρ ζῶν He meant not *running* water in contrast with *standing*, but water which would quench the thirst for ever. This was no real explanation, however; but merely served to fix attention, and still further excite curiosity. The woman, hoping for a miracle, and one which might secure a considerable material benefit, asked for some of this water. The Lord now led her thoughts away from bodily wants to spiritual, that He might prepare her mind to understand His words. He showed that He was acquainted with the whole of her evil mode of life. The woman, thoroughly ashamed, and brought to a confession of her sin, tried, in her natural confusion, to turn the subject. She called Jesus a prophet, and asked Him whether Zion or Gerizim was the proper place to worship God, hoping that this question would sufficiently interest an inhabitant of Judæa to turn his attention away from herself. But Jesus, just briefly asserting the superiority of Zion (ver. 22), soon brought her thoughts back again to the subject of greatest importance. He tells her that even Jerusalem will soon be no longer the seat of God; that a new time is approaching, and that everything depends upon *how* God is worshipped,—not in words, but in spirit (with the whole heart) and in truth (the heart being truly engaged). Going back again to the opening part of the words (the announcement of a new "hour"), she asks about the Messiah; and the Lord distinctly tells her "I am He."—Upon this, the disciples came back from the town and offered Him food. But He was too deeply moved and refreshed with the expectation of finding access to the woman and her countrymen, and told them that His food was to finish His Father's work. The spiritual field was already ripe for the harvest, and they themselves would one day reap what He had sown. In the meantime the woman had gone into the town, and by her assurance that Jesus had told her all that she had done, the Samaritans were induced to come out and invite Jesus to remain with them. And very many believed, not merely as at first, with their understanding, on account of His wonderful knowledge, but with their hearts they turned to Him, the *Saviour*.

1. A discrepancy is said to exist in the fact, that the woman expects Jesus to draw from that very well (ver. 11), and yet supposes that the water will be better (ver. 15). But in ver. 11 the woman shows clearly enough that she does not expect Jesus to draw from

that well. She even mentions the reason, namely, because Jesus has no bucket, and it is too far down to the water for it to be reached without one. But Bruno Bauer waxes bolder and bolder. On ver. 15 he says, No man who is not silly would misunderstand so clear a contrast (as that in ver. 14—water which lays thirst for ever, and common water: *this* contrast the woman did understand; but that the former was to be understood *spiritually*, she had not understood). And yet B. B. himself has misunderstood ver. 11 still more grossly!

Strauss and B. Bauer cannot understand why Jesus should tell the woman to fetch her husband. The former spends a long time in considering the questions, whether Jesus seriously wished to speak to the man, and also whether it was wise of Jesus to ask for something which, if He were really omniscient, He must know could not be fulfilled. At length he seems to understand, that the intention of Jesus could only have been to prepare the way for the humiliating discovery, and therefore for the *woman's repentance*. But this does not suffice. From the *result* (ver. 19), he says, it is evident that the intention of Jesus was simply to bring the woman to the admission that He was a prophet. But we repeat, *the intention of Jesus* was to lead the woman's mind away from earthly wants to those of her soul; in other words, to awaken her to a consciousness of her sins. From the manner in which the woman *shrinks away*, we see that this *intention was fully realized*. She felt convicted and ashamed.

"In the same forced manner," he says, "is the conversation turned to a point, which serves to bring out the Messiahship of Jesus;" and he cannot conceive how, if the conversation had been real, the woman could have put the question she did. *Baur* also asks with astonishment, "how the Samaritan woman came to consult Jesus about the religious question in dispute between the two nations;" and *Strauss* says, "It is inconceivable that, with the narrowness of mind which she displayed, she can have put such a question *seriously*; and if she did not, how could Jesus reply to an unmeaning inquiry?" No doubt the woman meant it *seriously*; for, with all earnestness, she wanted to draw Jesus away from an unwelcome topic. And for this purpose that question presented itself, which was by no means too high for her. She may have been unable to comprehend the words of Jesus, which were really obscure, and yet have been just as able to put such a question about the two temples—which was the common point in dispute between the two nations,—as the most uneducated peasant girl residing in a village of a mixed confession would be able now to ask who were right, the Catholics or the Protestants. On the other hand, it is equally true, that the question, however seriously meant,

was put, not so much for its own sake, as for the purpose of giving a different turn to the conversation. And so we see that, after a brief reply (ver. 22), Jesus returned directly to the leading topic again.

2. In the conversation of Jesus with His disciples, ver. 31, Bauer finds fault with the "indefiniteness with which people speak who think themselves wise and elevated above others, and talk with an air of mystery from their higher position." To Strauss, on the other hand, the words of Jesus appear so definite, that he sees in the answer of the disciples, again, an incomprehensible misunderstanding. It seems never to have occurred to either, that a man speaks of a matter which inwardly fills him with that inward joy that does not prosaically express its full contents, but first gently hints at it, and lets the hearer know a little, and puts him in a state of expectancy, in order to communicate to him gradually more and still more, and so lead him step by step to an ever increasing sympathy with his fulness of joy. In this way Jesus prepared the disciples—vers. 32-38—till that which rejoiced Jesus met them as a surprise.

§ 50.

THE NOBLEMAN'S SON. JESUS IN THE SYNAGOGUE AT NAZARETH.

JOHN IV. 43-54; LUKE IV. 16-31; MATT. IV. 12-17;

MARK I. 14, 15.

Two days afterwards, Jesus returned from Samaria to Galilee, and was heartily welcomed by His countrymen, who had seen His public appearance in Jerusalem (the purification of the temple). During a visit which Jesus paid to *Cana* (probably to the family already mentioned), an officer of the court, who resided in Capernaum, and had no doubt hitherto lived, like the rest of the courtiers, without troubling himself about either John the Baptist or the carpenter's son, was brought to Christ by bitter sorrow, in which no one could render him the slightest aid. His son was lying ill with an incurable disease. When the father heard of Jesus, and His return to Galilee, he came to *Cana* to seek for Him, and when he had found Him, entreated Him to come down to Capernaum and restore his son. In order that he might not merely rejoice in the bodily cure of his child, and then forget Christ again, but that this occurrence might lead to a change of heart in the man himself, Jesus at first answered him reprovingly: "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe." These words of the Lord, with which He blamed the former indifference of the courtier, who was first induced to come to Him by the

want of a miraculous cure, and by which He sought to prevent him from resting in the simple recognition of the *benefactor*, and to lead him to acknowledge in Jesus one in whom, apart from miracles, it was necessary to believe, were listened to with humility, and a silent acknowledgment of their truth. But the new faith which was born of affliction still pressed forward, and uttered itself in the simple repetition of the earnest entreaty, "Lord, come with me, before my child dies." The Lord granted his request; but, in doing so, He put his faith once more to the test. He did not go with him, but said to him, "Thy son liveth." The nobleman believed this *word* of Jesus, and went away. (Such faith in a *word* naturally presupposed that he had previously yielded himself up in a believing manner to the impression made by the *person* of Jesus, and formed the point of transition from belief on account of miracles *seen*, to belief in Jesus "because of His word," ver. 41.). As he was returning to Capernaum, his servants met him to announce the child's recovery; and, on making inquiry into all the circumstances, especially as to the time of his recovery, he found that it took place in the very moment at which Jesus had spoken the word.

Jesus then travelled about Galilee, preaching on the Sabbaths in the synagogues. One Sabbath, when He was in the synagogue in Nazareth, and stood up to read, the prophecies of Isaiah were handed to Him; and He opened them at chap. lxi. 1, which was fulfilled, He told them, in Himself. Instead of taking this discourse to heart, the hearers looked only at His outward descent, and were astonished that the carpenter's son should preach in such a way as that. This injurious habit of evading the point of a discourse, and making it merely the subject of an everyday conversation (a practice of weekly occurrence even among ourselves), was reproved by Jesus, who told them that the only good they looked for from Him was, that He should glorify their town, or contribute to their temporal advantage, by working many miracles; whilst it never occurred to them to acknowledge His divine commission. This had been the case with all the prophets: strangers had welcomed them gladly, whilst their own countrymen had failed to discern their divine and sacred character. Embittered by this reproof, they forced Him out of the town to a precipitous place in the hill on which Nazareth stood, for the purpose of stoning Him (or throwing Him over). But He passed through the midst of them, and *came to Capernaum*, where He henceforth took up His abode. (In the meantime, John the Baptist had been put in prison.)

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1. If we cast a cursory glance at the *chronological* and *topographi-*

cal notices, we find that Matthew, who has already mentioned *Nazareth* as the dwelling-place of Jesus (chap. ii. 23), states, in chap. iv. 12, that *after John had been cast into prison*, Jesus returned to Galilee; and that He went this time and dwelt, not in Nazareth, but in Capernaum. Mark also says that, *after John was put in prison*, Jesus came into Galilee. Now, though John says nothing about the imprisonment of the Baptist, but simply assigns the danger that had arisen as the motive for the departure of Jesus to Galilee, there is no discrepancy in this. The Evangelist John, who was well acquainted with the fact of the Baptist's imprisonment (*vid.* ch. iii. 24), and took for granted that his readers were the same, and who seems to intimate in this very passage that it took place shortly after the occurrences described in chap. iii. 22–36, saw no necessity for giving another circumstantial account of his arrest, but thought it better to point out as clearly as possible the precise reason for Christ's removal to Galilee. As the Synoptists had mentioned in a general way that the arrest of John the Baptist was the cause, the question put by modern critics would very naturally suggest itself, why should Jesus go straight into the territory of his persecutor? John *therefore* explains the real connection between the arrest of the Baptist and the removal of Jesus to Galilee. (We assume John *knew* the Synoptists. This will be proved in Part II.) He points out the middle term. Was John taken prisoner by *Herod* because he baptized at *Ænon*, and, as it appeared, had collected a dangerous band of followers?¹ Jesus was exposed to the very same danger on the part of the *Sanhedrim*, for He was baptizing in *Judæa*, and had “made more disciples than John.”

2. We will now look at the different passages which mention the *journey of Jesus to Galilee*. It is very commonly regarded as a difficulty, that in John iv. 44 the motive assigned for the journey is, that “Jesus Himself testified that a prophet hath no honour in his own country” (ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατρίδι). The majority of commentators express no doubt that by *πατρίς* is to be understood *Nazareth*, or *Galilee* in general. But what could this possibly mean: Jesus went to Galilee because He had no honour there? To meet this difficulty, *Gfrörer* thinks it would be necessary to supply one or two “covered” clauses, *e.g.*, Jesus went to Galilee, *but very slowly*, for, etc.; *Krafft* and others supply, Jesus went to Galilee, *though not to Nazareth, but to the other parts of Galilee*, for, etc. In *Tholuck's* opinion, ver. 44 does not point back to ver. 43, but forward to ver. 45: “The Gali-

¹ We shall show, at § 64, that one of the principal reasons for his imprisonment was the apparent danger arising from any *political influence* that might be exerted by John, who did not spare the unbridled licentiousness of any rank.

leans, namely, had given Jesus at other times a bad reception ; but now, when He came, they received Him well." *De Wette* makes very simple work of it ; the γάρ, he says, is "merely introductory," though we cannot tell what it is intended to introduce. Amidst all these disputes, *Bruno Bauer* is perfectly right when he says that the passage can have no meaning, *so long as by πατρίς we understand anything but Judæa*. Jesus is persecuted in His native country, therefore He flies to Galilee. (*Lücke* gives the same explanation.)

But *Bruno Bauer* himself will not allow that Judæa is called the πατρίς of Jesus, because He *was born in Bethlehem*. If this had been the case, he says, "the Evangelist would have stated it distinctly, since he has hitherto, from chap. i. 46 onwards, left it to appear as if Jesus had been born in Nazareth." No doubt he would have stated it distinctly if he had supposed that his readers were not acquainted with the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem. It would then have been *necessary* to inform them, and to enter *fully* into *all the circumstances*, of His birth. But as John took for granted that his readers were historically acquainted with the supernatural generation of Jesus (chap. i. 1 sqq.), and always assumed an acquaintance with the Synoptists (*vid.* Part II.), there was no necessity to introduce a clause to the effect that "Jesus was not born in Galilee, but in Bethlehem of Judæa." On the contrary, he could write the words of ver. 44 with the certain conviction that every reader would know how they were to be understood.

There is said to be a *discrepancy*, however, between John and the Synoptists, arising from the fact that in the former the proverb, "*a prophet hath no honour in his own country*," is applied to Judæa ; whereas, according to the Synoptists (Luke iv. 24), Jesus applied them to Nazareth. But it is evident, in the first place, that both Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus, and Nazareth, the place where His early years were passed, might be called His πατρίς ; and in the second place, that the proverb was therefore applicable both to the Jews, in the midst of whom the Lord was *born* and had *lived by no means in obscurity*, and also to the Nazarenes, among whom He had been brought up. Luke informs us that Jesus *quoted the proverb on one particular occasion* in the synagogue at Nazareth ; John, on the other hand, simply says that Jesus *was in the habit of quoting it*, and it is the Evangelist himself who applies it on another equally appropriate occasion. Where, then, is the discrepancy to be found ? The parallel account of the journey of Jesus, which we find in the Synoptists, has been exposed to the same attacks as those of John. Among other things, it is said to be very strange that Matthew should state (chap. iv. 13) that Jesus left Nazareth, without having anywhere

mentioned His arrival there. But any child has comprehension enough to see that "*leaving Nazareth*" (καταλιπὼν τὴν Ναζαρέτ) does not refer to the *mere act of departure*, as distinguished from the act of arrival, but to a permanent *removal* (cf. κατώκησεν) from the town, mentioned in Matt. ii. 23, which had been His dwelling-place till now.

3. The supposed identity of the courtier and the centurion we shall examine when we come to the account of the latter. In that of the courtier no other difficulty has been found than that the words in ver. 48 are "much too severe," "undeserved," or "a passionate reproof." But the difficulty is caused by the fact that the words are entirely misunderstood. They are interpreted as condemning the same *seeking after signs* as that referred to in Matt. xii. 38 and xvi. 1; and then it is objected that the courtier evidently came, not to seek after signs, but from actual need. What Jesus blamed the courtier for, however, was not that he asked for a miracle, but that he did not believe *until* he was placed in such circumstances that he was obliged to ask for a miracle.—John tells us nothing, it is true, about the man's previous unbelief; and in all probability there was nothing peculiar about it. But the mere fact that he was an *officer of the court* is sufficient of itself to lead to the conclusion, that he had hitherto participated in the religious indifference by which the higher classes were distinguished.¹

¹ In ver. 54 John says, "This is again the second miracle which Jesus did when He was come out of Judæa into Galilee (ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας)." The words may either mean, that this was the second miracle that Jesus had ever wrought; in which case ἐλθὼν κ.τ.λ. is merely introduced to point out the time: or they may be rendered, this was the second miracle wrought by Christ *on His arrival in Galilee*.—In neither case would any discrepancy arise; for, according to what we have shown to be the correct order of succession, this was really His second miracle. (The purification of the temple, though explicable only through the divine power of Jesus, was not really a σημεῖον, cf. John ii. 18; and in John iv. 45 allusion is made, not to *miracles* wrought by Jesus in Jerusalem, but only to what He *did* there, πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν.) In Luke iv. 23 the primary reference is to the healing of the courtier's son in Capernaum. The word ὅσα does not necessarily denote a *plurality* of miracles. ("Do here as much as Thou hast done there.") Still, Jesus may have wrought other miracles in Capernaum in the meantime, of which we have no account.

CHAPTER IV.

JESUS IN CAPERNAUM.

§ 51.

CALL OF TWO PAIR OF BROTHERS.

MATT. IV. 18-22 ; MARK I. 16-20 ; LUKE V. 1-11.

JESUS was in the habit of walking about in the neighbourhood of Capernaum, as formerly in that of Nazareth, and preaching. On one occasion He was standing thus on the shore of the Lake of Genesareth, not far from Bethsaida, with a large number of people gathered round Him to hear His word. Two empty boats were standing on the shore, one of which belonged to PETER, whom He had already met with by the Jordan. Peter himself had gone with the other fishermen to some distance off, to wash their nets. Jesus stepped into his boat. In the meantime Peter returned, and Jesus requested him to push out a little way from the land. Thus, still seated in the boat, He taught the crowd assembled on the shore. As soon as He had finished teaching, He told Peter to go farther out into the lake, and drop his nets. Peter replied, "Master, we have been fishing all night, and have taken nothing; nevertheless at Thy word I will let down the net." He now caught so many, that the net began to break as he drew it in, and he was obliged to beckon to his companions in the other boat to come and lend a hand. They came, and the quantity was so great that both the boats were wanted to bring them to the shore. Peter then fell upon his knees, and said, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord;" for the thought of the omnipotence which manifested itself in Jesus filled him, and also his companions from the other ship, with alarm. But Jesus said, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men." He then called the two brethren, PETER, and ANDREW his brother, to relinquish their occupation of fishermen and follow Him; and they immediately left their nets and followed Him. In like manner He called their companions in the other boat, the sons of Zebedee, JOHN and his brother JAMES, who also left the fishing to their father, and thenceforth followed Jesus.

1. With regard to the question, whether the event narrated in Luke v. 1-11 is *identical* with that in Matt. iv. 18 and Mark i. 16 sqq.,

we observe, first of all, that in Luke, and also in the two other Evangelists, the point in question is not a *momentary act of following*, but the *giving up of their occupation of fishing* (for the task of fishing men). And as these disciples, after having once given it up, could not give it up a second time, it follows from this alone that the incident described by Luke must be the same as that related by Matthew and Mark. The different opinion entertained by *Krafft* rests, *a.* upon the assumption that Luke writes in chronological order; *b.* upon the supposition that the disciples could hardly have understood the first call of Jesus, mentioned in Matt. iv. and Mark i., “as implying the complete abandonment of their previous calling.” But in Mark i. 18 it is distinctly stated that “straightway they forsook their nets and followed Him;” and in ver. 20, that “they left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants, and went after Him; and they *went into Capernaum*; and straightway *on the Sabbath* He entered into the synagogue and taught.” In Matt. iv. 22 also, the words, “they left the ship and their father, and followed Him,” are immediately connected with the statement that “Jesus went about all Galilee teaching in the synagogues.” The impression produced by all this is certainly that Matthew and Mark meant to say that these four disciples from this time forth were the *constant* companions of Jesus.

The question arises, however, *whether internally these two accounts do not entirely differ,—in fact, contradict each other.* In Luke, the disciples are said to follow the Lord in consequence of a miraculous draught of fishes; and in Matthew and Mark they do so as the result of a simple appeal. In the former, nothing is said of Andrew; in the latter, he also is named as associated with the others. According to the former, the call was given upon the lake; according to the latter, upon the shore.

We will put the question in the only form which it ought to assume. *Granting that miracles are possible, and that this particular occurrence did take place in the form described above, is it conceivable that the occurrence may have been related in two such different ways, without either of them containing statements that are untrue?*

We reply in the affirmative.—It is a matter of no importance that Andrew is not particularly mentioned by Luke. For, as we have shown in § 19, the design of Luke is to bring into especial prominence the *impression* produced by Jesus; and this impression is most strikingly manifested in Peter's words. Moreover, the readers of Luke were already well aware that Andrew was the brother of Peter, and that he was one of the twelve; both of which facts are also distinctly recorded in chap. vi. 14.—The apparent difference, arising from the

fact that according to Luke the call was given upon the lake, also vanishes away. For the definite summons to forsake their nets would undoubtedly be first addressed to them when it was possible for them to obey it, *i.e.*, after they had landed (Luke v. 11). First of all, He appealed to Peter and Andrew; and then proceeding to the other boat, addressed the same call to the sons of Zebedee.

But how are we to explain the silence of Matthew and Mark as to the draught of fishes?—Simply from the fact, that the *calling of the disciples* appeared to them a far more important matter than the miracle which attended it. No doubt, to a man looking from *Strauss's* standpoint, each particular miracle would occasion so much amazement, that not one would be left out. But, assuming that Jesus did really work miracles, and indeed many miracles, we cannot see why every Evangelist should necessarily relate *every miracle*. The primary intention of Matthew and Mark was to show that from the period of His removal to Capernaum onwards, Jesus chose several disciples to be His *constant companions*. They might, no doubt, have mentioned the miracle which accompanied the choice, as well as Luke. But they could just as well omit it, for their readers believed in the miraculous power of Jesus without this additional proof.

In the whole of this account the two Evangelists are brief and summary. They make no *special allusion* to the place and circumstances; but merely state, after having mentioned the habit of Jesus to *travel about*, that this particular event occurred as He was *walking by the lake* (περιπατῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν), where Peter and Andrew were engaged in *fishing* (Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16), and the sons of Zebedee in *mending their nets* (Matt. iv. 21; Mark i. 19). Luke goes more into detail, and states that at first they were all engaged in cleaning and repairing the nets; that Peter then went out with his boat (Andrew, no doubt, being with him at the time), and netted a great draught of fishes. The sons of Zebedee in the meantime continued their occupation on the shore until Peter called them to lend a hand (Luke v. 6), when they immediately rowed out to his help.—Who in the world, that has the least discernment, could think it impossible for two accounts of this one occurrence to assume these various forms?

2. We have still to adduce the promised proof, that the calling of the four disciples at the lake does not shut out the account contained in John i. 41 sqq. The first objection, founded upon the foolish assumption that John is speaking there of something more than the following at the time, has been already disposed of. But we are met by another. "According to the Synoptists," we are told, "Jesus commences the acquaintance entirely afresh. And nothing can be further

from the intention of the first two Evangelists, than to assume that an acquaintance had already existed between Jesus and the brothers whom he now called to follow Him." Consequently the interview which John describes between Jesus and Andrew, Peter and John, is entirely precluded by this account.

But is it really true that the account given by the Synoptists produces the impression that Jesus was now forming an *acquaintance* with the four for the very first time?—We will not appeal to the fact, that Luke, who does not write in chronological order, introduces the incident here referred to, after having described the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, which did not take place till afterwards; and therefore, in ver. 3, speaks of Simon as a person *already known*. For he refers to him as a man known to *his readers*; and the words do not imply that he was already known to Jesus. We attach far greater importance to the manner in which Jesus and Peter act towards each other. Jesus in the simplest manner requests of Peter, as of a person already known to Him, that he will push off from the land, and Peter does so. He then tells him to pull out into the lake, and directs him to let down his net. Peter calls Him *ἐπιστάτα*, and says, "At *Thy* word I will let down the net." Does this look like the first commencement of an acquaintance? But we will leave Luke out altogether. Even the account given by Matthew and Mark shows that Jesus must have been already known to the disciples. The spot to which Jesus had gone must have been very near to Capernaum, since the word employed (*περιπατεῖν*) shows that it was merely a walk, not a journey, that Jesus had taken. Now, it is evident from Matt. iv. 18, that Peter and Andrew lived somewhere in the neighbourhood. John says that they lived in *Bethsaida* (chap. i. 45), a place which was situated, like Capernaum, on the western shore of the lake, and must in any case (though we cannot determine its exact situation) have been very near to Capernaum. In all probability Peter and Andrew had removed to Capernaum itself (*vid.* § 60). Now Jesus lived, taught, worked miracles in Capernaum, and was very widely known. Were the four fishermen the only persons who knew nothing about Him? Jesus had proclaimed that the kingdom of heaven was at hand (Matt. iv. 17; Mark i. 15), that the time of the glad tidings had come (in other words, that He was the Messiah); and therefore, even from the statements of the first two Evangelists, it follows that the four must have known in other ways quite as much of Jesus as they would have learned from the incidents recorded in John. And yet we are told that their account implies the formation of a first acquaintance, and therefore precludes the account given by John! "The intention of

the Synoptists was to represent the readiness with which the disciples followed Jesus as a *miracle*, which it certainly was *not*, if the men had already been His followers." There is not a word of truth in this. The men had not been "His followers," even according to John's account. But three quarters of a year before, they paid Him a visit and remained with Him several hours. Nor is it the intention of Matthew and Mark to record a miracle. At the same time, it is *certainly true*, that notwithstanding the incident recorded by John, and the fact that, even according to the account of Matthew and Mark, Jesus was already known to the four men, it is impossible to understand the strength of character which could induce them to relinquish their profitable trade, apart from the whole impression produced by the true God who had here appeared as a true man.

3. Passing to the details of the narrative, we remark that Strauss and B. Bauer have found out many incongruities in it. In the first place, we are assured by B. B., that the most unskilful writer would not, after already naming the δύο ἀδελφούς, after Andrew again add, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ. *Bruno Bauer* regards it as unpardonable that "the two pair of brothers, at the very moment when they were called, should have been washing their nets instead of listening to the word of God." A sound understanding would probably prompt the reply, that the brothers had received no previous intimation of the call which they were about to receive, and did not *go away* when Jesus came to the place where their boats were lying. On the contrary, they were away at the time, and returned as soon as they saw Jesus enter into one of the boats. But such trifles cannot stop the eagle's flight of the man who presently afterwards informs us, that "*in life as we know it*, a circle of disciples is formed in a very different manner from this, namely by degrees, through the steady increase in the attractive power exerted by a man,—for example, by the gradual development, on the part of a teacher, of the principles which he inculcates, and so forth." No doubt there are two kinds of teachers, pupils, and systems—*artificial* and *real*.¹

¹ We may be allowed, however, to call to mind the formation of *friendship* in "life as we know it." There are many men with whom we become acquainted by degrees, and whom we come in the same manner to value and esteem. But far deeper and more inward, as a rule, are the roots of the friendship which springs up quickly and surely at the very first meeting. Two young men meet for the first time, say at the university. They know but little of each other. But the mutual impression is immediate and marked. They feel that they are made for each other and this inward certainty has for them far more reality than any outward circumstances, and constrains them to seek each other's society more and more, until the first searching glance has grown into a warm and lasting friendship. We do

Let us now turn from the idiosyncrasies of *Bruno* to the remaining objections of *Strauss*. His description of the discernment of the spirit of the disciples on the part of Jesus, as an "odorando judicare," reduces itself to a *dogmatic* objection. Even so, the miracle of the draught of fishes is a mountain before which he stands, partly because he cannot imagine any supremacy of Jesus over nature, or discover any *object* in the miracle, supposing it to have been a miracle of *power*; and partly, because, if it was a miracle of *knowledge*, it seems to him very inconsistent "that Jesus, when crossing the water, should have spent His time in observing the habits of the fish,—an occupation which would be quite sufficient to shut out more important thoughts from his mind." How sad, that thoughts of love and beneficence should block out thoughts of *greater importance*! Truly Fenelon's stores of theological lore must have suffered irreparable injury, when with his own hand he drove back for five miles the poor peasant's cow.—There is a kind of knowledge, to which *love* is the highest of all things, and which penetrates all the deeper in *actual* insight and *experience* into its true nature and fulness, the smaller and humbler the services to which love constrains it to stoop. There is another kind of knowledge, which is disturbed by actual life. It buries itself in itself, and with inflated pride orders all that "disturbs" away. It neither finds nor seeks a place in the heart; all *little* things it tramples coldly under foot, and rejoices in a result of which the adept, when thousands have been robbed of their peace of mind, haughtily boasts, as exalting him above such as are not adepts like him, but simply men. If *Dr Strauss* could but once be brought to see that this acquaintance on the part of Jesus with the fishes in the lake, and this resolution to do a pleasure to the disciples, were among the *important* thoughts of the Lord, and not His *unimportant* ones, he would have made far greater progress in divine wisdom than he will ever make in the proud wisdom of this world, by means of his "Life of Jesus."

not intend this as a *natural explanation* of the event here recorded, but as a proof, that *even in common life* the power of individuality is greater than the influence of reflection and artistic construction.

§ 52.

FIRST ACCUSATION OF A LEAGUE WITH BEELZEBUB. THE WOMAN'S EXCLAMATION. FIRST DEMAND FOR A SIGN. HIS MOTHER AND BRETHREN DESIRE TO SEE HIM.

MATT. XII. 22-50; MARK III. 23-35; LUKE XI. 14-28, VIII. 19-21.

In this early part of Jesus' stay in Capernaum, a man whom a devil had rendered *blind and dumb* was healed by Him in His house. Some Pharisees, who had come along with the rest of the crowd, accused Him of driving out devils through the help of the devil. Jesus showed them first of all the folly of supposing that Satan would fight against his own kingdom; and told them rather to recognise in these victories over the kingdom of Satan the entrance of the kingdom of God, since a strong one could only be driven out by a stronger. And having thus shown them the absolute opposition between the kingdom of God and that of Satan, He pointed out the necessity of their deciding for either the one or the other; and declared to them, that whoever should harden himself against the Holy Ghost, by resisting the kingdom of God, and the grace brought near to them there, would fall in consequence into the absolute power of the kingdom of Satan, and commit *that* sin for which there is no possible forgiveness. He then concluded with severe words, the substance of which was, that a godless mind could produce only godless fruits. They had in their fruits displayed this hardened, godless spirit; and now judgment awaited them.—Affected by these words, a woman in the crowd exclaimed, How blessed must she have been who gave Thee birth! But Jesus answered (not blaming the woman's spirit, but correcting her words), "Blessed are they who hear My word, and keep it" (Luke xi. 27, 28).—Some of the Pharisees who were standing round, as though also desirous of recognising the divine power and mission of Jesus, expressed, with feigned allegiance, the wish to see Him work a *miracle*. But Jesus reproved a wicked and spiritually adulterous generation, and told them that the sign of Jonah, who was three days in the whale's belly, would be given to them, namely, His own resurrection. And the time would come when the Ninevites, who hearkened to Jonah, and the Queen of Sheba, who came from afar to Solomon with a sincere desire for eternal wisdom, would put to shame their unbelief, after seeing so much greater things. In their case, even when punished for one outbreak of sin, they were not aroused, but fell into sevenfold greater guilt.—Whilst Jesus was speaking in this

manner, His mother and brethren, who had come from Nazareth, stood without, and desired to speak to Him. And one of the company, extremely glad of this opportunity of interrupting so severe and painful a discourse, said to Him, "Thy mother and Thy brethren desire to speak to Thee." But the Lord, pointing to His disciples, replied, "My mother and brethren are they who do the will of My Father in heaven."

1. With regard to the form of the narrative, the only difference is, that Luke places the occasion of the second address, namely, the demand for a sign, immediately after that of the first, the charge of alliance with Beelzebub; and then gives the two addresses together. The critics have discovered a difficulty in the fact, that in another passage (chap. ix. 32) Matthew repeats the accusation ("He casts out devils through the *prince of the devils*"). *Strauss*, indeed, admits that "it is perfectly credible" that such accusations may have been brought against Jesus more than once, but thinks it strange that on both occasions the man should have been *dumb*. "There were so many kinds of demoniacs; why should not the accusation have been brought when the man restored was possessed in a different way?" I confess that it would cause me no astonishment if the second accusation had been brought when the man restored "was possessed in a different way." But possibility is not necessity. Why should not the same accusation have been brought in connection with the healing of two *dumb* demoniacs? Ought the Pharisees to have reflected the second time, when they were disposed to bring this accusation, "We have already brought the accusation once when a dumb man was healed; we must wait, therefore, for the sake of variety, till another kind of possession presents itself?" But there really was a difference; one of the men was *blind* as well as dumb; so that the *variatio delectans* is not wanting.

There is another difficulty, however. In the passage before us, Matthew connects the address with the healing of a *blind and dumb* man, and in chap. ix. relates the healing of one who was *merely dumb* without any address. Luke, on the other hand, connects the same address with the healing of one who is *merely dumb*.—*Bruno Bauer* knows how to explain the "confusion." The account in Matthew has arisen from an unskilful combination of Luke xi. 14 and Matt. ix. 32 with Mark viii. 22. But there is a much simpler explanation. For example, either Luke is relating the same occurrence as that described in Matt. ix., where a *dumb man* is healed without any *discourse* following, and has connected with this the discourse which he found

detached among his original sources,—a thing which might easily occur, since it was a matter of not the slightest importance on which occasion the address was delivered; or he did not find in his accounts the utterly unimportant statement that the dumb man was blind as well. Therefore, the conclusion of Strauss, that Jesus must have spoken the same things on these two successive occasions (although there is no impossibility even in that), is not justified.

2. We have already sufficiently exhibited the deep internal connection between the *answer given by Jesus*, and the *charge* which occasioned it;—a connection which certainly does not exist in any close *external* linking of the different passages by means of causal or final particles, but in the adaptation of the different *dicta* to the events which occasioned them.

3. With reference to the *request for a sign*, both *Schleiermacher* and *Schneckenburger* ask how it was possible that men, who had evoked such a reproof by their accusation, could bring themselves to desire a sign? If it were a bare demand, I confess that I should also be unable to conceive of it as psychologically possible, after such a repulse. But just look attentively at the words of Matt. xii. 38. They do not *demand*: they express their wish, their *willingness*; in other words, they put on the appearance of friendliness and recognition. Only thus, but *thus* most completely, can the stern repellent answer of the Lord be understood; thus, too, the comparison of their spiritual hypocrisy and equivocation to literal adultery; and thus also the allusion to the sign of the resurrection, which they did not ask for, but which would surely come, to their own vexation and judgment.

4. The *visit of the mother and brethren of Jesus* has been completely misunderstood by many expositors and critics. All three Evangelists, after reporting their arrival, state expressly that one of the bystanders *announced to Jesus* that they were there. Why is this, unless the *announcement* itself was of importance? It was not to His mother and brethren that Jesus made the reply given here, for they were not yet present; but to the man who so quickly *availed himself* of the opportunity furnished by their coming, to *put an end to a distasteful discourse*. There is not a word in the text, either expressed or implied, about His sending them back to Nazareth with their intention frustrated. On the contrary, every impartial reader of the Gospels who was acquainted with Jesus, would so naturally conclude that Jesus afterwards admitted them, that there was no necessity to mention this more particularly. But it *was* necessary to notice, how this last artifice was overturned by Jesus; and this is evidently the Evangelists' design.

The "harsh repulse," and "the unbelief of the mother of Jesus," therefore, of which not a syllable is to be found in the words of Jesus, both fall to the ground. Strauss and Bruno Bauer, it is true, regard this visit of the relations as identical with the *thoroughly heterogeneous occurrence* which took place on a journey (Mark iii. 20, 21), when the people attempted to take Jesus in an inn. But that is their fault. Why do they show such culpable levity as thus to ignore all the chronological *data* which the Evangelists have supplied?

§ 53.

DEPARTURE TO GADARA.

(The Scribe who wishes to follow. Similitudes. The Tempest stilled.)

MATT. VIII. 18-22, XIII. 1-53, VIII. 23-27; MARK IV. 35-40, 1-20, 30-34; LUKE IX. 57-60, VIII. 22-25 and 1-15, XIII. 18-21.

The same day Jesus went down to the shore of the lake, with the intention of crossing over to the opposite side. On the way there came a *scribe*, who offered to follow Him wherever He went. Jesus told him that this was no light matter, for the Son of man had not where to lay His head. To another man Jesus said, "Follow Me." He was quite willing, but wanted first of all to bury his father. Jesus did not permit this, but said, "Let the dead bury their dead;" come thou and help to preach the kingdom of God.—A crowd of people was collected together on the sea-shore; Jesus therefore sat down in a ship which was lying close to the shore, and taught them in *parables*. He commenced with the *parable of the sower*, in which He showed in what different ways the preaching of the kingdom of God may be received. When He had finished this parable, the disciples came and *asked Him why He taught in parables*. In reply, He explained to them that the whole nation was not yet in a condition to understand the doctrine of the kingdom of God; and that He selected the form of parables, that His preaching might be unintelligible to those who were not yet mature, and so act as a stimulus and provocative to further inquiry; whilst to the disciples, to whom He explained the parables, it was a revelation of saving truth.—The design of preaching (He continued in loosely connected sentences, Mark iv. 21 sqq.) was to make things clear. But in every case the clearness depended upon the measure of the capacity and willingness possessed. To him that *hath* some inward point of attachment, more is given. But from him that *hath not* this point within, even that which he hath is taken away (what he has received in the form of parables is perfectly unin-

telligible). Jesus then *explained* to the disciples the parable of the sower. He also added other parables, in which He compared the progress of the kingdom of God to the *growth of a field of corn*, and to a *grain of mustard-seed* (Mark iv. 26 sqq.).

(Matthew, whose *plan* led him to group together all the parables respecting the kingdom of God, and who has taken the parables already mentioned entirely out of their connection with the *Gadarene journey*, introduces some others, which were no doubt uttered on different occasions:¹ viz., the parable of *the enemy who sows tares*, which tares the master of the field will not have removed until the harvest; the parable of the *leaven* which leavens the whole lump; the *explanation* of the former of these; and the comparison of the kingdom of heaven to a *treasure* and a *pearl*, and of the final separation between the true and false members of that kingdom to a *net* cast into the sea.)

After these discourses, Jesus directed the disciples to proceed across the lake. During the passage, there arose so violent a storm that the waves beat over the little ship. But Jesus was sleeping. The disciples then came and awoke Him, saying, "Lord, save us: we perish." But Jesus blamed them for their little faith, and rebuked the tempest and the sea, and there followed a complete calm. At this they were amazed, and said, "What manner of man is this; for He commandeth even the winds and water, and they obey Him?"

1. The expression applied by Matthew (viii. 21) to the second of the men, "another of the disciples," is an example of a very common construction, which we even meet with in Homer, and which does not *necessarily* imply that the scribe was also a disciple of Jesus. The narrative itself does not show whether he followed Jesus after all, or was deterred by His words. The event is recorded as an illustration of the conscientiousness with which Jesus at the very outset laid before any who were disposed to follow Him, the difficulties which they would have to encounter.—The second might be described as a

¹ Mark says that Jesus crossed the lake immediately after the parable of the grain of mustard-seed. And Matthew states (chap. xiii. 36) that Jesus explained the parable of the *tares* when He went home. But this parable, and the parables of the *treasure*, the *pearl*, and the *net*, which are connected with it in a summary form, were evidently spoken on a different occasion from that referred to in Matt. xiii. 1, as we may see from the *very chapter itself*, where Matthew speaks of Jesus returning to *His own country* (εἰς τὴν πατρίδα) after finishing these parables (ver. 53); evidently showing that the expression in ver. 36, Jesus "went εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν," relates to the parable of the *tares* alone, and therefore that it must have been spoken on a different occasion.

“disciple,” called by Jesus Himself, if he obeyed the words of Jesus (Luke ix. 60), and immediately followed Him. That he did this, may be inferred from the fact, that he made his going to bury his father dependent upon Jesus’ permission.

The demand that he should henceforth go and preach the kingdom of God (Luke ix. 60), is regarded by Bruno Bauer as denoting an *immediate mission*, and therefore as inappropriate. All that Jesus says, however, is that the preaching of the kingdom of God is more important and necessary than burying a corpse. But according to *Bauer*, this is “a collision of abstract cruelty;” and even *Weisse* considers the occurrence “more than doubtful.” As if it could have hurt the deceased father to be buried by other hands than those of his son. But what sentimentality! Grief for his father’s death had just prepared the son for listening to the preaching of the Lord. His broken heart was open to the seed of grace, and this was the very moment to *decide* for Jesus. Therefore Jesus called him just now; therefore, too, the moment must not be allowed to pass by, lest intercourse with other acquaintances should divert his attention, and draw the young man away. In all probability his mind was pained for the moment, at the thought that he could not bury his father. But this was the way in which he was called to show immediate *decision*, and his passing grief was quieted by eternal consolation.

2. It has been thought unnatural that so many parables should be spoken at one time. Think only: first, the parable of the sower about the various ways of receiving the word of God, then a conversation, then an explanation of the parable, then a comparison of the growth of the kingdom to seed in a field, and then to a grain of mustard; and for all that, only three or four hours!—Strauss is uncertain whether the parable of the seed-field (Mark) and of the tares (Matt.) are identical or not. The state of the case appears to be simply this: On the journey to Gadara, Jesus spake the parable of the *seed-field*; later, and on another occasion, He altered this parable into that of the *tares*, by giving it a new point and introducing a new thought. Matthew, who here gives all the parables spoken at different times concerning the kingdom of heaven (and among the rest that of the *tares*), did not feel it necessary to give the simpler form of the latter, as the thought contained in the simpler form was already given in the parable of the grain of mustard-seed.—The statement in Matt. xiii. 34, that Jesus spake not to the multitude *χωρίς παραβολῆς*, is said to contradict Matt. v.–vii. This alleged contradiction, however, arises from overlooking the fact, that that statement has reference only to that day. Christ’s words that day were parabolical.

Any other sense would imply a forgetfulness, on the part of the writer, of the contents of the chapter immediately preceding.

3. With regard to the *stilling of the tempest*, we might expect at the outset to find Strauss asking what was the *object* of this miracle.—We need not look far. The object was to save all that were in the ship from danger and from death. It might indeed be said, that if at the present time a ship were in danger, we could only hope, and therefore pray for deliverance in a *natural* way. That is very true. But if it be correct, that with our *ordinary* powers we must still trust in the help and blessing of God, this is no reason why Jesus could not, or should not, make use of the *higher* powers which He possessed. It is the duty of *every one* to trust in God; but it is also the duty of every one to make use of whatever means he has at his command. Now this ship contained *the Christian Church*; i.e., its corner-stone and future pillars.—But did Jesus really possess such powers? To *Strauss*, the control over nature which we obtain by means of a thorough study of mechanics, control by “the compass and steamer,” is something far worthier than “the magical power which costs only a word.” With his view of the universe, which recognises no other relation of spirit to matter than that of servitude, in which we now stand, and which discerns the highest works of the purely immanent so-called “God” in the ever increasing activity of the human mind, in logarithms, the differential calculus, steam-engine establishments, and railway stations, this is perfectly correct. But *we* still reserve to ourselves the *doctrinal standpoint* of the Bible; and from this standpoint there are no internal difficulties whatever. And here again objectors must acknowledge that, apart from doctrinal questions, there are no *historical* difficulties which lead to the conclusion, that the account before us is mythical.

In his notes on Matt. viii. 27, and the parallel passages, *Bauer* asks the following questions. According to Matthew, it was the *men* who inquired “What manner of man is this?” but where did these men come from? According to Mark, it was the disciples; but was not Jesus already known to them as the Messiah?—It is evident from Matt. viii. 23, where the disciples are said to have *followed* Jesus into the ship, and also from Mark iv. 36, where Jesus is described as sailing away in the same ship into which He had *casually* entered, that the ship did not belong to *any one of the disciples*. At least there is nothing to show that it did. In any case, therefore, it must be admitted that there *may* have been other men in the ship besides the disciples. Perhaps Matthew ought in this case to have drawn up a list of the crew (intended expressly for critics).—The exclamation,

“Who (what manner of man) is this?” is a *burst of astonishment*, not an *inquiry of uncertainty*. That the disciples knew Jesus before as the Son of God, and believed in His power to help, is obvious from the fact, that they cried to Him, “Lord, save us.” Nevertheless they also might exclaim with the other men, “What manner of man is this, that even the winds and the sea obey Him?”

§ 54.

THE DEMONIAK OF GADARA.

MATT. VIII. 28-34; MARK V. 1-20; LUKE VIII. 26-39.

When Jesus landed at the south-east end of Gennesareth, in the country of the so-called Decapolis, there was a man there possessed of devils, perfectly raving, who lived in the tombs, would wear no clothes, and had burst the strongest fetters, and whom no one durst approach on account of his ferocity. As soon as he saw Jesus, he rushed towards Him with his usual vehemence. But Jesus went to meet him, and said, “Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit.” The man then fell down before Jesus, and the unclean spirit cried out of him with a loud voice, “What have I to do with Thee, Jesus, Thou Son of the Most High God? I adjure Thee by God that Thou torment me not.” Jesus asked, “What is thy name?” He answered, “Legion; for we are many.” The unclean spirit then entreated not to be sent away from the earth into the abyss, but to be allowed to enter into a herd of swine, which was feeding at some distance off. Jesus gave permission; the devils entered into the swine, and the whole herd rushed into the lake. The swine-herds then fled, and reported in the city what had occurred. The people immediately came out, and saw the demoniac sitting by Jesus, clothed and cured. When they had heard further particulars, they requested Jesus to leave their country. The man that was healed, however, entreated to be allowed to follow Him; but Jesus told him to return to his own town, and there to make known what good had been done to him. He went away, therefore, and published it throughout all Decapolis.

1. According to his usual custom, Matthew groups together two similar incidents, so as to form a pair; namely, the healing of the man with a devil in Gadara, and a later one, possibly the *similar*¹ occurrence in the synagogue at Capernaum, the time of which is given by

¹ There, too, the man with a devil *cries out*; and there, too, he *knows* Jesus as the Holy One of God, and says, *ἐα, τὸ ἅγιον καὶ σὺ*.

Mark (viz., immediately before the healing of Peter's mother-in-law).—It would be presumptuous to attempt to explain the statement in Matthew, that there were two men possessed, were it not that on two other occasions we find Matthew grouping two similar occurrences together so as to form a pair. An "inaccuracy," as *Bleek* calls it, no doubt this is; but the simple explanation is, that Matthew occupied himself, not with the details of each particular event, but with the most essential of the leading characteristics of the life of Jesus.

2. So far as regards the *place* at which the event occurred, *De Wette* has not improperly called attention to the fact, that Matthew not only differs from Mark and Luke in calling it the "country of the Gergesenes," but speaks of a place which we meet with nowhere else. For, among the "ten cities," Pliny and Ptolemy mention *Gadara*, and also a *Gerasa*, but no Gergesa. According to the result of *Bleek's* inquiries, however, *Γερασσηνῶν* is the original reading in Matthew (hardly in Luke and Mark); and Origen, who may probably have known something about a place called Gergesa, was the first to correct *Γερασσηνῶν* into *Γεργεσηνῶν*. Luke and Mark have *Gadara* instead. (*Bleek* supposes that *Gerasa* was also the original reading here; but this appears to me extremely improbable. Can we imagine that Origen altered this *Gerasa* on one occasion into *Gergesa*, and on another into *Gadara*?)—But even the account given by Mark and Luke, both of whom mention *Gadara*, is regarded by *De Wette* as not without difficulty. "According to ver. 34, the city is alluded to as being close at hand, certainly nearer than *Gadara* appears to be upon the maps." But that is the fault of the maps themselves.—Even *Raumer*, it is true, follows *Seetzen* and *Burkhardt* in their conjecture, that the present Om Keis, which is situated upon a limestone rock two or three miles to the south of Hieromax, is the same as the ancient *Gadara*. But how is this to be reconciled with *Pliny's* statement (v. 15): "*Gadara Hieromace præterfluente*;" and with that of *Jerome*, "*Gadara urbs trans Jordanem contra Scythopolin et Tiberiadem*?" For Scythopolis, which may still be distinguished by the ruins of a theatre, was only four hours' journey from Tiberias. Tiberias, which is still known by its hot sulphur springs, was a few hours' journey to the north of the southern extremity of the lake. *Gadara*, therefore, which was opposite to *the two*, must have been *about the same distance from the southern end of the lake*. But it was also situated on the Hieromax, which flows into the Jordan about an hour's journey to the south of the lake. The situation may therefore be pretty accurately determined. The Mandhur, which winds through the mountains, flows, for some distance before it enters the Jordan, from north-east to

south-west, and approaches so near to the shore of the lake, that on an average it is not more than an hour's journey away. Now Gadara must have been situated upon the mountain range which separates the two, and compels the Mandhur to empty its waters to the south of the lake. The distance between the lake and Gadara, therefore, cannot have been more than an hour's journey.

One difficulty is thus removed. Mark and Luke relate nothing impossible. But how does it stand with Matthew? The notion that the reading *Γαδαρηνῶν*, which we find in certain codices and versions (of which B, C, M, and Ital. are the most important), is genuine, has been very properly given up. For it is impossible to conceive how the reading *Γερασηνῶν*, which substitutes an unknown place for one well known, can possibly have originated;¹ whereas the introduction of the reading *Γαδαρηνῶν* in the place of *Γερασηνῶν* may easily be explained as an attempt to bring Matthew into harmony with the other two.—The difficulty still remains, therefore, that Matthew mentions one place, Mark and Luke another.

But this difficulty may easily be solved. Matthew, who wrote for Jewish readers, to whom the country was well known, mentions the less known place Gerasa, which stood close by, upon the coast. Luke and Mark, on the other hand, mention the "metropolis of Peræa,"² of world-wide notoriety, which was a little farther away. Now, if the readers of Matthew were acquainted with *Gerasa* as a village situated in the vicinity of *Gadara*, they would also understand that the πόλις mentioned in Matt. viii. 33 was *Gadara itself*. Or if that seem too "precarious" (as *Bleek* says), we may admit that by the πόλις Matthew simply means Gerasa. This involves no contradiction; for, according to Mark and Luke, the swine-herds proclaim the occurrence not merely in *Gadara*, but also εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς, in the places round about.

3. Further contradictions are said to lie in the *occurrence itself*. Matthew, says *Strauss*, describes "a terrified resistance to Jesus, whose coming was undesired;" Luke, "a supplicatory approach to Him;" Mark, "haste to seek Him while He was still in the distance." We congratulate the man who, after reading the description of raging madness given by Mark (vers. 3-5), can find in the word ἔδραμε, "haste to seek Jesus." The three Evangelists give just the same

¹ The authority of *Origen*, who defends "*Gergesenes*," would not be sufficient, as *Griesbach* correctly observes, to alter a text which was generally received before. We might also ask, how it happens that B, C, and M, the very codices which were most under the influences of the Egypto-Syrian churches, should *not* have adopted an emendation which originated in Alexandria? For they all read Γαδαρηνῶν.

² *Josephus*, B. J. 4, 7, 3.

account. The moment the madman saw Jesus, he screamed wildly (Luke), and rushed upon Jesus (Mark). (Matthew gives a summary of the whole, and merely relates briefly the words which he uttered, without minutely describing the whole affair.) Mark and Luke then relate how he threw himself down before Jesus, complaining bitterly; and they explain the change in his demeanour as caused by the command given by Jesus to the devil to come out of him.—Strauss says there is no place for this command, and conjectures that Jesus must have addressed the madman in the words reported by Mark (ver. 8), while he was still at a distance off, and before he ran to meet Him,—an act which he very justly pronounces unsuitable. But if we only look at the matter *naturally*, we shall find that it took place in a much simpler way. When the madman rushed upon Jesus, the latter met him in His divine power with the command, “Come out of the man, thou unclean spirit,” and immediately the man fell down. It is simply to bring out the whole proceeding in the most striking form, that Mark and Luke first group together the running (the shouting) and the falling down, and then describe the cause of the sudden change.

The first command must have been “ineffective,” says Bruno Bauer; for the devils did not come out directly, notwithstanding. Ineffective it was not; for they tremble and are afraid, and take for granted *that they will be compelled*.—The words spoken by the possessed man, as related by the three Synoptists, are said not to agree; but I cannot see this. Mark and Luke give them *verbatim*, as an *adjuration* that Jesus will not torment them; Matthew, as a *complaint*: why should He torment them? The *meaning* is the same; the form as given by Mark and Luke, is no doubt the more exact of the two. But was this a matter of importance for any Christian reader? For Strauss and Bruno Bauer it is. The former says that a devil could not have adjured Jesus “by God.” But where has he found this fable? He seems to be particularly well acquainted with what a devil can, and what he cannot do. It is true, the devils in our children’s tales run away as soon as they hear the name of God; but the fallen angels of the Bible take both the name and word of God with impious daring into their mouths. Would these demons have expected to effect anything by petitioning Jesus “for Satan’s sake?”

The devils wish not to be driven “*out of the country*” (Mark v. 10), simply because they still hope to do some harm there. They do not want to go into the abyss, or into a desert. In this Bauer finds the notion, that “beings of this kind are sometimes confined to certain localities as spirits of the place.” But if they had been from their very nature confined to these districts, they *could not* have been driven

away. Mark seems to take for granted, therefore, that they were *not* confined to the locality, but had a *wish* to do still more injury there, and for that reason did not want to be banished into either a desert or the abyss.—“How did Mark ascertain the number of the swine?” It is not very difficult to estimate the number of a herd at a simple glance. Moreover, when the swine-herds complained of their loss, they may have mentioned the number.—*Gfrörer* objects that the command which Mark and Luke represent Jesus as giving to the man, to go and proclaim his recovery in Gadara, was contrary to His usual habit. But Jesus had no “habit.” He had definite reasons for every act that He performed. In Galilee and Judæa He frequently prohibited attempts to attract attention; because in both these parts there was very great danger of confirming the people in their carnal expectations of the Messiah, and even of producing disorder. In Peræa, on the contrary, which Jesus left immediately afterwards, there was no such danger, but rather a reason why the people should be made acquainted in some degree with the person of Jesus, and their attention called to His coming.

4. There still remain half a dozen *dogmatic objections*: (1) There are no possessed persons; (2) if there were, they could not have been acquainted with the divinity of Jesus; (3) there could not be several devils in the same man; (4) they could not enter into beasts (at least not into swine, though Bruno Bauer thinks they might into horses); (5) they would have been very foolish to drive the beasts at once into the sea; and (6) it was an immoral act to deprive the Gadarenes of their swine.

Two arguments are adduced in support of the first objection. (1.) It is said to be *a priori inconceivable*, that the connection between soul and body should be so loose, that a foreign self-consciousness should be able to force itself between them. (2.) It is also said to be *historically* established, that on the one hand the symptoms of the possession mentioned in the New Testament bear a remarkable resemblance to those of certain psychical or nervous maladies (insanity and epilepsy, for example), and on the other we find similar *descriptions* to those described in the New Testament in other Jewish works of that age (*e.g.*, Jos. Wars of the Jews, 7, 63, Ant. 6, 11, 2), whilst the *science of medicine* was very low; from which it may be inferred that these diseases were just the same as are met with now, and that Jesus simply shared the opinions of His contemporaries. “Certainly,” says Strauss, “the Apostles would call many of the insane persons of the present day ‘possessed,’ according to the mode of thinking that prevailed in their time and country, so that they would be liable to

correction from the professional man." Well spoken, indeed!—Let no one imagine that I would explain all *similar* diseases occurring at present as cases of possession. On the contrary, I maintain the following points:—

a. There are, no doubt, many of the *outward symptoms* of possession, as described in the New Testament, which correspond to those of insanity and epilepsy; but there are also *other symptoms* connected with possession, which we no longer meet with at the present day. Those who were possessed (thus far they resembled madmen¹), knew and said that there was a devil within them, and distinguished between the devil and themselves; and a mere ordinary *madman* may also have some such *fixed idea* (cases of this kind have occurred here and there, chiefly occasioned, however, by a mistaken and fanatical interpretation of the New Testament, so-called *dæmonomania*); but how can we conceive of *all* the madmen in a country having one fixed idea, however different the other symptoms might be?—The *possessed* recognised Jesus as the Son of God; *madmen* display no such theological knowledge.—So much remains true therefore: *possession, as described in the New Testament*, bears so far a resemblance to modern psychical and nervous affections, that it was also accompanied (as it inevitably must be) by disturbances of the nerve-life which manifested themselves in a variety of symptoms; but it was also accompanied by other things, which are not found in the case of modern diseases.

b. So far as the so-called mental disorders are concerned, modern *psychiatry* has arrived at a result which finds increasing acceptance, that such disorders are *not* diseases of the mind or of the soul, but of the *body* (the brain, the spine, the bowels, etc.),—in other words, diseases of *the bodily organs of the soul's life*. A reflex action takes place of the bodily organs upon the conscious life within. Intoxication, fever, etc., produce a temporary disturbance of consciousness; other causes produce a permanent disturbance. These disturbances manifest themselves in various ways, as delirium, monomania, madness, idiocy, melancholy, and so forth. The *efficient cause* is always bodily. Moral offences and sins may certainly induce such "diseases of the soul," but only in the same way as they produce other (ordinary) diseases of the body. Sins, that is to say, never produce madness in a directly *spiritual* way, but certain excesses do lead at times to disorders of the brain and other *bodily* diseases connected with a disturbance of the

¹ Even in the case of the dumb, the dumbness must have manifested itself in some way as a psychical malady; for the Jews by no means regarded *all* the dumb as possessed, but distinguished those who had organic defects from such as were possessed. Cf. Matt. ix. 32 with Mark vii. 32.

consciousness; and even these, only when there are signs of natural predisposition.—*Possession*, then, as described in the N. T., bears undoubtedly a certain *analogy* to other so-called “diseases of the soul.” It had nothing to do with “making oneself the subject of self-consciousness,” or with a possession of the *spirit* or the *Ego* by a foreign subject.¹ This would be the most absurd idea that could possibly be conceived. Nor did it result from a naturally crippled condition of the faculties of the mind. It proceeded from a *pernicious influence exerted by fallen angels upon the nerve-and-brain-life of certain individuals*, which issued in a disturbance of the *bodily organs of consciousness*, analogous to insanity. It was not his spirit, but his nerve-life, which the demoniak felt to be in the grasp of another.

c. That one subject can exert upon the nerve-life of another an influence of which we can give no further explanation, is a fact to which an *analogon* presents itself in another department of nature with which we are acquainted, namely, in the sphere of *animal magnetism*. Think, for example, of the *rapport*, in which two individuals stand. This may also explain the fact, that in the case of the demoniaks of the N. T., we meet not only with symptoms of mania and insanity, but even with symptoms of clairvoyance (*e.g.*, the perception of the Messiahship of Jesus).

d. The possibility of possession being thus in general established, it can by no means be denied that certain *previous conditions* were necessary to render it possible in the case of any particular individual. *Individual predisposition*, which exists in the case of both insanity and magnetism, was certainly also a preliminary to possession. And as in cases where predisposition is found, immorality may cause the outbreak of that disease of the brain to which there was simply a tendency before, there were, no doubt, instances in which immoral conduct first opened the way for a foreign pernicious influence to be exerted upon a nerve-life, in which this general predisposition existed already. (This furnishes a better explanation of Matt. xii. 43 sqq. than *Lange's* supposition, that the possession referred to there is merely a similitude of moral possession by the devil.) But just as we can never conclude, in any particular case of insanity, that it resulted from immoral conduct, inasmuch as it may have originated in *purely* bodily causes (*e.g.*, a wound in the head, checked perspiration, milk fever); so possession may have occurred without being induced by immorality or irreligion (cf. Mark ix. 21).

¹ In an ethico-religious sense, *i.e.*, so far as his *spirit* was concerned, Judas was possessed by Satan (John xiii. 27). But that is altogether different from the *demoniaks* of the New Testament.

e. The analogy presented to clairvoyance accounts for the possessed being acquainted with the number of fallen angels which were at work upon their nerve-life within. And from what has been observed under letter *b*, there is no difficulty whatever in supposing that *many* might operate upon the same organism.

f. To adduce *conclusive evidence* that the demoniacs of the N. T. were really demoniacs, and not persons merely diseased in their minds, is impossible, in spite of the remarks made under letter *a*, so long as the attempt is made to furnish such evidence *apart from the rest of the Gospel history*. When Jesus is once proved to have been the Son of God, and His word to have been ἀλήθεια θεόπνευστος, we have in what the New Testament says of demoniacs something more than exploded opinions of a past age. We have memorials of the exacerbation of the conflict between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of darkness.—Apart from the fundamental thought of the entire Gospel history, the evidence cannot be produced. But it is sufficient for us to have proved, that when *the doctrinal postulates of the biblical theology* are once admitted, there is nothing either absurd or impossible in the demoniacal possession recorded in the New Testament.

5. According to Strauss, it was a very irrational act on the part of the demons to destroy their new abode so soon. No doubt it would have been a good thing for them to have had so prudent an adviser by their side. But it is also a very irrational act, when thousands of our contemporaries, through intemperance in sensual and even forbidden enjoyments, through drink, unchastity, and even rage and passion, shorten the period of their enjoyment and rush headlong to an abyss of despair. But do they do it any the less on that account? This is the very nature of a devil, to possess great cunning and cleverness when wicked deeds are to be performed, but very little when evil desires need to be restrained. In the kingdom of the wicked one, skill is the *servant* of lust.

According to the Gospel narrative, the Gadarenes did not utter a single word of murmuring or complaint about their swine. They no doubt lamented the loss, and therefore came to the Lord and courteously entreated Him that He would remove to another country. No joy is uttered on account of the healing of the demoniac; the only expression is that of *fear* (Mark v. 15; Luke viii. 35). But while full of fear in the presence of One who was able to perform such mighty acts, in this divine *power* they recognised His *right*, and therefore submitted to His will.

Some Christian theologians have taken up the cause of the swine, and offered themselves as advocates *invitis Gadarenis*. “Jesus,” says

Strauss, "was raised above the standard of humanity, even with regard to His moral acts." Does he wish to preclude us, then, from recognising, even in *moral* respects, the divinity of Jesus? This was to be seen not merely in passive sinlessness, and active benevolence; but also in the *absolute authority* which the incarnate Son of God, the absolutely sinless Son of man, possessed over all sinners, and in the *power* to exert this authority both in the purifying of the temple, and also on the occasion before us.

Should the *object* of this act be asked for: the principal object may have been to *punish the Gadarenes*, who were acting in opposition to the command of God, by keeping swine, for the sake of gain, for the Gentiles who abounded there.¹ By so smart a punishment, care was taken that they should not forget the occurrence so quickly; as a simple act of beneficence is generally forgotten.

§ 55.

RETURN FROM GADARA.

(Question about Fasting; Jairus' Daughter; and Woman with Issue of Blood.)

MATT. IX. 14-26; MARK II. 18-22, v. 22-43;

LUKE v. 33-38, VIII. 41-56.

Jesus now crossed the lake again. On His way up to Capernaum, some men who had been disciples of John, and were still fettered by legal notions, came round Him, and asked Him why He and His disciples did not follow, as they did, the traditional rules for fasting? Jesus then pointed out to them, that *that alone is a true fast which proceeds from inward impulse and living grief*. As the people assembled at a marriage rejoice as long as the bridegroom is with them, so the present was for His disciples a time of rejoicing. But the days would certainly come, when He, who was the bridegroom (the cause of joy) to His disciples, would be taken from them; and then would be the time for them to fast from an impulse from within. *But to make fasting into an outward law, was not in harmony with the spirit of His new kingdom*. Things that are heterogeneous can no more be outwardly united together, than an old garment be mended with new patches; a

¹ From Josephus, Ant. 17, 7, 3, Γάζα (Γέρασα?) γὰρ καὶ Γάδαρα καὶ Ἰππὸς Ἑλληνίδες εἰσὶ πόλεις, I can hardly draw the conclusion that Gadara was entirely "peopled by Gentiles," as Winer has done (Realwörterbuch i. 447). Such cases of possession as we meet with in Matt. viii. and the parallel passages, are hardly conceivable except among the Jews.

new, fermenting, foaming wine be poured into rotten skins. Most men, it is true, are so constituted, that they prefer the old, flat wine, because it is sweet, to the sharper new wine, however fresh and sparkling it may be; in other words, prefer the old which sits with ease, to the new, which is uncomfortable, as well as strong.—While Jesus was speaking in this way, a ruler of the synagogue, named Jairus, came to meet Him, fell at His feet, and entreated Him to come to his house, for his only daughter (a child twelve years old) was lying at the point of death. As Jesus was going with him to his house, along with His disciples, a crowd of people gathered round Him. Among them was a woman, who had had for twelve years an issue of blood, and had spent all she possessed upon physicians, without obtaining relief. She was too timid to speak to Jesus, but had a firm belief that if she could only touch the hem of His garment, she should be cured. She therefore came behind Him, touched His garment, and immediately felt that she was cured. Jesus, who knew that power had gone out of Him, and knew also how, and to whom, turned round and inquired who had touched Him. The disciples reminded Him of the crowd, and could not comprehend the question. But the woman saw that *all was known* to Jesus, and fell trembling at His feet. He said to her, however, “Be of good comfort, My daughter; thy faith hath made thee whole.”—In the meantime, there came people from Jairus’ house, who announced that his daughter was already dead, and told him not to trouble Jesus further. But Jesus said to him, “Fear not, only believe.” He then left the rest of the disciples outside, taking only three, Peter, James, and John, with Him into the house. The mourning women who were in the house, He told at once to leave,—the child was only sleeping. They laughed at Him, however; for they knew that the child was dead. He therefore drove them away out of the house, and going with His three disciples and the parents of the child into the room where the corpse was lying, took her by the hand and called out, “Talitha kumi.” The child at once rose up, and went about perfectly restored. Jesus then gave orders that they should make no noise, but go at once and provide food for the child, who had tasted nothing during her long illness.—Yet the report of this occurrence was quickly spread throughout the whole country.

1. We have explained at § 18 how it follows from the *definite datum* contained in Matt. ix. 18, compared with the equally definite datum in Mark v. 21, that the question about fasting arose on the return from Gadara, after Jesus had landed, and not far from Capernaum. We have also shown, that *during the same days*, possibly only

two days afterwards, occurred the feast in Matthew's house. Now, as the Evangelists for the most part did not write their Gospels in chronological order, as we have sufficiently demonstrated in *DIVIS. I.*; there is nothing surprising in the fact, that both Matthew and Mark introduce the question about fasting *after this feast*. They were led to this by the subject itself, and the *association of ideas*. The question which arose during the meal, *why Jesus ate with publicans*, called to mind the question about fasting. The two questions, however, are by no means chronologically connected. Matthew merely says, "*Then came to Him,*" etc.; which is quite correct, since the two events occurred during the same week. And Mark merely introduces the question of fasting with a *loose preparatory explanation* (chap. ii. 18).—The fact that Luke (v. 33) places the two conversations side by side, without any perceptible thread, is not of the slightest importance, as we have shown at § 19–20.

2. With regard to the *question itself*, Bruno Bauer is in no little uncertainty, whether it proceeded from the *disciples of John* or the *Pharisees*. Matthew and Luke, we are told, do not agree. Matthew says plainly, that it was some disciples of John who asked the question; and in doing so, they classed themselves with those who followed the pharisaic rule, as "fasting." Mark relates that the Pharisees, and those who followed John, both fasted; and then proceeds to say, "*they came and asked.*" Luke, as we have seen, merely gives the substance of the conversation, without stating more minutely who asked the question, or that it originated at all with the disciples of John.—B. Bauer sees in the Pharisees an exclusive sect; and in the disciples of John, another closed circle, analogous to that of the twelve disciples of Jesus. He even finds it "at variance," that so exclusive a sect as John's disciples should here ally themselves, if only in words, with the sect of the Pharisees, and that Pharisees should speak of Pharisees in the third person. But just look at the real circumstances. A pharisaic tendency (cf. Mark ii. 18) co-existed with the cosmopolito-sadducean, and prevailed among the poor inhabitants of Galilee. These people made it a matter of conscience to observe the customs which they had received from the Pharisees of Judah, who were already formed into a more organized body. John also, when baptizing at Ænon, had acquired great influence; and as no such opposition was offered by the priests as he had met with in other places, the ascetic element instilled by John entered the more easily into combination with the legality of Phariseeism, in the case of the vast multitude who could not comprehend the deepest principles of John's character. Two *currents* were now to be found in the nation,—one

purely pharisaic, uninfluenced by John the Baptist, the other tinged by John.¹ The two needed not, however, to be urged on by "hostility to Jesus" into a momentary alliance; but were already internally related, because rooted in the same soil of legality.—That the disciples of John and the Pharisees should speak of themselves in the third person, is just as possible as that a Lutheran should say to a Catholic: "Lutherans and Reformed Christians do not keep Corpus Christi day."

Matt. ix. 15 is said to be at variance with vers. 16, 17. Bruno Bauer has very properly and aptly pointed out the impossibility of understanding by the *ἄσχοις παλαιοῖς* the "old nature of man," as Neander does; and has shown that "the old form of legality" is intended, which is broken through by the new spirit of sonship. But it is clear, that in vers. 16, 17, Jesus prohibits fasting merely as a *legal custom*, and permits it in ver. 15 only *when it proceeds from inward impulse and life*.

The word *ἀπαρθῇ* is said to "have been unintelligible."—In the simile, it denotes primarily the separation of the bridegroom from the bridal party at the close of the marriage feast; and the verb *ἀπαίρομαι* by no means necessarily expresses the idea of a *violent* separation. But it is evident that Christ alluded to His own death, and therefore selected the passive form; and it mattered not that this, like so many other sayings of Christ, was not understood by His own disciples till a year and a half had gone by. The fact that the Evangelists have handed down this expression, is a proof that it was not forgotten, but that the disciples afterwards recalled it to mind.

De Wette and others say, that there is no connection between Luke v. vers. 38 and 39, "all the less," as *De Wette* say, "because the old wine is *really* better."—For "is," read "tastes," and the whole becomes clear. But we refer to the paraphrase given above.

3. *Jairus' daughter*.—As we may see at the first glance, Matthew merely gives a *summary* here, as in the case of the Gadarenes. He does not give the name of the man, or mention the age of the child.

¹ Particular attention should be paid to the article, *οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου*, both in Matthew and Mark. The people who lived in Capernaum came, and were followers of John. If the definite article had any other meaning, if it were not used to indicate the disciples of John in that place, it must refer to the disciples of John in their totality: *οἱ* in distinction from *τινές*. But how could the Evangelists intend to say that the disciples of John universally came to Jesus? It need hardly be mentioned, that even in Galilee, especially in the upper classes, the pharisaic tendency had assumed in certain individuals the same outward extreme form as in Judæa, when it offered to the Saviour such determined hostility (*e.g.*, Matt. ix. 30).

He does not describe how the father first of all reported to Jesus the mortal illness of the child, and the subsequent death was made known a few minutes later by some persons from the house; but commences with the report that the child was dead. To *Strauss* these are nothing but contradictions. Now, it is undoubtedly true, that if a writer, who is generally in the habit of describing very minutely, omits on any particular occasion certain important circumstances, it warrants the conjecture, that "if these circumstances did occur, they would have been related by a writer who on other occasions describes so minutely; and that, as he has not done this, they did not occur, and other writers by whom they are related must be in error." But we know that Matthew's custom was the very opposite; that it is his habit throughout, to relate merely the main features of an event, and never to describe minute particulars. What ground is there, therefore, for such a charge?

Strauss wishes to know *why* Jesus took only three disciples with Him; and why these three? He might be asked in reply, why Jesus should have taken all the rest of the disciples. (The twelve had not yet been selected; but the company consisted of a much larger number, having no fixed limits, and ranging from the most intimate associates to persons but little known.)—Moreover, the accounts of the transfiguration and the agony in Gethsemane, show that these three continued to be the most intimate even after the choice of the twelve.

According to Mark and Luke, Jesus commanded that no one should be told; whereas, according to Matthew, the report spread in all directions. But every one must perceive, that when once the mourning women had known for a certainty that the child was dead (Matt. ix. 24; Mark v. 40; Luke viii. 53), it must have been impossible to conceal from them, either her restoration to life, or the fact that Jesus had restored her; and therefore, that when Jesus said, "Let no man know this," He cannot have intended that the whole matter should be kept secret from everybody. What He really desired, is perfectly clear. The parents would naturally be disposed and tempted to relate the act of Jesus to all their acquaintance. But if they did, great excitement would ensue. This, Jesus did not wish for. From the mouth of the parents, therefore, no one was to hear of the occurrence. But the Lord could not, and did not wish to prevent those who had seen the child dead, from concluding that He must have awakened her, or from spreading the intelligence in a quieter and more indefinite way.

We now proceed to the *dogmatic objections*.

4. "*It is impossible that the dead should be restored to life.*" So

much, undoubtedly, has been established by *Strauss*, that a *magnetic influence* can only be exerted upon those who are suffering from nervous complaints, and not upon the blind or dumb, much less upon an organism whose destruction is complete. This we grant. But if there be an *omnipotent God*, through whose eternal will all organisms, in fact, everything, exists; and if this absolute dominion of will over being appeared in a temporal form in Christ; we cannot see why this omnipotence should not be as fully competent to reorganize a shattered organism as to perform any act of *creation* whatsoever.—Another, more important difficulty is this: “Was the restoration to life a benefit to those who had died, so far as their everlasting salvation was concerned?” or, putting the question in a still stronger form, “Can it have been the case, that persons already perfected were brought again into the midst of conflict and the *possibility of falling*?” We have not the slightest necessity here to appeal to a *gratia irresistibilis*. If there be such a thing at all as *omniscience* and *prescience* on the part of God; and if the incarnate Son of God participated so far in this prescience, that the power of prophetic intuition was possessed by Him in the highest possible degree, even in matters of temporal history; then every difficulty falls to the ground.

The third difficulty is one of much greater importance. “Was it not a cruel thing to bring back to the sorrows of time a soul that had already entered into eternal *blessedness*?”—Unquestionably. But, in the first place, it might be replied, that previous to the death of Christ, the souls of the dead entered, not into heaven, but into Sheol. This would not apply, however, to the cases recorded in Acts ix. 40 and xx. 10. Dorcas and Eutychus were certainly called back from blessedness—from *eternal life* into the life of earth. But another feature must be noticed. The *substance* of the soul is to be distinguished from *consciousness*. The latter, the *memoria*, may be broken off for any length of time, and the substance of the soul remain unchanged. When a person mesmerized falls asleep, he often breaks off abruptly a sentence that he had begun; and when, perhaps, an hour after, he wakes up out of sleep, he continues the sentence at the very word and syllable at which he had broken off, and knows nothing of the more *unfettered* condition of the soul in the meantime; whereas in the more unrestrained state of magnetic sleep, he knew it all, and much more than in the ordinary waking state. And the condition of a completely disembodied soul probably bears a similar relation to that of the soul in its union with the body. From the former state the soul can view the latter; but not *vice versa*. Regarded from this life, disembodiment, because we cannot comprehend it, *appears* like

falling asleep (the *κεκοίμηται* of Jesus is not without its meaning); just as the mesmeric state, in which there is a comparative loosening of the soul from the condition of ordinary life, is called “magnetic sleep,” although the sleeper may at the very time be conversing and walking about.

5. *The woman with issue of blood.*—The negative critics make a great deal of the “*purely physical*” communication of strength on the part of Jesus.¹ Strauss and Bauer both maintain that the question, “Who touched Me?” was put seriously; that Jesus did not know that it was the woman till she confessed it herself. They appeal superfluously to the words in Mark, “ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπιγνοὺς ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξεληθοῦσαν,” which they render (after *De Wette*), “When Jesus *felt* that power had gone from Him.” Unfortunately, we must raise objections to this rendering. In the first place, we should like to have a single passage in the New Testament pointed out, in which *ἐπιγινώσκειν* is applied to *bodily sensations*. In the Epistles, and in Matt. xi. 27, it denotes the *purely intellectual* apprehension of Christian truth; and similarly, in Matt. xvii. 12, it is used with reference to the Jews, who did not *recognise* Elias in John the Baptist. In Acts xxvii. 39, Luke i. 4, Acts xxii. 24, xxiv. 8, it is used to denote the perception of ordinary objects with the understanding; so also in Acts xii. 14. In Acts xxv. 10, it is applied to an *intelligent insight into the affairs of life*; and in Mark ii. 8 and Luke v. 22, to the *piercing glance of omniscience*. But I have nowhere met with *ἐπιγινώσκειν* in connection with an involuntary sensation *in the nerves*.—We might also ask what ἐν αὐτῷ implies, if ἐπιγινώσκειν really means *to feel*. Ἐξ αὐτοῦ follows immediately after. The rendering which we should give to the passage is this: “But when Jesus knew within Himself of the power that had gone out of Him.” Moreover, we believe that the words of Luke viii. 47, “When the woman saw that she was not hid,” warrant the conclusion that, according to the meaning of this Evangelist, Jesus *unquestionably knew* the woman; and we would appeal to any impartial reader, whether the whole narrative creates the impression that Jesus felt a bodily loss of strength, and continued inquiring until at last He elicited who the person that occasioned it had been; whether, on the contrary, the impression produced is not, that Jesus not only knew the person, but looked deep into her heart, and merely asked for the purpose of inducing her to come forward of her own accord, and to show that it was her *faith* which had healed her, and not a *magic power*.

¹ According to Strauss, Jesus is represented as “a highly charged electric battery, which could be discharged by a touch.”

§ 56.

OCCURRENCES AFTER THE RETURN OF JESUS.

(Two Blind Men. The Dumb Man possessed. The Paralytic let down through the roof.)

MATT. IX. 27-34 and 1-8; MARK II. 1-12; LUKE V. 17-26.

As Jesus was returning from Jairus' house, *two blind men* followed Him till He reached His home, exclaiming, "Thou Son of David, have mercy on us!" He then asked them, "*Believe* ye that I am able to do this?" On their answering in the affirmative, He touched their eyes, saying, "Be it unto you according to your faith." Their eyes were then opened; and Jesus charged them to tell no one; but they published it in every direction.—When they had gone, there was brought a man who was possessed of a devil which had rendered him *dumb*. Jesus cast out the devil, and the man spake. The people were astonished, and said, "It was never so seen in Israel;" but the Pharisees, according to their usual custom, declared that He cast out devils through the prince of the devils.—Jesus was now in His own house; and while He was teaching the people, who crowded around Him, four men brought one who was *paralytic* upon a bed. As they could not bring him up to Jesus on account of the crowd, they ascended (by the staircase, which was built on the outside of the house) up to the flat roof, and, having removed the tiles just at the spot under which they had seen Jesus standing, let the sick man down at His feet. When Jesus saw this faith, He said, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." But some scribes who were present, thought in their hearts, "Who can forgive sins, but God only?" Jesus, who knew their thoughts, said, "Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts?" and showed them that by His miraculous power they ought to have recognised His divinity; for one was quite as easy as the other, to forgive sins and to work miracles. As a fresh proof that He possessed the power and right to do either of these, He said to the sick man, "Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house." And he arose, and carried out his bed, glorifying God. And they who saw it were overcome with sacred awe, and joined in praising God.

1. *Strauss* has conclusively proved that the curing of the blind could not be effected by *magnetism*. In *Bruno Bauer's* opinion, Matthew has evidently copied the account of the healing of the blind man at Jericho, which he found in Mark and Luke, and doubled the

number; and a little further on, has done precisely the same thing again. A very likely supposition! It is true the men before us are blind, and the man at Jericho was the same. And, of course, in Bauer's opinion, there could only be one blind man in the world at a time; or, if there were more, Jesus could not have healed more than one.

2. It is objected that a man could not well become *dumb* in consequence of possession. But in reply to this, I would simply point to the fact, that a man may become dumb through disease of the mind, and therefore through other disturbances of the nervous system. How this was affected by possession, we have already shown in § 54.

3. In the history of the *palsied man*, those of us who know *Strauss* will expect, as a matter of course, that he will find a *contradiction* in the fact that Matthew does not describe how the sick man was let down through the roof, as Mark and Luke have done. And the latter also "contradict" one another. For example, as there was a trap-door in every roof, which led down into the house, "we can hardly understand *διὰ τῶν κεράμων* as referring to anything else than *this trap-door*;" whereas Mark speaks of their *breaking open the roof*.—But did these trap-doors open *into the air*, so that people who used them had to jump down the height of a floor from the roof; or were they connected with the *staircase*? If the latter, then this staircase will hardly have led down into the *room*, but into some ante-chamber. If they had carried the sick man through the trap-door, therefore, they would have brought him no farther than if they had carried him through the front door into the courtyard; the crowd in the room would have separated him from Jesus as much as before. By *κεράμοις*, therefore, Luke cannot have meant the trap-door. Besides, how could he ever have thought of using the words *διὰ τῶν κεράμων* to denote that "he was let down through the *door*," with which everybody was acquainted?

But to break up the roof, we are told, would have been dangerous to those who were underneath. "Such an act," says Bruno Bauer, "must have been most dangerous, unless merely *ideally* performed." But notwithstanding the fact that he has convinced us that ideally the most breakneck operations and *salti mortali* can be performed without the slightest danger, and many other things beside roofs be broken up, we are still of opinion that even in reality the removal of a few flat tiles, joined together with a little mortar, might take place without endangering the lives of those below. Cf. *Winer*, *Realwörterbuch*, i. 284.

The words, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," are spoken by the New Testament Christ, partly from the knowledge that all men are sinners,

partly from His knowledge of this particular man. The Straussian Christ, who was neither acquainted with the general sinfulness of human nature, nor possessed a "supernatural knowledge" of the condition and life of individual men, could only have spoken them in accommodation to the Jewish notion, which He Himself condemns elsewhere, that every suffering is the punishment of some particular sin (*vid.* John ix.; Luke xiii.; cf. Hoffmann 365).

§ 57.

FURTHER INCIDENTS OCCURRING ABOUT THIS TIME.

(Call of Levi, and meal at his house. The question, "Is not this the Carpenter's Son?")

MATT. IX. 9-13, XIII. 53-58; MARK II. 13-17, VI. 1-6; LUKE V. 27-32.

When going out to the lake, Jesus saw a man named *Matthew* (*Levi*) sitting at the custom-house, and said to him, "Follow Me." Matthew immediately obeyed the summons. Shortly afterwards, Levi prepared a *great feast* for the Lord, to which he invited many of his confederates and acquaintances, all of them people who were despised as "sinners." When the scribes and Pharisees perceived that Jesus went to dine with publicans and sinners, they complained to His disciples. But Jesus, who heard them, said, "The whole need not the physician, but they that are sick. Learn what this means: God desires mercy, and not sacrifice. I have come to call sinners to repentance, and not the righteous."—Shortly after this, Jesus went to Nazareth, and taught in the synagogue on a Sabbath-day. They were all amazed at Him; but what perplexed them most was, the mere fact *that the carpenter's son should speak in such a way as this*. Believing hearts and confidence in His divine power Jesus did not meet with; so that He found occasion to heal but few sick persons, and said to his countrymen, "A prophet has nowhere less honour than at home." Jesus then left the town, and made a tour in Galilee.

1. From the fact that the *Apostle* Matthew is called "the publican" in the list of Apostles given in the first Gospel (chap. x. 3), it is perfectly evident that, in the account before us, the "man named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom," must be the Apostle Matthew, and not another person of the same name. So much the greater appears the difficulty, that Mark and Luke introduce a *Levi* in the place of *Matthew*; and even though it must be admitted as a

possible thing that Levi had a second name (Matthew), yet this difficulty remains, that Mark and Luke *never indicate* in any way, that they regard Levi as identical with the Matthew who is mentioned by themselves under the latter name in the list of the Apostles (Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13).

Sieffert therefore concludes, that it must have been with *Levi* that the incident occurred; and as it was well known that Matthew also had been formerly a publican, the Greek translator of the first Gospel transferred it to the latter,—an assumption which involves no slight difficulty, as it is impossible to conceive how the translator could have *transferred* anything in this summary way, without finding anything to warrant it in his Aramæan original, in which, Matthew himself being the author, he would naturally expect to find the earliest account. Bruno Bauer cuts the matter much shorter. The call of a disciple named Levi had been recorded. But among the twelve there was no Levi. Yet (so thought the compiler of the first Gospel) the disciple referred to must have been one of the twelve. Straightway, therefore, he looked down the list, selected the first best name that offered, and put it in the place of Levi.

Would it not be a much more simple explanation, to say that the twelve Apostles, who were so important to the Christian Church, were so well known to the readers of the second and third Gospels through the continual intercourse between the first Christian churches (cf. Acts xi. 29, and the conclusions to the apostolical Epistles, *e.g.*, Rom. xvi., 1 Cor. xvi.), that there was no necessity to state that Levi was the same as Matthew, since they all knew that Matthew was also named Levi?—The fact that Mark and Luke do not append to Matthew's name the epithet "the publican," is easily explained. They were not in the habit of adding predicates or second names, unless they were required to distinguish different persons of the same name.

The suddenness of the summons to Matthew to leave his post, is "inconceivable," say *Strauss* and *Bauer*. It is true the former is obliged to admit, that Jesus and Levi, who both lived in Capernaum, *could* not have been unknown to one another. But this causes a difficulty: "the longer Jesus observed him, the easier would it have been for Him to find an opportunity of drawing him *gradually* and *quietly* into His train, instead of summoning him away when engaged in his ordinary occupation." Who does not see this? Jesus *might* have waited till Levi was not engaged at the custom-house; He might have accustomed him "gradually" to stay in His company, by keeping him first one hour, then two, and so forth; He might have induced him, instead of sitting as heretofore at the receipt of custom

from 7 o'clock till 12, to go from 8 to 12, then from 9 to 12, until at length he was altogether weaned. It is true that, to an unintelligent, uncritical man, it might appear that very little would have been gained by this. When Jesus had determined that Levi should give up the occupation of collector of customs, with which so much dishonesty was associated, the best and shortest way was to bring him at once to a firm decision. There can be no doubt that Levi would afterwards report this decision to his superior; but there was no necessity for the Evangelists to mention this, as *they* were not custom-house clerks. No doubt, too, the office would soon be let to some one else; and if this did not occur for a week afterwards, the loss would fall upon Levi, not upon the government. For it is well known that the customs were farmed.

2. Matthew (ver. 10) and Mark (ver. 15) say, "And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house." From this, the inference is drawn, that the meal occurred, according to the representation of both Evangelists, *immediately after the call*.—Matthew (ver. 11) and Mark (ver. 16) also say, "When the scribes and Pharisees saw Him eat with publicans and sinners." According to Strauss and B. Bauer, this was impossible; for the meal took place *in the house*, and the scribes would hardly wait outside till Jesus came out.—Certainly not; but as the Evangelists' meaning is neither that the scribes could see through the wall, nor that they waited outside, the simple meaning of *ἰδόντες* must be, that some scribes who were passing saw Jesus and His disciples come out of the publican's house, along with the rest of the guests.

Bruno Bauer has correctly perceived that the expression, "the righteous," is used ironically, inasmuch as Jesus speaks of the scribes, not as being truly righteous, but as imagining that they were so. The discovery is not a new one.—The connection of ver. 13, which he cannot see, is perfectly clear. Jesus says, "The whole need not a physician. Granting that you are whole, would you prevent Me from welcoming the poor sick people who come to Me, because you do not need Me yourselves?" Thus He points out to them how *unmerciful* they are; and thus, also, in reality proves that they are by no means *sound*, by no means *righteous*. And having urged them to learn that true *righteousness* does not consist in sacrifices, but in that *love* which they lack so much, He adds, "(Learn this; for) I am not come to call (pretended) righteous men, but sinners, to repentance."

§ 58.

CHOICE OF THE DISCIPLES, AND SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

MATT. V.-VII. ; MARK III. 13-19 ; LUKE VI. 12-49.

In one of His journeys about this time, Jesus had spent a night in prayer upon the top of a mountain. As soon as the day broke, He called His disciples to Him, and chose *twelve* of them to fill in future the office of Apostles. He then went down with them to a plain (table-land), where a large crowd of people from all Galilee had assembled, and many sick persons, wishing to be cured. Jesus availed Himself of this opportunity, after the selection of His disciples, to explain, fully and distinctly, to them and to the people, what was *the nature of His kingdom, the specific character of His teaching and labours, the purpose of all He did*.—Looking at the crowds of sufferers encamped before Him, who had come primarily, indeed, with purely earthly desires and hopes, He began (Matt. v. 3-6 ; Luke vi. 20-23) to speak of a *blessedness* enjoyed by those whose lot is one of earthly adversity, and thus to direct their minds beyond the care about temporal things to an eternal goal,—a blessedness which temporal sufferings rather aid than interrupt. On the other hand (Luke vi. 24-26), He also spoke of the misery of those who were absorbed in earthly enjoyments and possessions, and knew of no other satisfaction for their souls (*παράκλησις*) than their carnal glory ; having first of all, however, demanded a pure *heart*, fixed upon eternal things, and loving above all else God and the brethren (Matt. v. 7-12).—After this *introduction*, in which He directed their attention away from the temporal to that eternal glory which no sufferings could take away, He spoke of the *position* which His followers, whose hearts were directed to the eternal alone, would occupy in relation to the world and its history (Matt. v. 13-16).¹ As the salt is used for salting food, and the light to give light in the house, so they (the members of His kingdom) were here, that, like salt, they might pervade the world. There was, consequently, an internal, inevitable necessity, that the strength of the salt should not be lost, and that they should let their light shine in good works.—For He was not come to abolish the law (to absolve without reserve from the fulfilment of its demands), but to fulfil it

¹ Many commentators have formed the mistaken idea, that He is speaking here of the *twelve disciples* alone. But this is neither hinted at in the text, nor in harmony with the context. Christ requires of *all*, that they behave themselves as salt, because *all* are called to be the salt of the earth.

(to cause it to be *truly* fulfilled). He then proceeded to show *what was really the WILL OF GOD which the different precepts of the law contained*, and which was to be more perfectly fulfilled than by the literal observance of the outward precepts of the Mosaic law (Matt. v. 21–48, cf. Luke v. 27 sqq.). To their forefathers God had merely prohibited, through Moses, distinct acts of sin; but the commandments were truly kept, only when the *heart* was free from sin. It was not only murder that was opposed to the will of God, but want of love in every form; not only adultery, but every form of carnal lust; not only perjury, but all untruthfulness of heart, from which alone the necessity for swearing springs;¹ not only injustice, but a heartless demand for justice also.—Having thus explained what the law contains, what is the eternal will of God concerning us, or (as *Tholuck* has well expressed it) “what it is to fulfil the law of God in its whole extent,” Jesus proceeded to show how *we must fulfil the law* (Matt. vi. 1–18). Having first exhibited the good as it manifests itself objectively in moral relations, in the form of *duty*, He proceeded to point out how it manifests itself subjectively within ourselves, in the form of *motive*. *Not for selfish purposes* is good to be done—not for the sake of appearance, but for its own sake—from an inward impulse to what is good, and with regard to God alone. He illustrates this by the examples of *almsgiving, praying, and fasting*.—Being thus brought back, by the demand to *do all with the eye fixed on God*, to His opening and leading theme (Matt. v. 3 sqq.), He proceeded to speak of the *determination with which we must direct the will to eternal things*. Our longing is not to be for earthly treasures. As the eye,

¹ We may here observe in passing, that this supplies a solution to the important problems, whether *divorce is lawful on any other grounds than adultery*, whether *an oath is permissible*, etc. Jesus is not giving institutions to the Church; but merely stating what is essential to *perfect holiness*, and what, on the other hand, is still *sinful*. Want of chastity in any form is sinful; and every kind of insincerity that gives occasion to an oath. In a future state of perfection, every word will be an oath, and all distinction between an oath, and words whose truthfulness cannot be relied upon, for ever fall away.—With regard to the other question, there can be no doubt whatever, that the words of Jesus in Matt. v. 32 distinctly teach, that to marry a woman who has been divorced on other grounds than adultery, is *sinful and opposed to the will of God*. From this, two simple practical conclusions may be drawn: 1. The *State*, which cannot give the spirit of Christian holiness, is not in a position to demand it; and therefore may grant divorce on other grounds than that of adultery. 2. The *Church* cannot bless, in the name of the Triune God, an act which the Lord has pronounced *sinful*, without being guilty of the most wicked blasphemy.—The reconciliation of this *tolerance of the laws of the State* with the *discipline of the Church*, is to be found in the institution of civil marriage.

the light of the body, must not be dim, so the eye of the mind must not be dimmed by looking at that which is dark; but, with firm determination, not serving two masters, we must look away from the dark mammon of earth to that which is eternal. So, too, we are not to exhaust ourselves with earthly cares, but to look up to the Lord, who careth for us.—These general demands for determination of mind and strictness towards ourselves are followed (Matt. vii. 1–11, cf. Luke vi. 27–40) by particular requirements, the foundation of which is the thought, that *true severity towards ourselves is connected inseparably with mildness towards others*. We are not to judge; he who sees the mote in the eye of another, forgets the beam in his own. This uncalled-for judging of others (necessarily connected with unconscientiousness towards ourselves) is the death of true spiritual life—of the spiritual knowledge and power that have been vouchsafed to us, which in that case are abused to the service of sin (uncharitableness, vanity, selfishness), like pearls thrown to the swine.—The truth which underlies these words,—that he who truly desires to do God's will, will be conscious of his own weakness,—led Christ next to speak of *prayer for the Spirit of God*, and the certainty that such prayer will be heard.—He then summed up, in a brief conclusion (Matt. vii. 12–17; Luke vi. 43–49), with the *necessity for love to one's neighbour*, the *difficulty of the right way* ("the strait gate"), and the *necessity for bringing forth fruit*; and closed with the parable of the house built upon sand, and the house built upon a rock, in which He urged the importance of not letting what this whole discourse was designed to build, pass away and perish like a house upon sand, but of preserving it carefully as a house built upon a rock.

1. The scene of the Sermon on the Mount presents no important difficulties. For though Bruno Bauer cannot comprehend how Matthew can append to the *general* description, contained in chap. iv. 23–25, the words, "And seeing the multitude," which relate to a *particular* occurrence, we simply ask, in what better way Matthew could have stated that: "there (generally) followed Him a crowd of people. And seeing (on one occasion) the great multitude," etc.—And when, again, he served up as his own the discovery already made by Gfrörer, that we never read of more than one mountain in the Gospels, and that always the same one, which is described as τὸ ὄρος, this discovery looks as if it proceeded from some Berlin man, who knows of no other hill than the Kreuz-berg. For if he had given more attention to the geography of Palestine, he would know, that you do not find there

(as you do among volcanic and many primary rocks) a *plain with mountains rising out of it*, but a *plain with valleys intersecting it*, such as you have in the Jura formation. From the Mediterranean Sea, along the coast of which run the low-lying plains of Sharon and Shephelah, the land gradually rises. A tract of table-land then stretches across the country to the Jordan, into which it precipitously falls. Deep, abrupt, and narrow valleys are cut into the table-land by several streams, of which the Kishon is the most important. A person ascending, therefore, from the valley or the Lake of Genesareth, cannot be said to go up "*any particular mountain*;" for he is going up to a plain which extends for many miles. And when Jesus, on the occasion of the *miracle of the loaves*, went up from the Lake of Galilee, the contrast was simply between *above* and *below*. If He did not remain by the lake, He must ascend τὸ ὄρος, the well-known heights by which the lake is enclosed.—There are, indeed, a few peaks, which rise either from the table-land, or from plains on a lower level, and which, like *Tabor*, have distinct names. But in those passages of the Gospels in which Jesus is said to have gone up "*the mountain*" (τὸ ὄρος), either it is not to any of these that the writer refers, or his intention is not to point out the precise locality, but to distinguish generally between above and below, just as any Highlander would do.

This also removes the difficulty caused by the fact, that, according to Matthew (v. 1), Jesus went *up the mountain*, and according to Luke (vi. 16), came *down the mountain*, to deliver the Sermon on the Mount. Matthew simply informs us that the scene of the Sermon was *on the mountain*,—that is, so to speak, in the upper story of the country, in the region of the table-land, not in that of the valleys. Luke describes more minutely how Jesus went up the mountain to pray, and then came down to a tract of level ground (which was extensive enough to hold the crowd; not, as *Tholuck* says, "a portion of the slope which was not so steep as the rest"). Now, as the *valleys* of the calcareous mountains, especially those of Palestine, contain no such level tracts (if only because in the well-watered valleys every spot is cultivated), we cannot imagine the plain as being anywhere else than *upon the mountain*. Jesus had previously ascended a limestone peak which overhung this plain, and then came down upon the table-land. If, then, we assume that the situation was that of an *elevated plain* (Lange), there is no ground whatever, so far as the locality is concerned, to regard the discourse given in Luke vi. as different from that in Matt. v.-vii.

2. Luke describes (vi. 13) the first *selection* of the twelve. Mark

also (iii. 14) describes the *choice* of the disciples, and mentions once for all the office to which they were appointed, and the powers with which they were endowed. Matthew, on the other hand, does not relate the fact of the *selection*, but merely describes the first *mission*, which was incomparably more important in its consequences; and not having mentioned the previous choice, was obliged to give their names now, if he would not omit them altogether.—There is no “confusion” in the different accounts.

Schleiermacher's question (Luke, p. 88), whether there was “a formal call and appointment of all the twelve Apostles?” or whether “the peculiar relation between the twelve and Jesus did not grow up *gradually and spontaneously*?” may be answered partly by the observation, that the twelve were assuredly chosen from the circle of those who had “gradually,” and perhaps in different degrees, come to stand nearest to the Lord, and partly by a reference to the significance of the number twelve, and to such passages as Matt. xix. 28, x. 6, xv. 24.

Two questions arise with reference to the *names* of the disciples.

In the *first* place, it has been thought that we are warranted in concluding, from John i. 46 and xxi. 2, that *Nathanael* must have been one of the twelve. And as no *Nathanael* occurs in the lists of the Apostles, it is supposed that *Nathanael* and *Bartholomew* are the same, as he is first introduced as an acquaintance of Philip's (John i. 46), and in all three lists *Bartholomew* and *Philip* are placed side by side. Now *Bartholomew* (בר תלמי) is only a surname denoting the filial relation, so that this is very possible; at the same time, the passages alluded to by no means suffice to *prove* that *Nathanael* must have been one of the twelve. It is doubly absurd, therefore, when we are told that there is a *discrepancy* between John and the Synoptists, seeing that the former nowhere says that *Nathanael* was one of the twelve, and there is nothing in the latter to show that *Bartholomew* was not the same person as *Nathanael*.

In the second place, Matthew (chap. x. 3) mentions a *Lebbæus* (with the critically suspicious addition, “who is surnamed *Thaddæus*”); whereas Mark (iii. 18) introduces a *Thaddæus* in his place, and Luke (vi. 16; Acts i. 13) a *Judas Jacobi*. Now, even if the addition in Matthew be spurious (a supposition by no means demonstrated, seeing that the number of MSS. which omit it is so small), it is nevertheless true that the two names of *Lebbæus* (from לב) and *Thaddæus* (from תר = שר *mamma*) have at least a *similar* meaning. *Thaddæus*, however, may just as well be derived from שרי, *potens*; and in this case it perfectly agrees with *Lebbæus*, the *great-heart*.

(On this signification of אב , consult especially Num. xxxii. 7 and 9; Deut. xx. 3 and 8; Josh. vii. 5; Isa. xiii. 7; Ps. xl. 13.)¹—Not the slightest objection could be adduced, therefore, against the identity of Lebbæus and Thaddæus. And so far as the Judas of Luke is concerned, we see at the outset, from John xiv. 22, that there was a second Judas among the twelve. Now, if we consider that both Lebbæus and Thaddæus are surnames; and that the fact of there being another Judas would sufficiently explain why Judas Lebbæus, for greater convenience, should generally be called by his surname; we can easily understand how Matthew and Mark should give the latter as the name with which they were most familiar; whilst Luke, who founded his Gospel upon existing sources, adopted the proper name which he discovered there. Lastly, we observe that Matthew and Mark connect Lebbæus (Thaddæus) with *Jacobus Alphæi*, and Luke describes him as Judas Jacobi. But as such a genitive is certainly used by no means unfrequently to denote the *fraternal* relation, we find in this combination an additional proof of the identity of the “person with three names.”

3. We now pass on to the SERMON ON THE MOUNT itself. We yield an unconditional assent to the opinion, that the discourse contained in Luke vi. is identical with that in Matt. v.–vii.; in other words, that, although Jesus no doubt repeated on different occasions some of the shorter sayings, He is not likely to have commenced two distinct discourses with the same benedictions, and closed them with the same similitude. We would also point out the fact, that Luke, as well as Matthew, introduces the discourse as one of peculiar importance (chap. vi. 17 sqq.). There simply remains the question, therefore, whether we have it in the original form in Matthew or in Luke; that is to say, whether Matthew has connected together passages from different discourses which were delivered on different occasions. (So Calvin and many modern expositors. *Vide Tholuck*, Sermon on the Mount.) In itself this is neither an impossible nor an improbable opinion. When considering the *parables of the kingdom of heaven*, we came to the conclusion that Matthew did not give them in the order in which they were delivered. And here (chap. iv. 23–25) he introduces the discourse, just as if he intended (quite in accordance with his plan) to give the essential features of the Saviour’s mode of teaching. And there are some of the verses (Matt. vi. 7 sqq.), of which we see at once that it is by no means impossible that they may have been delivered on a different occasion.

¹ If it was by this Judas that the Epistle of Jude was written, the style of that Epistle, with its overwhelming polemics, are quite in harmony with this surname.

Nevertheless, there is nothing to warrant the unreserved assertion, that the discourse is given by Luke in its original form. For example, when every saying that occurs in Matt. v.-vii., but is reported by Luke as uttered on a different occasion, is set down at once as not belonging to the Sermon on the Mount, this is a false use of the false dictum, that Jesus can never have repeated any of His sayings.—The discourse in Matthew, as a whole, has the appearance of internal-organization. It is by no means distributed according to any abstract classification. We do not find everything of a like character placed together. If that were the case, we certainly might believe that it was the production of the Evangelist himself, who had worked up diverse materials into one discourse. But the very opposite is the case. The discourse presents just the appearance that would *actually* be presented by one freely delivered. After speaking of something else, Jesus returns to the opening thought again (cf. Matt. vi. 19 sqq. with v. 3 sqq.); and, without regard to arrangement, moves to and fro with perfect freedom. We even see passages arranged side by side apparently without connection (especially in Matt. vii.). With the whole discourse before us, however, we can easily supply the inward train of thought which probably led Jesus from one point to the other; whilst Matthew merely gives the different points as they followed one another, without the transitions, which he had forgotten. All this leads to the conclusion, that, *in the main*, the discourse is given by Matthew in the form in which it was delivered. If it were for the most part worked up freely by the Evangelist, it would assume a very different form. We should find no recurrence to points already disposed of, nor introduction of clauses without connection.

But it is very easy to see why negative critics contend so eagerly against the adoption of the Sermon on the Mount in the form given by Matthew. Their tacit aim is to remove characteristic points from the life of Jesus, so as to leave nothing but indefinite fragments from the life of an ordinary Rabbi, out of which oral myths or written transformations might easily be formed. In this way also must be got rid of the inaugural discourse of the new kingdom, in the form given by Matthew, which contains so much that is important with reference to the connection between the Old and New Covenants. In opposition to which view, every one must admit, that, *on the assumption that the course of Jesus' life, so far as we have traced it, is historical*, the Sermon on the Mount not only contains nothing that is out of place, but is, on the contrary, a necessary link, which would be greatly missed if it had been omitted.

For instance, it was certainly requisite, that when Jesus had

gradually attracted so large a retinue, and aroused so much attention, and after He had excited by His *parables* the expectation of His hearers, He should distinctly explain to them *what His meaning really was*. All that He had hitherto done was to be regarded as *means*; the ultimate *design* was not yet apparent. The sick had been cured, the dead raised. He had spoken in enigmatical figures of a "kingdom of God," which He had come to establish; and in enigmatical words, of the acceptable year of the Lord, which had appeared with His coming. The people had opened their ears. With more or less clearness, they had all cherished the hope that Jesus was the promised Messiah. They followed Him about, desirous of taking part in His kingdom. Was it right that He should keep silence any longer? Ought He not to afford the means of certainty to this perplexed and halting crowd, by saying, "Such and such is the nature of My kingdom; such its form; such the proper state of mind; and such are My demands?"—This definite statement He does not make in Luke,¹ but only in Matthew; where He says that the great matter is not temporal, but eternal blessedness, and speaks of the position of His kingdom in the world, of the demands which God makes of us, of the manner in which they are to be fulfilled, of the necessity for firm decision, and also for prayer for the help and Spirit of God.

4. We now pass on from these general remarks to *particulars*. It is very evident that proverbial sayings such as we have in Matt. v. 13, vii. 13, vi. 22² and 24, might be frequently repeated and in different forms (as in Mark ix. 50; Luke xi. 34, xvi. 13, xiii. 24: *vid. Tholuck*, Sermon on the Mount). The same remark applies to the saying in Matt. v. 18 (cf. Luke xvi. 17), and such short moral precepts as Matt. v. 25 (Luke xii. 58), v. 32 (Luke xvi. 18), vi. 19, 20 (Luke xii. 33). So far as Matt. vi. 25–34 is concerned, which is given again in Luke xii. 22 sqq., it cannot even be said that Luke gives this "on a different occasion," for he really gives it without any occasion at all. He has introduced it into the *collection of discourses* (chap. xii.) with the perfectly indefinite formula, "And He said to His disciples." This is also true of Matt. vii. 7–11, which we find again in Luke xi. 9–13.

There is only one passage left about which we might entertain

¹ Either because Luke found only this short extract in his sources, or because he made it himself, in conformity with his plan.

² Matt. vi. 22 is much more closely related to what precedes than Luke xi. 33, 34, where it is most loosely attached to ver. 32. Hence, if this gnome was not repeated, it stands in its original position in Matthew rather than in Luke. The same remark applies to Matt. v. 32 and Luke xvi. 18.

some doubt, whether it was first spoken by Jesus in connection with the Sermon on the Mount, or was introduced by Matthew himself. We refer to the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 7 sqq.). Not that any stress can be laid upon the fact that Luke (xi. 1 sqq.) "introduces it on a different occasion." For Luke does not mention either a particular occasion or a definite time;¹ he merely says, that "after Jesus had once spent some time in a certain place praying (*εἶναι προσευχόμενον*), the disciples asked Him to teach them to pray, and Jesus then gave them this prayer." Now this is not at variance, but harmonizes perfectly, with Matthew's account. For Luke himself relates, in chap. vi., that before delivering the discourse, which is evidently identical with the Sermon on the Mount related by Matthew, the Lord spent the night upon the summit of the mountain in prayer. Consequently, even according to Matthew's account, the Lord's Prayer was taught to His disciples after a period of solitary prayer; and the only difference that remains is, that according to Matthew, Jesus simply taught the disciples this prayer; whereas, according to Luke, the disciples first requested Jesus to teach them to pray. It might, indeed, be said that in the midst of the Sermon, neither the question, nor the form of prayer taught to the disciples, is in its proper place. But we must not allow ourselves to be so carried away by the name *Sermon* on the Mount, as to imagine that Jesus delivered it in the stiff and formal way in which one of our ministers would preach a sermon from a pulpit. He delivered it in a manner perfectly free and unconstrained;² and as Matthew merely gives us the kernel of the different sayings, omitting some of the intermediate links, and Jesus therefore may have said many things between, which are not reported, and certainly did not deliver the whole discourse (chap. v.-vii.) straight on (*uno tenore*),

¹ Even *Tholuck* speaks of a "later period in the life of Christ," mentioned in Luke xi. Quite properly, if Luke had written in chronological order. There appears to me to be something thoroughly unnatural in his supposition, that the disciples, or at least some disciples, did not look upon the *Pater-noster* as a *form* of prayer, and therefore at a subsequent period asked for a *form*, and that Jesus then told them they had only to call to mind this form (which He repeated to them again); but that Luke omitted the correction of their mistake, and merely inserted the more essential part, viz., the repetition of the formula (Was this the essential part?). Either it was Luke's simple intention to give the Lord's Prayer; and if so, why should he pass over the first occasion in which Christ taught it, and introduce it on a second occasion, when it was merely repeated? Or his principal design was to narrate the later occurrence, the request of the disciples for a form of prayer; and in that case, why does he not say a single word to indicate that the question was a mistaken one, and the answer corrective?

² This also serves to reconcile the important difference between Matthew and Luke; the former describing Jesus as *sitting*, the latter as *standing*.

we may very well imagine it possible that breaks and pauses intervened (similar to Matt. xiii. 10), during one of which the disciples came up to Him, and, incited partly by the continued, earnest prayer of the Lord in the night, partly by the words of Matt. vi. 5, 6, asked Him to teach them how to pray.

The only thing which presents a difficulty, is that Jesus follows the prayer with a few words on *forgiveness* (Matt. vi. 14, 15), and then proceeds, in vers. 16, 17, with the totally different subject which had been dropped at ver. 6. Consequently, so far at least as the meaning is concerned, vers. 7–15 are really parenthetical; and it seems by no means improbable that, even if they were spoken on the same day, it was either before the sermon began or after it was ended.

Thus the objections offered by Strauss and B. Bauer may easily be answered. When the former says, that from Matt. vi. 19 the connection ceases, we grant this so far as an *external, logical* connection is concerned; but we would remind him of the *internal* connection already alluded to, according to which the different passages, though heterogeneous in outward form, all proceed from a distinct pastoral intention on the part of Jesus, and also of the fact that Matthew communicates merely the separate points, and not the links of connection.

From the circumstance that Luke does not add “in spirit,” but merely says “the poor,” and also from the “woes” which he gives, many commentators conclude, that from an Ebionitish point of view Luke describes the poor as such as blessed, and the rich as such as cursed. So far as this opinion is supported by the *Parable of Lazarus*, we refer to § 72, and to *Neander’s* Life of Jesus. But with reference to the *Sermon on the Mount*, let it be borne in mind that Jesus is not delivering an abstract lecture on Christian ethics, in which case it would certainly have created a difficulty, that without reserve the poor should be pronounced blessed and the rich accursed. He is speaking with reference simply to distinct concrete relations. At that time the broken and impressible hearts were really to be found among the poor; and the rich, *almost* without exception, had forgotten God.—The first sure traces of Ebionitism, in the form of a fully developed doctrine and sect, are met with in the second century. And the unhesitating manner in which the writings of Luke were received by the orthodox Church is a proof that such passages as these were regarded as containing, not Ebionitism, but a harmless thought, which did not need to be more fully expressed, because it was understood as a matter of course.—Moreover, it would still be necessary to explain how Ebionitism could possibly have amalgamated with the Pauline spirit, so marked and prominent in Luke.

§ 59.

CURE OF A LEPER. JESUS IN A FRIEND'S HOUSE.

MATT. VIII. 1-4 ; MARK I. 40-45, III. 20, 21 ; LUKE V. 12-16.

When Jesus came down from the mountain, many of the people followed Him. And then came a leper, who fell down before Him and said, "Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean." Jesus touched him, saying, "I will, be thou clean;" and immediately he was cleansed. Jesus then commanded him to tell no one, but simply to show himself to the priests, and to present the offering of purification "for a testimony unto them." He did not obey, however, but told of his cure in every direction.—Now, when Jesus was in a house (at a friend's), there came so many people to Him with all their troubles, that He stood healing and teaching in front of the house, and could not go in to dine. The people in the house, hearing Him teach with such ardour, thought He was out of His mind, carried away with fanaticism, and beside Himself; and went out, therefore, to bring Him in by force.

1. As Luke does not mention the precise period of the cure ("And it came to pass, when He was in a certain city, ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων"), he is said to have "thrown the plan of the journey into confusion." And B. Bauer asks, why in one particular instance Jesus should have prohibited the cure from being made known, when the very same evening, as soon as He had returned to Peter's house, a great number of sick persons came to be healed?—This is a mistake. The cure of Peter's mother-in-law took place, not the same evening, but the evening after His return from His journey; and further, when Jesus was once in Capernaum, He could not escape the pressure of the crowd; but when on a journey, He had good reason for taking precautions against being followed by the people from place to place. Still, we grant that *the very same evening* many sick persons came to Him. And why? Just because the leper *did not obey*. A clear proof, therefore, how necessary the prohibition was. The *motive* of Jesus was simply this, that He always desired and sought to prevent every kind of *outward* display, which was likely to excite carnal hopes in reference to the Messiah.—There is no discrepancy between Matthew and Luke as to the scene of the cure. The former does not say that the *leper* was cured as they were coming down; but, "when they came down, *many people* followed Him," and *then* (he does not say *where*) the leper

came. It may, therefore, have been in a small town.—At the same time, as Luke so obviously shows that he was not acquainted with the precise order of the occurrence, the question may be asked, whether stress should be laid upon the words, “in one of the *cities*,” or whether he may not perhaps simply intend to say that it was *not in Capernaum*, but *upon a journey*.

2. In § 18 we came to the conclusion, that on the day on which Jesus *entered Capernaum*, after delivering the Sermon on the Mount, He lodged at the house of Peter’s mother-in-law. Hence the house, to which He went *immediately after the choice of the disciples and the Sermon on the Mount* (Mark iii. 20), can neither have been His own home in Capernaum, nor that of Peter’s mother-in-law, nor any other house in that city. The words themselves are simply, “*And they came into a house.*” This was either a *πανδοχείον*, a public inn, or the house of a friendly host. The latter is the more probable, as public inns were rare in Jesus’ time, and as a rule to be met with only in desert places (*vide Winer, Realw. i. 563*).

But in spite of the sequence, which is against the supposition, some (Strauss, and also Bleek) will have this occurrence to be the same with the visit of the mother and brethren of Jesus. The only thing that seems in favour of this view is the expression *οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ*, which frequently means “his descendants,” and can also mean “his relations.” Supposing the latter to be the meaning, how is the occurrence to be explained? The narrative in Mark makes the impression that *οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ* came out of the house (in which Jesus was, *vide ver. 21*). In that case Jesus must have been in *Nazareth*. But it is not likely He would so soon go back to a place He had left because He was not received by them. Therefore Jesus is supposed to be in Capernaum; and ver. 21 is thus explained: “When His relatives heard of this, they went out (from Nazareth and came to Capernaum) to apprehend Him.” Apart from the fact that Jesus was not in Capernaum, and that His parents would therefore have to rove about in Galilee till they found Him (which they would have had to do even if Jesus had been in Capernaum, for how could they know that Jesus, who wandered about so much, was there?), there is certainly nothing more wonderful than that the brethren of Jesus in Nazareth should have heard that, in Capernaum or somewhere else, He (Jesus) could not come in to eat, from the pressure of the crowd; and from this should have concluded, *ὅτι ἐξέστη*—that He was “beside Himself!” Moreover, who would speak of the arrival of a person at one town, coming from another, as an *ἐξελεῖν*? Consequently, we must suppose that they did not arrive at the place where He was, and that they did

not find Him, but that they only *went out*.—But still the difficulty remains, how it should enter into their heads that He was beside Himself, and so to set out for the purpose of laying hold of Him. As *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* is a very general expression, used to denote any relation or connection, we cannot see why in this particular instance it should not refer to the family at whose house He was staying, and which consisted either of friends, or possibly of relatives. It is perfectly conceivable that they may only have known Him as the carpenter's son from Nazareth; and therefore may have been bewildered by the first aspect of His inspired teaching, and have come to the conclusion that He was carried away by fanaticism, and so was not right in His mind.¹ (The Evangelists do not state that Jesus was not really “laid hold of;” for there was no necessity for them to mention this. As soon as the people had come out of the house, they were convinced of their mistake.) But even if we must understand by *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* the Nazarene relations of Jesus, the identity of the occurrence in Mark iii. 20, 21, with the visit would not in the least follow. In the beginning of His stay in Capernaum, his mother and brethren had visited Him. Now, long after, went out “His own people” to take Him. Least of all could one conclude that Mary was present the second time.

The expression, “They could not so much as eat bread,” is pronounced by Strauss “an evident exaggeration.” Indeed! Is it so impossible a thing, when the soup is on the table, for a person to be kept away from it by a few sick persons, or by people anxious to be taught the way of salvation?

¹ The expression *ἀκούσαντες* is literal, and perfectly accurate; for after the captivity the houses in Palestine were undoubtedly, for the most part, built without windows looking upon the street; and where there were windows, they were lattice-work, through which one might look by putting his head close, though one would not otherwise observe what was passing outside (*Winer, Realwörterbuch* i. 550, and 431).

§ 60.

RETURN TO CAPERNAUM.

(The Centurion's Servant. The Possessed Man in the Synagogue.
Peter's Mother-in-law.)

MATT. VIII. 5-17; MARK I. 21-31; LUKE VII. 1-10, IV. 38-41.

When the Lord had returned from this journey, the principal feature in which was the Sermon on the Mount, and had reached Capernaum again, a Roman centurion, who had a favourite servant lying dangerously ill with paralysis, sent some of the elders of the Jews to Him, to ask Him to come and cure his servant. The elders supported the petition by their own recommendation: "The centurion loved their people, and had built them their synagogue." Jesus set off at once with them. But as He was approaching the house, the centurion, filled with holy awe, sent some friends to meet Him, and beg Him not to trouble Himself; for, as he did not think himself worthy to come himself and speak to Jesus, so he was also not worthy that Jesus should come under his roof. "Only speak a word," was the message he sent, "and my servant shall be made whole;" appealing at the same time to the authority which he, a mere man, was able to exercise in his own sphere. When Jesus heard that, He said, "I have not found such faith even in Israel." And He bade them return home, where they found the servant restored.—Jesus then went into the synagogue; and there was a possessed man there, who cried out, "Let us alone! What dost Thou want with me, Jesus of Nazareth? Art Thou come to destroy us? I know who Thou art, Holy One of God." But Jesus rebuked him, and said, "Be still, and come out." The devil then threw the man down in the midst of the synagogue, and came out. And they were all amazed.—And Jesus proceeded thence to Peter's house, whose mother-in-law was lying very ill with fever; and He went up to her, and took her by the hand, and the fever left her. In the evening many sick persons, and others that were possessed, were brought to Him, and He healed them all.

1. Either—so argues Strauss—the βασιλικός is identical with the *centurio*, or the *centurion* of Matthew is different from that of Luke; in which case one of the most impossible "repetitions" would take place.—That a βασιλικός is not a *centurio*, is not thereby refuted that, according to Gfrörer, the French officers in the time when perukes were in fashion bore the title, *gens du roi*. Also, Cana is not Caper-

naum; also, a son is not a slave; and in general there is nothing common to the two narratives but the healing at a distance. On the possibility of that occurring more than once, see p. 59. The only question, therefore, remaining is, Is the narrative in Matt. viii. 5–13 different from that in Luke vii. 1–10?

The differences are said to be “great.” First of all, the sick person in Luke is a δούλος, in Matt. a παῖς, which may mean a son as well as a servant. Therefore it does mean *son*, otherwise we should have no contradiction?! Pity only Strauss has overlooked the *ὁ παῖς μου* in Luke ver. 7.

Another contradiction is, that Matthew describes the disease as palsy, whilst Luke does not describe it at all. To those readers who cannot see the point of this contradiction, Schleiermacher’s unhappy remark will be of use, that a παραλυτικός, although δεινῶς βασανιζόμενος, was still not so sick that there was *periculum in morâ*. But it matters not whether palsy kills quickly or slowly: enough that it does kill; and so it may have been, that at last it had brought the sufferer to the point that ἤμελλε τελευτᾶν, he was ready to die (Luke vii. 2); and after all there was danger in delay.

The only real difference that remains is, that Matthew, according to his usual custom, abbreviates as much as possible. He does not say a syllable about the persons whom the centurion sent to Jesus. He merely mentions the message which was to be delivered to Him, and gives it as if it had been the centurion himself who delivered it. Uncritical men might indeed be led to think, that the words were in any case the centurion’s own words, and not invented by the messengers. Moreover, far more importance was attached to the words themselves, than to the circumstance that messengers were employed to carry them; consequently a writer accustomed to epitomize might very naturally omit the latter.

2. A discrepancy has been pointed out between the Synoptists’ accounts of Peter’s mother-in-law (Matt. viii. 14; Mark i. 29; Luke iv. 38), where Peter and Andrew are represented as possessing a house in *Capernaum*, and John i. 45, where *Bethsaida* is called “the city of Simon and Andrew.”—But the matter is very simple. *Bethsaida* was the birth-place of Peter and Andrew. Their father lived there, and they lived there also. Whether the marriage of the latter took place before he was with John the Baptist at the Jordan (which is certainly improbable), or in the interval between his *first meeting* with Jesus (in the February of the first year) and his subsequent *call* (in the January of the second year), is a question of no importance; for since, as a rule, it is the bride who goes to the bridegroom, not

the bridegroom to the bride, Peter would still remain in Bethsaida after his marriage; and there we find him, at the time of his *call*, still pursuing his occupation. But when he gave this up, and became a constant attendant of Jesus, as a matter of course he would have ceased to reside in "his city," and gone to live in Capernaum, where Jesus was residing, even if he had not had a mother-in-law there. But if he had a mother-in-law settled there, what was more natural than that he should take up his abode at her house? And as Andrew had also become a disciple of Jesus, it was equally natural that he should live in the same house. In this case, Mark might very properly describe the house as *ἡ οἰκία Σίμωνος καὶ Ἀνδρέου*, "the house where Simon and Andrew lived;" and there is nothing to lead to the conclusion, that "as the house *belonged* to both sons (the genitive does not involve this), it must have been inherited from the *father*."

§ 61.

THE WIDOW'S SON AT NAIN.

LUKE VII. 11-17.

The next day Jesus went to Nain, accompanied by His disciples and many of the people. As He drew near to the gate of the town, they were just carrying the only son of a widow to the grave. The pity of the Lord was excited, and He said to the widow, "Weep not." He then went up to the bier, and the bearers stood still. And He said, "Young man, I say unto thee, Arise." The youth then rose up, and began to speak; and Jesus restored him to his mother.

The dogmatic objections offered to this occurrence have already been answered at § 55. *Woolston* thinks it a suspicious circumstance, that Jairus' daughter was raised in her bed, the youth at Nain on the bier, and Lazarus from the grave. You have here a climax. Ought Jesus, then, to have waited a few hours, till Jairus' daughter was also on the bier, for the purpose of avoiding this climax? How differently He would have acted, if He had had more regard to the critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries!

§ 62.

JOHN SENDS HIS DISCIPLES.

MATT. XI. 1-30; LUKE VII. 18-35.

John the Baptist had now been imprisoned for a year.¹ Though not prevented from seeing his disciples, it must still have been painful to him to be no longer able to preach openly. He heard from his disciples of the manner in which Jesus had entered, in the meantime, upon His public and independent labours. He was told of the outward acts which Jesus performed—how He healed the sick and raised the dead; but he heard nothing, either of the formation of a compact “kingdom of Christ;” or, of any such distinctly marked transition *from the world into such a kingdom*, as he imagined that he had paved the way for by his baptism; or, of any conflict between the new kingdom and the old. The more assured he was of the prophetic character of his former preaching of repentance, as having been commanded by God; and the more firmly he was convinced, through a distinct revelation from God, that in the person of Jesus he had seen the Messiah; the more incomprehensible must it have been to him, that this Jesus, instead of building upon the foundation which he had laid, of a broad *division* of the nation, should let this building fall to pieces, and wander about, *working without plan*, and without producing any visible result; that He should continue simply doing good, without requiring beforehand any distinct and complete conversion. In short, he in whom the essential principle of the Old Testament, *the law*, and the need of redemption, were once more united through divine inspiration, could not understand the essential principle of the New Testament, *the Gospel*, which appeared, not in an outward form, first demanding, and then giving, but working inwardly through *free gifts of grace*; and as this lay beyond the range of his office, he received no revelation from God on this matter, but was left to his own conclusions. At length, in his impatience, he felt that he could not any longer quietly look on. Without exactly wishing to instruct, or throw blame upon the Lord, he could not help throwing into his question an expression of *dissatisfaction* as well as *surprise*. He sent two of his disciples to Jesus with the question, “*Art Thou the promised One? or are we to wait for another?*” Whilst he himself clearly showed, by the second question, that another *could not* be expected, he laid

¹ Cf. §§ 28 and 31. He was put in prison in January 31. His disciples were sent to Jesus not long before his death, about December 31, or January 32.

thereby the stronger emphasis upon the astonishment implied in the first question, that Jesus should nevertheless act in such a way, that it was hardly possible to recognise Him.—In reply to this question, Jesus gave no explanation as to the *mode* of His work, which sprang from the very nature of the New Testament, and was therefore unintelligible to John, but merely pointed to His *work* itself, especially to the *miraculous* aspect of it, that John might *believe* what he could not understand, and not take offence.—But in order that the people who stood round might not be led by what had passed to form a wrong opinion of John the Baptist, and thus indirectly of Himself, Jesus reminded them, first of all, of the *impression* which John the Baptist had made upon them at the time of his prophetic activity. They had surely not streamed out to see a reed, like the other reeds of the desert; nor a man in soft clothing; but in reality to hear a prophet sent by God. And, in truth (Jesus proceeded to say, that He might show how it was possible for such a man to be mistaken), John the Baptist was more than a prophet; nevertheless the least *in* the kingdom of heaven was greater (in insight) than this forerunner of the kingdom. For, since the days of John, the kingdom of heaven had broken out with violence, and the spirit of burning desire, which strove to “take it by force,” burst through all bonds (of Old Testament *form*). The era of *prophecy* had continued until John the Baptist, who was the promised Elias. From that time forth would be the era of *fulfilment*. Having set aside one part of the complaint contained in the message of the Baptist (that of *want of plan*), He proceeded to show that, as a matter of fact, the other (that of *not preaching repentance*) did not affect Him; but that, as the prophets and John the Baptist had met with hard hearts, He also had done the same (Luke vii. 29 sqq.; Matt. xi. 16 sqq.): an *evil will* can harden itself in opposition to the most diverse forms of divine revelation. Jesus then gave utterance to the “woe” impending over the cities which had been especially favoured with His presence, and yet (as a whole) could not be aroused out of their sleep.—He then thanked His Father in prayer, that He had hidden divine wisdom from such as were humanly wise, and revealed it to humble *hearts*; and added, by way of explanation, that it was the *Father*, who had committed all to Him, and by Him that the hearts had been opened; that the Father only fully knew the Son, and the Son alone the Father. Hence it was only through the Son that men could come to the Father. He then ended with those glorious words: “Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and ye shall find rest to your souls; for My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.”

1. If we look at the outward circumstances connected with the message sent by John, the question arises, "*How could John, when in prison, hold such unrestricted communication with his disciples?*" And this question cannot be disposed of by *Gfrörer's* remark, that "gold, or even enthusiasm for a highly venerated man, can find secret ways into the deepest cells;" for John did not wait to see whether, by chance, one or more such enthusiasts could find a secret entrance, but when "his *disciples* showed him of all these things," he chose at once two of their number, and sent them away, having no doubt that on their return they would be able to come to him without difficulty. On the other hand, the question is not "absolutely insoluble," as B. Bauer says. *Gfrörer* himself says, that there is no difficulty connected with the assumption that John the Baptist had received permission from Herod to see certain of his disciples; and to our mind this is the more probable, because Herod's purpose was not to put down his *teaching* (*vide* Mark vi. 20), but to suppress his Savonarola-like influence, which appeared to him *politically dangerous*. In the fact of his being visited in the prison by a few disciples, who chose to devote themselves to this, there was nothing to alarm. They could be watched with as little trouble as their master himself.

There is greater difficulty in connection with the *question* which was addressed to Jesus by John the Baptist. Three explanations have been given. Some regard it as a proof that John the Baptist had fallen into a state of *uncertainty*, or *doubt*, *whether Jesus was really the Messiah*. But such uncertainty, we are told, is "not only psychologically inconceivable, after what had occurred at the baptism of Jesus (which we grant with all our heart), but at variance with Matt. xi. 7." For, says *Strauss*, Jesus there declares that John was not like a shaking reed; which he would have been if he had entertained such doubts as these. On the other hand, however, we say, that John the Baptist must have appeared like a shaking reed, and therefore Jesus felt it necessary to guard them against thinking that he really was so.—Apart from this, however, we grant that, after what occurred at the baptism, it is inconceivable that doctrinal doubts should have taken possession of his mind.

Calvin's solution, that John sent to ask the question *simply for the sake of his disciples*, is evidently forced, unnatural, and untenable.

A third explanation, which most modern commentators accept, is, that it was not from *unbelief*, but from *impatience*, that the question was asked; and that John expected to be set at liberty either by the miraculous power of Jesus, or by His public ministry in general.—*Strauss* cannot overthrow this explanation by the objection, that,

according to Matthew and Luke, it was the report of the *miracles wrought by Jesus* which led the Baptist to send the messengers; whereas such a report ought to have strengthened his faith, rather than have led him to unbelief. But when John heard of many miracles being wrought in other ways, *if* he had any expectation at all that at length something would be done for him, such reports would be very likely to increase his impatience.

It is no answer to this explanation to say, that John the Baptist “would not have presented in the form of a *doubt* a request which was dictated by *faith*.” For, in the first place, it is not a request but a reproof that is spoken of; and, secondly, whilst this reproof *presupposed* the belief that Jesus could work miracles, it was *dictated*, not by this *belief*, but by dissatisfaction and impatience. Lastly, the question does not necessarily express a *doubt*, but is quite as fitted to convey a *reproof*. An anxious passenger, who sees the captain of the vessel standing apparently indifferent and unconcerned when a storm is evidently coming on, might naturally say, “Are you really the captain, or is there another?” meaning thereby that it was impossible to recognise him as the captain by what he did. And who would imagine that he was expressing a doubt as to the person of the captain himself?

For all that, however, the explanation appears to me to be quite untenable. Strauss himself has very appropriately remarked, that one who had once discerned in Jesus the patient Lamb of God, could never have expected the kingdom of God to be introduced with external pomp. And still further, we question whether any man who had given utterance to the words, “He must increase, but I must decrease,” could ever have so thoroughly expected and assumed that he should be miraculously released from prison, as to venture to send a message to Jesus because this had not been effected.

The explanations already attempted having failed, it is by no means strange that *Strauss* should not take the trouble to search for another, but should propose not only a conjecture which is *intended* to be a joke, viz., to read “had *not* heard,” instead of “had heard;” but another, which *is* a joke, though a very bad one. We have here, he says, the only reliable information as to the relation between John and Jesus, viz., that before this time John *did not know Jesus* at all, but heard of Him for the first time during his imprisonment, when the thought entered his mind that Jesus might possibly be the Messiah.—*Bruno Bauer* is much more consistent, when he pronounces this account an invention, in common with all the rest. We will not deny him the gratification to “tear up the rags of theology, and throw them at its professors.” We simply content ourselves with referring to the ex-

planation which we have given above. John the Baptist had no doubt about the *person* of Jesus; but His manner of working, the absence of such a decided preaching of repentance as would draw a line, in a strictly methodical, Old Testament form, between converted and unconverted, seemed to him to threaten to overthrow what he had already built. And this, as we have said, must have appeared to him the more surprising, because of the certainty which he felt that Jesus was really "the Coming One." And the *answer of Jesus* is in perfect harmony with this. He speaks of John as an able and divinely appointed minister of the *Old Testament*, but unable to comprehend the *New*.

2. *De Wette* has given an interpretation of the much canvassed verse, Matt. xi. 12, as correct as it is simple. And *Weisse* has pointed out the real connection with what goes before. Gfrörer, indeed, thinks that a contemporary of John the Baptist could no more say, "from the days of John the Baptist," than Castor could have said, "from the days of Pollux until now the sons of Leda live and die alternately:" he therefore infers that the verse was interpolated by a later hand, and treats of the revolutions which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. But one need be neither a Castor nor a Pollux to see that "the days of a man" may denote, not the period of his life, but also the period of his labour. For instance, we might speak even now of "the time of Guizot," meaning the period of his *influence*, though he is still alive. And Jesus could also speak of the time then gone by, when John baptized at the Jordan, and the people flocked out to him, as "the days of John the Baptist."

3. The question is a very unimportant one, whether the words, "Woe unto thee, Chorazin," etc., were spoken after the return of the seventy (Luke), or after the visit of John's disciples (Matthew), or on both occasions. According to Strauss, such a saying would be more fitting at the close of the ministry of Jesus than so early as this. But it is not to be supposed that these cities were at first believing, and afterwards fell away: on the contrary, their subsequent unbelief presupposes unbelief from the very first; and therefore Jesus had already ground enough for such an exclamation. He may, however, very probably have uttered it more than once; for as the cause of the feelings which dictated it remained unchanged, why should not the feelings themselves have frequently found an utterance? But as Matthew, in chaps. x. and xi., classes everything together that had reference to the disciples, it is *equally possible* that he has placed words here which were really uttered when the seventy returned. Lastly, it is also possible that Luke, who cared so little for chronological order, may have inserted them freely and incidentally.

B. Bauer is surprised that we hear nothing of the unbelief of Capernaum. But he has heard of the hostility of the whole pharisaic portion of the community, and therefore of all the higher classes. And was the mere fact of crowds following Jesus with sick persons, and a poor man now and then joining Him with all his heart, all the thanks that His nation owed Him?—The words contained in Matt. xi. 25–27 are given by Luke in their proper position, after the return of the seventy. But Matthew cannot be said to assign them any position. He merely attaches them loosely, at the close of the section relating to the disciples.

CHAPTER V.

TWO JOURNEYS TO JERUSALEM.

§ 63.

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES IN THE THIRD YEAR. THE SICK MAN AT THE POOL OF BETHESDA.

JOHN v.

WHEN the feast of Tabernacles drew near, Jesus went to Jerusalem. Near the Sheep Gate there was a pool, called Bethesda, surrounded by five halls, in which sick persons of every description remained, waiting for the intermittent bubbling up of the spring, when the first who went in was cured. One Sabbath, Jesus saw among others a sick man, who had been ill (lame) for thirty-eight years; and hearing how long his disease had continued, He asked him whether he wished to be made whole. The man replied, that he had no one to put him into the water when the bubbling took place; and before he could step in, another had gone before him. Jesus then said to him, “Arise, take up thy bed, and walk.” And immediately he was made whole.—When the Jews reproved the man for carrying his bed on the Sabbath, he referred to the command of the Man who had cured him. The Jews inquired who it was. But the man did not know His name; and as Jesus in the meantime was lost among the crowd, he was unable to point Him out to his questioners. After a time, however, when Jesus sought him out again, to warn him to sin no more, and the man had therefore had an opportunity of finding out His name, he told the Jews that it was Jesus. (This occurrence, as John (ver. 16) remarks, led the Jews, who no doubt retained their earlier recollections of

Jesus, and had heard of His works in Galilee, which caused them to regard Him as increasingly dangerous, to entertain for the first time the idea, which they never gave up again, of putting Him to death.) When the Jews charged Jesus with breaking the Sabbath, that they might make this the basis of an accusation, He appealed to the fact that His working was uninterrupted, on the same ground and with the same justice as that of God, His Father: it was an outpouring of life and blessing, not an act of labour. (These words of Jesus concerning His own person furnished the Jews with a new motive for their hatred, and also a fresh ground of justification for such a feeling.) Jesus then proceeded (vers. 19–29) to explain His *relation to the Father*, which rested upon equality of will (vers. 19, 20) and power to communicate life (ver. 21); and warned them (vers. 22 sqq.) to escape, through the Son, from the judgment that was impending; for, since through Him alone the Father imparted life, He also possessed the power of the *κρίσις* (of withholding *eternal* life) with regard to those who would not accept *spiritual* life at His hands; and He would one day waken all the dead, and execute (a distinct) judgment upon them all (vers. 27–29).—Having thus repeatedly, emphatically, and elaborately, explained to them that He *was* the Son of God, He acknowledged the necessity of *proving* this assertion (ver. 31); and first of all, He appealed to *John the Baptist*, whose testimony was ordained by God, not indeed *on His own account*, as if He could receive honour and dignity from man, but *on their account*, that they might have no uncertainty as to the person of the Messiah, but that believing they might be saved (ver. 34).—But as they had not continued to accept the testimony of John, He appealed still further to *His own works*, which the Father did through Him (ver. 36). Yet they would neither receive the testimony of the Father (ver. 37), nor that of the divine word of prophecy (vers. 37–40). Jesus then passed on to words of reproof, and pointed to their evil, selfish will as the source of their obduracy (vers. 41–47). They were hunting for honour one of another, and would believe a man who acted like themselves. But He neither sought nor needed human glory (ver. 42); He only sought that the Father should be honoured (ver. 44). Through *selfishness of will* they were hardened against Him; but they sinned thereby not against Him alone, but against Moses also (vers. 46, 47). The words of Moses testified against them through unbelief in Him, they transgressed the law of Moses. It was a heart hardened against the *law* which was the ground of their unbelief in *His Person*.

1. The fact that the *pool of Bethesda* is not mentioned by Josephus

is brought forward as a serious objection to this account. But it is a mistake to suppose that Josephus wrote a statistical account of Palestine, or a catalogue of the mineral baths. On the probable situation of the pool, see *W. Krafft, Topographie Jerusalem's*.—A more important question has respect to the genuineness of ver. 4. The words ἐκδεχομένων . . κίνησιν (ver. 3) are wanting in A and L; the fourth verse is wanting in D, *Arm.*, and many other MSS.; and both are wanting in B, C, and Sahid. It is only in the Vulgate, and in *Cyr., Tert., Ambr., Chrys., Theophylact*, and *Euth.* that we find the passage complete according to our present reading.—Now, *De Wette* observes at the outset, and with perfect justice, that *something* must necessarily have stood between ξηρῶν and ἦν δὲ. For otherwise ver. 7 would be unintelligible. But the whole is perfectly intelligible if we retain the last clause in ver. 3, which is only wanting in two MSS. For, if the sick persons waited for “the moving of the water,” it follows as a matter of course, first, that the water bubbled up only at intervals; and secondly, that when the time was past, it ceased to be effectual (otherwise there would have been no necessity to wait for it), and consequently that all depended upon being early and among the first in the water.

The *origin of ver. 4* may be explained in this way in a perfectly simple manner. Ver. 4 is an explanation of what is already stated in ver. 3, together with the additional reference to the angel which moved the water. We can easily understand how such an explanation should have been first of all written as a gloss, and then have crept into the text. On the other hand, we cannot see how, if ver. 4 were genuine, it could have been omitted from so many MSS.—*Bruno Bauer* pretends to explain it. As it is “chiefly by Alexandrian authorities” that ver. 4 is omitted (do D and the Sahidic and Armenian versions belong to the “Alexandrian testimonies?”), it was “quite in accordance with the nature of the ground on which they stood, that they should seek to preserve the portrait of the Christian logician (he means John) perfectly pure, and therefore omit this material trait.” Unfortunately he has forgotten a few trifling circumstances; viz., 1. that the school of Origen, when it met with things which appeared too material, was accustomed to escape from the difficulty by means of *allegorical interpretation*, not à la Marcion, by *corrupting the text*; and 2. that the school of Origen, and the monophysite, monastic church of Alexandria, in which the readings of B and C were current, were two totally different schools.¹

¹ Consequently, *De Wette* says most justly, and in direct opposition to B. B., “The testimony of the Alexandrian MSS. is confirmed by the improbability of a

We have most conclusive grounds, then, *for the omission of ver. 4.* And what do we gain? We get rid of the remarkable and perfectly unbiblical appearance of an angel, who does not come on some single occasion, but performs periodical labours. We see now in Bethesda an ordinary, intermittent spring, impregnated with some peculiar gas, which brought certain forms of blindness, deafness, and lameness to a rapid crisis, and effected a cure.¹ It is true, Strauss declares that such a "moving of the waters" as this even is "fabulous." We advise him to examine more closely the spring in *Frouzanches*, near *Nismes*. A very fine specimen of an intermittent spring I have myself seen in Canton Zürich, between Pfäffikon and Bauma, as you descend into the Tössthal.

2. The question, why Jesus cured this man in particular among so many others, *Gjöröer* answers by saying, that Jesus would no doubt have His own reasons for doing so. But what were the reasons? In our opinion, either it must be maintained that Jesus would necessarily cure *all* the sick; or, if He would not of necessity do this, the question may very properly be met by another, viz., why should Jesus *not* have cured this man, but some one else instead of him? Now, the fact that these sick persons had in the spring itself a corporeal and natural remedy ready at hand, would be a sufficient reason for His not curing the whole; and the fact that, according to ver. 7, this man was really the most helpless of all—so helpless, indeed, that he had not the slightest hope of being cured by the spring—was a sufficient reason why he alone should be cured.

According to *Weisse*, it was contrary to Jesus' custom to put the first question to a man. But we have already observed that Jesus had no customs. That the sick in Galilee who knew Jesus should ask Him to heal them, was as natural as it was impossible that the man at Bethesda, who *did not know Jesus*, and whose hopes were directed rather to the spring, should ever think of doing so.—"There was no reasonable ground," we are told, "why Jesus should *hide Himself*." But it is only *Lücke* who says He *hid Himself*." In the text we find simply ἐξένευσεν, *deflexerat*. While the Jews were speaking to the passage having been omitted, which so thoroughly coincided with their love of wonders."

¹ It is not stated in the text that the cure was effected *immediately*. The process, in all probability, had to be repeated; and therefore we find a kind of hospital referred to, which gave rise to the name בית חסדא.—The fact that no such fountain was to be discovered in Jerusalem at a later period is easily explained. It may have been filled up with rubbish at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. But for the fact that there were and still are intermittent springs in Jerusalem, *vid. Kraft*, Topographie (also *Robinson*, Bibl. Researches).

sick man, Jesus had gone on farther, and the latter had therefore lost sight of Him.

3. As to Christ's defence against the charge of Sabbath-breaking, John and the Synoptists are said to differ, since the latter represent Jesus as appealing to David's eating the shew-bread, and to the case of an animal that had fallen into a pit; whereas here He is described as appealing to the "metaphysical" proof, from the uninterrupted manner in which God carries on His works of mercy.—But surely Jesus would not always use the same argument. Even in the Synoptists, indeed, He borrows His arguments from *history* at one time, and *everyday life* at another. And in John (vii. 23) we also find an argument from the latter. It is unmeaning, therefore, to talk of a difference in this respect between John and the Synoptists.

In ver. 17 the Evangelist evidently gives the substance of what Jesus said in a condensed form. There is no ground, therefore, for the remark, that Jesus passes abruptly from the question of the Sabbath to that of His own person. Moreover, the occasion is distinctly stated in ver. 18 to have been the offence given by the expression "My Father," which occurs in the verse before.

According to *Baur*, it is "perfectly inconceivable that *so excited a crowd* should have been disposed to listen to so long an address as we have in vers. 19–47." To this we reply, (*a*) that ver. 18, like ver. 16, is a parenthetical remark, in which John informs us that it was the miracle described in vers. 1–15, and the teaching of Jesus with reference to vers. 17 and 19 sqq., which was the first cause of the hatred of the unbelieving Jews assuming a definite form. There is nothing in ver. 18 about a *sudden resolution* to put Jesus to death at once; it simply explains the origin and motive of a *perpetual desire*. Hence the emphasis with which *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο* is repeated: "And *this* was the cause of the persecuting spirit which was manifested henceforward by the Jews."—"And *this* only tended to increase it all the more." We do not find any such difficulty, therefore, as that, according to John, the Jews formed a *sudden resolution* to put Jesus to a violent death, but suspended it of their own accord, that they might listen to His address.—Again (*b*), the ἀπεκρίνατο in ver. 19 is a recapitulation of the ἀπεκρίνατο in ver. 17; the whole verse, in fact, takes up the thought which was interrupted by the remark in ver. 18. But the ἀπεκρίνατο in ver. 17 is not a reply to a resolution mentioned immediately before in ver. 16. Whenever the expression "He answered" is to be taken in the literal sense, as a reply to a question, John uses ἀπεκρίθη (chap. i. 26, 49, 50; iii. 3, 5, 9, 27; iv. 10, 13, 17; v. 7, 11, vi. 7, 26, 29, 43, 68; vii. 16, 20, 21, 46, 52; viii. 14, 33, 34, 39, 48;

49, 54; ix. 3, 11, 20, 25, 27, 30, 34, 36; x. 25; xi. 9; xii. 20, 34; xiii. 7; xiv. 23; xvi. 31; xviii. 5, 8, 23, 30, 34, 35, etc.), or occasionally ἀποκρίνεται (chap. xiii. 26, 38). And where it directly meets a distinct act (chap. ii. 18), or a sudden murderous attack (chap. x. 32, 33), then also ἀπεκρίθη is used. But ἀπεκρίνατο is employed by John when a discourse of Jesus is not attached directly and closely as an answer to a question or a sudden act, but contains or involves a solution of some particular problem (*e.g.*, chap. xii. 23 and the passage before us). In vers. 17 and 19, therefore, we find not a reply to a *sudden resolution*, but a train of thought, directed against a *constant disposition*, which first assumed a distinct form on this particular occasion (vers. 16 and 18). But even if this were not the case, even if the word ἀπεκρίθη had been used, and the words commencing at ver. 19 had been directed against a sudden resolution, there would be nothing unnatural in the affair. The Jews, whose hatred was already excited, and who were sure of their purpose, listened to hear what more Jesus would say, in the hope that they might find some new and better ground to justify their intentions. But the words of Jesus, more especially the appeal to the Baptist, gave the whole affair another turn. The followers of Jesus among the crowd gained thereby a moral superiority to the rest. His enemies hesitated, and postponed for a time the execution of their designs. Is it not common enough for such a turn as this to take place in all kinds of tumults:—The person assailed is allowed to speak, in the hope that he may furnish some new point of attack; but as he speaks, their hopes are frustrated through his presence of mind and moral superiority; and as they listen, their momentary passions cool? And thus, even if vers. 16 and 18 did refer to a sudden resolution, there would be something perfectly natural in the whole affair.

§ 64.

MISSION AND RETURN OF THE TWELVE DISCIPLES. DEATH OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

MARK VI. 7-29; MATT. x. 1-42, XIV. 1-12; LUKE IX. 1-9,
III. 19, 20.

On His return to Galilee, Jesus, pitying the mass of spiritually destitute people (Matt. ix. 37, 38), sent out the twelve disciples to travel about, healing, raising the dead, and announcing the coming of the kingdom of God (Matt. x. 7, 8). He laid down *very precise rules* for their guidance. Their object was not to be gain (Matt. x. 8); nor

were they to make their own bodily necessities their care (vers. 9, 10). They were to salute every house with the greeting of peace. If their message was accepted, they were to remain there; if not, they were to travel hastily and resolutely forward, and a curse would fall upon such a city (Matt. x. 11-15).—Jesus then told them of the difficulties, and also of the promises and blessings, of the *disciples' vocation generally*. They were sent, as it were among wolves, into a world of determined opposition and many a persecution (vers. 16-18); but the Spirit of God would direct their words (vers. 19, 20). A conflict would arise which would run through all the relations of life, and hatred would fall upon them. But they were to continue faithful, and when not accepted in one city, to flee into another; and not to be surprised that they could not hope to convert the nation of Israel, as a whole, before His return (vers. 21-24). Persecution and rejection would be His own lot; but they were not to be alarmed, for the light would force its own way and burst forth of itself, and only their bodies could be killed (vers. 25-28). Besides, even with regard to the body, they were under the superintending providence of the Father; and eternal blessedness would be the final reward of faithful confessors (vers. 29-33).—Jesus then added a few verses more with reference to the ferment which He might be expected to produce, and told them that the one thing needful was to love the Lord and His word even more than father and mother; but that every kindness shown to the despised disciples for the sake of their message would be regarded by God as a kindness shown to Christ Himself.—The disciples then set out. And Herod, who had been persuaded by his wife in the meantime (about the Passover of the year 32) to execute John the Baptist (Mark vi. 16, 17 sqq.; Matt. xiv. 3 sqq.), was alarmed when he heard of Jesus; for some thought that He was John the Baptist risen again; some, that He was a prophet; others, that He was *the* prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15 (by whom, however, according to John vi. 14 and Matt. xvi. 14, the people understood, not the Messiah Himself, but probably Jeremiah); others, again, that He was Elias; whilst the absence of Jesus from Galilee necessarily favoured the mystery connected with these reports. The disciples who had remained faithful to John the Baptist, and had buried their master, came to Jesus as soon as they heard of His return from Galilee, and told Him all that had occurred. And when the disciples of Jesus returned, and reported the result of their journey, Jesus went with them into the desert.

1. The fact that Matthew adopts to so great an extent a system of classification according to topics, renders it very difficult to answer

the question (a very unimportant one), whether the words contained in Matt. ix. 37, 38 were spoken on this occasion, or as Luke arranges them, in connection with the mission of the seventy.—For the same reason, it might be difficult to determine whether the whole passage in Matt. x. 16–42, which contains, not directions for the journey they were then about to take, but remarks as to the *vocation of disciples in general*, and a considerable portion of which (vers. 26–35) is given by Luke in a totally different connection, may not be appended by Matthew to the parting commission merely on account of the *kindred topic* to which it refers. It certainly cannot be affirmed that there is anything in the nature of the passage to prevent its being repeated; and why should not Jesus have spoken more than once, and more than once in the same form, on subjects of such importance, and lying so close at hand? The *retrograde movement in the train of thought* (e.g., ver. 34 compared with ver. 21), of which we have already met with an illustration in the Sermon on the Mount, is also rather unfavourable than otherwise to the idea of a compilation by Matthew. For a writer who placed different fragments side by side, without regard to chronological order, would certainly *arrange* them; but in ordinary life, in the freedom of actual conversation, movement backwards and forwards is a very common thing. At the same time, it is impossible to *overthrow* the assertion, that “these words were spoken on only one occasion, viz., that mentioned in Luke xii., and were simply inserted here by Matthew on account of the subject to which they allude.”—With regard to the few sayings (Matt. x. 12, 13, 15, 16) which are repeated in connection with the mission of the seventy, we shall notice them when treating of that mission.

2. The small difference, that according to Matthew and Luke the staff is placed among the things which they were *not* to take with them, whereas Mark says they were to take “the staff only,” has been correctly explained by *Strauss* himself. The *thought* is the same. The *ῥάβδος* formed the *limit* of the things to be taken. They were not to encumber themselves with anything unnecessary; which can be expressed either by “not even a staff,” or, “at most only a staff.” The Evangelists remembered that Jesus had spoken of the staff, and employed the two expressions to embody the same thought. For if we suppose that Jesus said *בִּי אֵם מִטָּה*, either interpretation might justly be supplied, “for if ye have a staff, even that is superfluous,” or “that is quite sufficient.”

The only appearance of a discrepancy in the accounts relative to Herod and John the Baptist, lies between Matt. xiv. 5, “And when he would have put him to death, he feared the multitude;” and Mark

vi. 20, "For Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man, and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly." But this discrepancy is nothing but an *appearance*. For, in the first place, Matthew places the statement, "he would have put him to death," in immediate connection with the reproof administered by John respecting Herodias, and with his arrest; whereas Mark is speaking of what occurred between the arrest and his execution. When John openly opposed Herod's marriage, the tyrant became furious, and would gladly have put him to death at that time, had he not been induced by his fear of the people to content himself with an imprisonment. But when he came to know John more intimately, and the first heat had cooled down, the weak-minded monarch, without character as he was, was constrained to regard the holy man with a certain amount of reverential awe.—And *secondly*, the possibility of what Mark has stated (vi. 20), may be psychologically inferred from the character of Antipas. He was not without susceptibility. At times he gave himself up to good impressions, looked up to John, listened to him with pleasure, and even carried out some of his instructions; but at other times his own sinful lust and worldliness, and the seductions of Herodias, gained a complete mastery over him again.

§ 65.

THE FIVE THOUSAND FED. JESUS WALKS UPON THE SEA. DISCOURSE ABOUT THE BREAD OF LIFE.

MATT. XIV. 13-36; MARK VI. 30-56; LUKE IX. 10-17; JOHN VI.

Regard to the danger which threatened on the part of Herod, induced Jesus to go with His disciples across the lake into a desert region of Peræa (near to Bethsaida Julias, Luke ix. 10, *vid.* § 75, 1). But many of the Galileans, who had seen them depart, went by land (around the lake), bringing sick persons to Him, and listened to His preaching of the kingdom of God. It was getting late; and when Jesus saw the constantly increasing crowd of Galileans from the other side, who could not possibly have told that they would find Jesus in a desert, but had rather expected to find Him in a town, and therefore had not provided themselves with food; and when He observed how they were all pressing around Him, literally enchained by His words; He said to Philip (who was probably standing close by His side), "Where shall we buy bread, that they may eat?" He asked this for the purpose of testing whether he believed that the Son of God possessed unlimited

power to help. But Philip calculated with human cautiousness that two hundred denaria-worth of bread would not be sufficient; and now the rest of the disciples, whether they had thought of it themselves, or Philip had called their attention to the fact, reminded Jesus that it was time to send the crowd away. But Jesus told them to give the people something to eat. Andrew, who like all the rest had no expectation of a miracle, pointed to a boy who had five loaves and two small fishes with him; "but," he said, "what are they among so many?" For there were five thousand men, besides women and children. Jesus then directed that they should be arranged in companies of fifty each, took the loaves and fishes, and, looking up towards heaven, pronounced a blessing upon them, and then brake and gave them to the disciples, who distributed them among the people. They were all satisfied; and there remained twelve baskets full of fragments, which Jesus ordered to be gathered up, that nothing should be lost. The people, in their enthusiasm, then wanted to take the man who could do such things as these, and whom they regarded as "the Prophet," and to make Him a king. But Jesus told His disciples to get as quickly as possible into the ship, and cross to the western shore; and then withdrew Himself from the people to the top of the mountain range, and remained there till night.—When it got dark, and the ship was in the middle of the lake, there arose a furious tempest, which so impeded their passage, that at the fourth watch of the night they had not gone more than thirty stadia (from the shore). Jesus then walked across the sea, and acted as if He did not see them, and was about to pass them by. When they first saw Him, they thought it was a ghost, and cried out in alarm. But He said to them, "It is I, be not afraid." Then Peter, fired with the courage his faith inspired, called out, "If it be Thou, bid me come to Thee upon the water." And when Jesus did so, he stepped immediately out of the ship. But as soon as he saw the high waves around him, his courage fell, and immediately he began to sink, and called out, "Lord, save me." Jesus then took him by the hand, reproving his little faith; and they entered into the ship. The disciples had now lost their fear, and they joyfully received Him, and fell down at His feet. The wind stopped at the same time, and they were at the land immediately.—The people that had been left behind knew that the ship in which the disciples went away was the only one there, and that Jesus did *not* return to Galilee in that ship; and being unable the next morning to find Jesus, they concluded that He must have returned by land. They took possession of some ships, therefore, which had come over in the meantime from Tiberias, and crossed the lake; and when they found Jesus already there (and in the

synagogue)—a thing which would have been impossible in the time if He had gone all the way round—they asked Him how He had crossed. But Jesus told them that the miracle which had been wrought was valued by them, and led them to follow Him, simply because they would like a king who could satisfy their bodily wants, and not because they had discovered in it the proofs of His divinity. It was necessary, however, that they should be led through His miracles to His nature and work. They ought to endeavour to procure, not bodily food, but “food to eternal life,”—food that should satisfy, not the hunger of the body, but the wants of a soul in need of eternal redemption,—the food, therefore, with which the Son, whom the Father had sealed (had shown by these physical miracles to be able to do it), was ready to supply them. They asked Him what they must do to perform the necessary work to obtain such a gift from God. Jesus said they must believe on Him. But they, desirous only to see *the eternal food of which Jesus Himself had spoken, and which was to be even better than the material bread of which they had eaten the day before*, asked Him to give them first of all this bread of heaven, and then they would believe, imagining that it must be a kind of bread resembling the manna which Moses had given. Jesus told them that the relation between the bread to which He referred and the manna, was that between the *genuine* bread of heaven and bread that was merely typical. The bread of which He spoke was “He which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world.” With all the greater eagerness they ask to see this bread, and want to know more about it. The Lord then explains that it is *He Himself*: *He* satisfies the eternal hunger, the need of everlasting life.

But to prepare His hearers for belief and life in Him, it was necessary that He should first of all produce a *sense of need*, the knowledge of their sin. He therefore reproves their unbelief (ver. 36), and tells them that those only whom the Father gave Him (those whom He prepared by the law) would come to Him; that He Himself did the Father’s will; and that this was the Father’s will, that He should rescue the lost, and raise them up at the last day.—This was enough to lead the Jews to consider whether they also did the Father’s will,—whether, in fact, they acknowledged that it was the Father’s will that they should suffer Christ to *rescue* them. But instead of that, they murmured that the son of Joseph should maintain that he had come down from heaven. Jesus made no other reply to this, than that no one whom the Father did not draw (by means of the law and through the Holy Spirit) would come to the Son, and that no one could come to a living knowledge of the Father excepting

through the Son. He then repeated once more (vers. 47 sqq.) that a believing submission to *the Son*, whom the Father had sent to satisfy the need of redemption that existed in the world, was the only way by which eternal life could be obtained. He was the Bread of life (the vital power, the preserver of life). He was the giver of life just because He came from heaven and went down into the kingdom of death, submitting even to death itself.—Now, even if the Jews could not really fathom the full meaning of this discourse, which contains the kernel, the complete essence of Christianity; so much at all events was perfectly intelligible, that it was necessary to recognise Christ as having “come down from heaven,” and to long for Him as the bread of life. And what was obscure in the discourse was fully adapted to distinguish those who truly loved the nature of Christ, and *humbly* held fast by what they understood, from those who took offence simply because they were estranged from Him in heart and mind. And as the work of Christ proceeded, it became necessary that, after having *gathered together* in the general way which gave such offence to John the Baptist, viz., without demanding from each individual a definite act of conversion, and thus outwardly separating those who believed from those who were unbelieving, He should at length begin to *sift*.—Hence, when such of the Jews as were estranged from Him in their *hearts* contended with the rest about Jesus’ words, He repeated them once more (vers. 53–59). In ver. 27, He speaks in a general way of the contrast between bodily hunger and spiritual need, and between material bread and the satisfaction of this spiritual want. In vers. 32, 33, He says that *He* is the Bread of souls come down from heaven, *the Redeemer*; and that men must *believe* on Him (vers. 30 sqq.). In ver. 51, He says that *through His death* He gives life to the world; and therefore, that it is necessary to believe in *His death*. In ver. 56, He adds, that whoever believes in His death, enters thereby and at once into *fellowship of life* with Him.—Many even of those who had hitherto been followers of Jesus, and had closely adhered to Him, were now driven to manifest their inward alienation (the want of a *humble, unconditional* submission to the divine nature in Jesus which they both recognised and *loved*) by calling His saying hard, or unintelligible (ver. 60). The Lord then told them that they would one day see Him ascend up to heaven (in this way He taught their proud *will* to be *humble*); and further, that His words were to be understood spiritually (not with the ordinary action of eating with the mouth; but, with the spirit of love to Christ, they were to be understood as denoting an eternal, absolute union with Christ beyond the limits of time and space). He then once more reproved their un-

belief ; and repeated, that only by the Father could any man be drawn to the Son.—The result was, that those who were inwardly estranged now formally separated themselves from Jesus. Peter, on the contrary, in the name of the twelve, acknowledged firmly and openly, that they had *found* Christ to be the source of eternal life—had discerned in Him the *Son of God* : “ Lord, to whom shall we go ? ” and thus pointed to the inward necessity which constrained them to remain with Jesus.—But at this very moment, in which the apparent belief of so many had been proved to be mere pretence, and in which it had been clearly shown how long belief and unbelief can go hand in hand before they separate, Jesus sought to guard all the disciples against security ; and, above all, to administer a faithful warning to the man in whom another form of unbelief was also hiding itself beneath the cloak of faith—in whom, that is to say, sinful passion was already contending against the admission of the divine nature in Jesus, and destroying within his heart the desire of remaining with Him. Jesus predicted, even now, that one of the twelve would betray Him.

1. These narratives can only be understood in their connection with one another, and with the general course of the work of Christ. In this connection they are perfectly clear. Taking each by itself, there does not appear to be a sufficient motive for the miracle of the loaves in the unimportant necessities of the five thousand ; and it would be impossible to discover the “ object ” of the walking upon the sea. But if we suppose the intention of Jesus to have been to *sift* the indiscriminate mass of His followers, the whole is obvious enough. It was now to be decided who had been brought so to love Christ with *heart* and *mind*, as to *follow Him unconditionally* from inward necessity, and submit to Him with true *humility* ; to how many Christ, and devotion to Christ, had become the deepest *certainty*, which no circumstance in life, no doubts, no obscurity, could ever overthrow ; who they were to whom it had become the very kernel of their own existence to belong to Christ.—In the feeding, Christ had exhibited not so much a single act of beneficence, as His own *divinity* : *now*, therefore, in the synagogue He could demand *unconditional adherence* ; *now* he could prove who they were who had seen nothing more in the feeding than the *material benefit*, and who had discerned the *manifestation of His deity*.—Thus, too, Christ manifested Himself in a peculiar manner to the disciples by walking upon the sea, and most especially to Peter, who required, above all, to be taught the necessity of a *believing heart*. Here, therefore, we have two miracles which

had no subordinate object, but in which the *design of the miracle in itself* is clearly brought to view. Had the eternal Son of God entered as man within the limits of time, it was necessary not only that the *Divine Spirit* should be manifest in the holiness of His moral nature; but also, as such a fact was unique and unparalleled, that it should be clearly demonstrated that *He alone* was the Son of God, by the manifestation of the attributes of God in the form of *miracle*, as exercising *dominion over nature*. The latter formed the connecting link for faith; and the necessity for miracles is pointed out in the Gospels (John ii. 23, vii. 31, x. 41), and even referred to by Christ Himself. They were not to *stay there*, however; but the certainty that in the *person* of Jesus they discerned the Son of God, was to lead them on to attachment to His person, to the contemplation of His *nature*, and to the love of both united, as the highest, the absolute *Thesaurus* (John iv. 48; Mark viii. 6, etc.). In this section we have examples of both. In the miracles, Christ affords *certainty concerning His person*; and thus leads, in the discourse which follows, to an inquiry as to the *feelings* of His hearers *with regard to His essential being*.

2. We will now turn to the *miracle of the loaves*. It was certainly not an "accelerated process of nature," as *Olshausen* supposes. In our opinion, it was a *creative act*. *Strauss* affirms, that he cannot in any way "picture" the process to himself: whether Jesus broke each loaf into a thousand pieces, and gave them to the disciples, or how it was accomplished. But the view which we obtain from the Evangelists is clearly this, that Jesus continued without intermission breaking from the loaves; and what had been broken off was immediately supplied again. If the event occurred as we have represented it, it is easy to conceive how the Synoptists could say, generally, that the disciples had directed the attention of Jesus to the necessity of letting the people away to get food, whilst John more accurately relates the beginning of the conversation. In John (ver. 5) we read that Jesus addressed the question to Philip when He "saw a great company come;" which implies, in B. Bauer's opinion, that they had come merely for the purpose of being fed. But John has guarded against such an inference, by stating in ver. 2, that they had come that the sick might be healed. And when he proceeds in ver. 3 to state that Jesus ascended the mountain, and sat down with His disciples, he shows clearly enough that this occurred after the cures had been effected, and therefore not immediately after the arrival of the people. But when Jesus had continued ascending higher and higher, and at length sat down and taught the people quietly, and the crowd, instead of dispersing, rather increased in number; then it was that Jesus put

the question. The fact, that the ἔρχεσθαι of the crowd was a *gradual* thing, Bauer has entirely overlooked. He evidently imagines them marching up like a regiment at one particular moment.

3. The difficulties said to be connected with the *walking upon the sea*, we should, no doubt, escape directly, if we could bring our minds, as Gfrörer does, to go back to Paulus' explanation, and in connection with the φάντασμα to think of "the steaming mist which rises in the early morning from a lake, and causes bodies to look two or three times larger than they really are." Our experience of a mist has been, that unless an object was very close, it was impossible to see it at all.—We hope, however, to be able to reach a safe conclusion without the crutches which Gfrörer offers. The difference pointed out by *De Wette*, that, according to Mark vi. 46, Jesus directs the disciples to sail to Bethsaida, and according to John vi. 17, they steer towards Capernaum, vanishes, when we bear in mind that the two places were close together, and, beside that, are merely named to indicate that point of the western shore (τὸ πέραν, Matt.) towards which the disciples were to sail. The objection is perfectly absurd, that, according to the Synoptists, Jesus appeared to the disciples in the middle of the lake; whereas John says they were 30 stadia from the eastern shore, and therefore three-quarters of the way across, since the lake was only 40 stadia broad. For, first of all, we do not know whether the place at which the miracle occurred was *exactly opposite* to Capernaum; and if it lay obliquely, the boat would have to traverse more than 40 stadia. But Bruno Bauer himself helps us to an explanation, when he says, "The disciples had started by daylight, and it was not till the next morning (the fourth watch of the night) that they arrived, and yet the lake was only two hours' passage in width!" We reserve three hours for the probability of the direction being oblique, and admit that, in *calm weather*, eight or nine hours is too long a time for so short a distance. But if we turn to Mark vi. 47, the whole becomes clear. When it *was dark*—that is to say, at the setting in of the night—the disciples were already in the *middle of the lake*, about an hour's passage from the starting point. It was then that the storm set in (Matthew and Mark); and, according to the distinct statement of the latter, they had to contend with the storm from "even" till the fourth watch (vers. 47, 48); and during these six or seven hours, had made so little progress, that when Jesus came to them in the fourth watch, they were only 25 or 30 stadia from the eastern shore, whereas in calm weather they would have reached the other side a long while before.

It is inconceivable, we are told, that Peter should have felt no fear at the time when he asked permission to come upon the water.

and yet should have been so terrified afterwards. But any child could explain, that a new thing done by others often excites a courageous desire to do the same; but when the attempt is made, the courage soon gives place to fear.

Once more: John is said to contradict the Synoptists, inasmuch as the latter represent Jesus as getting into the ship; whereas John (according to the objectors) says (ver. 21), "Now were they willing to receive Him into the ship, but (that was not necessary, since) the ship was forthwith at the land." But the *ἤθελον οὖν λαβεῖν* forms an antithesis to the *ἐφοβήθησαν*,—it implies a previous unwillingness, but *not that their present purpose was not carried out*. They were unwilling before; they were willing now, and accordingly received Him into the ship, and forthwith the ship was at the land whither they went.

4. Passing on to the *discourse* of Jesus (John vi.): the objection, that the five thousand could not have sailed in the few ships which happened to come over from Tiberias, may be easily disposed of, inasmuch as the *ὄχλοι* did not march to and fro in rank and file. They had come from towns situated at various distances, and therefore many of them may already have returned, without waiting for the rest. It was only those from Tiberias and Capernaum who were likely to make use of the boats. There is no need to repeat, that by the expression *ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ἐστηκώς* John simply alludes to one particular group that was standing *in a certain situation*, and is by no means speaking of the whole crowd of the day before; and that there is nothing to preclude the supposition, that many may have left during the time embraced in vers. 16–21, or to necessitate the conclusion, that the whole five thousand stood where they were, without stirring, until morning. He merely refers to that group which had spent the night there, and the next morning, therefore, might still be *standing* upon the shore.

So far as the subject-matter of the address of Jesus is concerned, the two most important difficulties pointed out are, (a) that in ver. 26 Jesus says they sought Him *not because they saw the miracles*; whereas, according to ver. 15, they wanted, *on account of the miracle*, to make Him a king;—(b) that the people, who had just seen the miracle of the loaves, should have been so shameless and impudent as again to ask for a miracle of feeding (vers. 30, 31), as if they had not seen one already.

The first of these objections has no force, unless, with *Bruno Bauer*, we regard the expressions, seeing the miracles, and eating of the loaves, as relating to "the antithesis between the totality of the miracle in all

its bearings, and the particular benefit which followed from the act of eating." But apart from the extremely abstract nature of such an antithesis, we ought at least to read τὸ σημεῖον instead of σημεῖα. The general expression σημεῖα ὁρᾶν can only refer to that which was common to all miracles, the one impression they were intended to produce. The people did not see signs, signs of the *divinity of Christ*, leading them to *faith*; they were merely attracted by the idea, that a man who had fed thousands would make a good king,—in other words, by the enjoyment which the feeding had afforded.—This is in perfect harmony with ver. 15.

The second objection is completely met by ver. 27. It was not altogether without a cause that this request was made for a sign resembling the gift of the manna (ver. 31). For Jesus Himself had pointed them, in ver. 27, away from the βρώσις ἡ ἀπολλυμένη, the "meat which perisheth," which He had already given them, and for the sake of which they were following Him now, to a heavenly food; and they conjectured that He must refer to something resembling the manna. They therefore followed up their *question, and petition*,¹ that Jesus would show them at once what food He could give them, with the remark, that Moses had given manna to their fathers. There is not the *slightest trace* of a doubt, much less of a charge, that Jesus could not do so much as Moses; it is rather an example of excited curiosity and hope pointing to a miracle resembling the manna.

§ 66.

JESUS AT THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES OF THE FOURTH YEAR.

(THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY.)

JOHN VII.—VIII.

When the feast of Tabernacles was near at hand, the brethren of Jesus, who did not believe on Him, gave Him the advice of carnal prudence, to go at once to Jerusalem, and collect by His miracles a band of followers there. Jesus told them that His time to work miracles and stir up *excitement* (i.e., *hated* as He was, the time to provoke His own *sufferings*) was not yet come. They could go to the feast; "He should *not yet* go up to this feast." He stayed behind, therefore, and went up afterwards, without any parade.—But in

¹ The *petition*, "Give us first of all the heavenly food, which Thou hast promised," is mixed up with the question, "what kind of food dost Thou mean?" The *request* is expressed in the fact, that before they believe, they desire to see what kind of miracle Jesus intends to work.

Jerusalem, the account brought by the Galileans, who were flocking thither, coincided with the accounts given by the inhabitants, of the healing of the sick man at the feast of Purim; and whilst the minds of men were occupied with thoughts about Jesus, very contradictory opinions were expressed about Him.

In the midst of the feast, Jesus went into the temple, and delivered a discourse on the Scriptures. And when the Jews expressed their astonishment that an uneducated man should be able to do this, Jesus told them that it was not His own, but His Father's wisdom that He was teaching; and if they would but first seek to *do* what He said, they would discover whether His teaching was really of God. He sought not His own honour, but His Father's, and did no wrong; but they, who were seeking His life, transgressed the commandment of Moses.—The mass of the people repudiated this charge; but Jesus reminded them of their conduct when the sick man at Bethesda was healed.

The people expressed their astonishment one to another, that the rulers permitted Jesus to speak so freely; and asked "whether perhaps they themselves had acknowledged Him." Others, again, replied that Jesus, whose origin they knew, could not be the Messiah. Jesus then cried out, "Ye know Me, and whence I come?! I am not a *man* come of himself; but He who hath sent Me is the God of truth, and Him ye do *not* know. But I know Him." Embittered by this, they laid plots to seize upon Jesus; but they durst not put them in execution: God did not permit it. As many of the people, however, who were assembled in Jerusalem, believed, because no more signs could be expected from the Messiah Himself than Jesus had already wrought, the Sanhedrim resolved to have Jesus apprehended, and gave orders to the attendants to do this on the first favourable opportunity.

In the meantime, Jesus continued to teach, and announced that He should soon return to Him who had sent Him. They would then seek Him, but not find Him,—words which the Jews neither understood, nor wished to understand.—On the last day of the feast Jesus stood in the temple, and with a loud voice invited all who thirsted to come to Him; He had the water of life; whoever believed in Him, to him He would give life, that he might himself become a fountain of life.—The discussions of the people respecting Jesus burst forth on this occasion with fresh vehemence; and now the time had come to carry out the command of the Sanhedrim. Some did step forward to seize upon Jesus; but their courage failed them, and the servants returned to the Sanhedrim without success, and excused themselves

on the ground of the exalted character of Jesus and His words. Enraged at this, the Pharisees taunted them: "Were they, the officers of the council, about to become the disciples of Jesus? did they not see that none but common people followed him?" Even the gentle reminder of Nicodemus, that they should not condemn Jesus unheard, was met by the sneer, "Was he also a Galilean? did he not know that no prophet came out of Galilee?"

In the evening they all went home, and Jesus retired to the Mount of Olives. The following morning He went into the temple again and taught. While He was there, the scribes and Pharisees came to Him with *a woman whom they had taken in adultery*. According to the Mosaic law, the sin of adultery was punishable with death; but so numerous were the cases of incest during the Herodian age, that the law was no longer carried out.¹ They wanted to lay a trap for Jesus; and therefore, reminding Him of the law of Moses, they asked Him whether they ought to carry out the law, and deliver her up to justice, or not. If Jesus had said "yes," His unwonted severity would have come into harsh collision with the laxity of the times; and if He had said "no," they would then have been able to charge Him with contempt of the law. But He replied, writing letters in the sand at the time, with a gesture of the greatest indifference, "He that is without sin, let him first cast a stone at her" (evidently pointing to the licentiousness of the whole nation, including the questioners themselves, as the reason why the law had been abrogated). The perplexity was now shifted to them; for they would be obliged either to admit they themselves were deserving of death, or to maintain that the Mosaic precept was no longer in force. They therefore began to slink away. Jesus then said to the woman, who was standing so fearfully put to shame in the presence of the Sinless One, that He, who *could* condemn her, *would not*, but she must sin no more.

Jesus then *continued teaching*. He called Himself the light of the world; and to the reproach of the Pharisees, that there was no other witness but Himself to speak in His favour, and therefore His testimony

¹ Compare ver. 7; the passages from *Josephus* quoted at p. 183; also the "Wars of the Jews," 4, 9, 10. "Simon was a greater terror to the people than the Romans themselves, and the Zealots were more burdensome than either; . . . their inclination to plunder was insatiable, as was their zeal in searching the houses of the rich; and for the murdering of the men and abusing of the women, it was sport to them. . . . They indulged themselves in wantonness till they were satiated therewith. . . . Thus did they roll themselves up and down the city, as in a brothel-house, and defiled it entirely with their impure actions." Such was the conduct of those who were zealous for the sanctuary of God. What a state of things does this presuppose?

was not true, He replied, His testimony was nevertheless true, but they were unable to understand it, namely, to discern His true divinity (the *πόθεν ἦλθον*). They judged after the flesh, not after the spirit. He, as they had just seen, judged no man, He took no pleasure in judging and condemning (an apt allusion to the occurrence which had just taken place); but when He judged, He judged truly, because in the mind of the Father.—Jesus then returned from His passing reproof—that they wished to judge Him, and yet brought only a carnal standard with them—to their reproach in ver. 13, and affirmed that the Father bore witness in His favour. He said this boldly and openly in the treasury of the temple; and they did not venture to lay hands upon Him. He then repeated that He should go away; and they, dying in their sins, would seek Him, and be unable to come to Him. The Jews concluded that He intended to escape from their power by suicide. But He reproved their carnal mind, which could not understand what took its origin from above, and said that the only way to salvation was to believe on Him. When they repeated the question, Who art thou? He simply replied by repeating the assertion, “He that hath sent Me is true.” (He did not want to put dogmas before their mind, but to draw them on to discover for themselves, with their own hearts, who He was, and by whom He had been sent.) When He should one day come to judgment, they would discover who He really was.

He then exhorted those who believed in Him to *continue* in His word: thus would they do the truth, and the truth would make them *free*. When some of them maintained that as the descendants of Abraham they were already free, and slaves to no man, Jesus reminded them that sin was bondage. If sold to it, they could not remain in the Father’s house, but must depart to their strange master. But the Son would make them free. Descent from Abraham was not sufficient of itself to free them from the bondage of sin; for they, the children of Abraham, wanted to put Him to death! Judging from their works (ver. 38), they had a very different father from Abraham. This He still further declared to those who proudly held up their descent from Abraham (vers. 39–41); and told them plainly that *they* were not of God, but of the devil (vers. 42–45), whilst *He* was without sin. And when they called Him a “Samaritan” and “possessed,” He said to them that He was not possessed, but honoured the Father, and therefore it was they hated Him. But He alone could redeem from death (vers. 48–51). When asked whether He pretended to be greater than Abraham, who not only was not a redeemer from death, but was himself dead; He replied, that it was not He who ascribed this *δόξα* to Himself, but the Father who had given it to Him. It was true, how-

ever, that He was greater than Abraham; yea, Abraham had rejoiced that he should see the day of His coming, and had been glad because of that day. The Jews asked how Abraham could know anything of Jesus. And when Jesus answered, "Before Abraham was, I am," they determined to stone Him as a fanatic. But Jesus hid Himself, and left the temple.

1. In chap. vii. 8, *B. Bauer* prefers the reading οὐκ to οὐπω; and *Bleek* has certainly shown on most conclusive evidence that the former, as being the more difficult, and attested by *D, K, Copt., Æth., Vulg., Epiphanius, Cyril, Augustine*, and others, and as being the only one known to *Jerome*, is the true reading. *B. B.* then founds upon this a charge of "Jesuitism;" and *Baur* invents the perfectly absurd explanation, that the Evangelist placed the true motive of the journey (to glorify Himself) in the mouth of Jesus' brethren, and did not attribute to Jesus Himself a directly affirmative reply, that they might preserve the appearance of independent action on His part!! The charge of *B. Bauer* is met in the most decisive manner by the simple and straightforward account in vers. 8-10. If Jesus refused the advice to go up to the feast with the caravan for the purpose of securing outward glory there, in the general terms, "I shall not visit this feast," the relation of these words as a reply to a special question contains in itself the special limitation. To the question, whether He was going up to the feast, *in the sense in which the questioners and every one else would understand the words*, Jesus might openly and truthfully answer "No," especially as they alone visited *the feast* in the strict sense of the term, who kept it according to the ritual throughout the entire week. And the Evangelist himself might very naturally and simply express this "No" in the words οὐκ ἀναβαίλω εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν ταύτην, as he has guarded against every conceivable mistake by vers. 9 and 10. Neither Jesus nor John can have had the intention to deceive. Jesus cannot have intended to mislead either His brethren or the people; for, after He had attained His object (to avoid a carnal glorification, which would be sure to change into a more speedy hatred) by coming to Jerusalem alone at a later period and in a more secret way, He did make a public appearance. John also cannot have intended to deceive his readers; for in ver. 10 he states distinctly that Jesus did afterwards go to Jerusalem.—There is not the slightest necessity, therefore, for *Bleek's* supposition, that at first Jesus really *did not intend* to go to the feast, but that He afterwards altered His mind. The impression which the seventh chapter makes upon my mind is *this*: Jesus knew better than His brethren, who were still

“unbelieving,”—*i.e.*, carnal believers only, still entangled by the hopes of a carnal Messiah,—that His way was not through astonishment, acclamation, and glory to a throne, but through hatred and suffering to a cross; provided, that is, that He should be faithful to His calling, by reproving and unmasking sin. On this occasion, therefore, He did not join with those who *went up to the feast*. To the *feast itself* He really did not go up; and thus He avoided this kind of “manifestation” to the world. It was not till the second half of the festal week that He went to Jerusalem, and suddenly came forward with His words of reproof. *Both of these* had from the very first formed part of His well-considered plan.—No reasonable man will regard Baur’s remarkable fiction as needing a reply.

2. The evident design of the Evangelist is to depict *in extenso* (chaps. vii. viii.) the fermentation among the people, the want of clearness in their views, the incapacity of Jesus’ own brethren for entering into His work, the growing hatred of the upper classes, and the divine dignity and excellence of Jesus, which (as in Galilee) did not resort to demonstration, but *required* acknowledgment and affiliation. He therefore, instead of giving lengthened discourses, just intimates briefly (chap. vii. 16 sqq.) of what Jesus spoke, and what furnished the occasion for the plots and discussions which followed.—The negative critics talk of “repetitions” and “want of thought.” But the question is not, whether these two chapters are “*fine*,” and please the critics; but, whether such contests do really occur in actual life. And there can be no doubt about this. Where the differences are in the principles themselves, the objections offered will be always the same; and therefore the replies must consist in just as constant a repetition of the principle. But what the negative critics object to is, that Jesus should address Himself not to the understanding of His hearers, but perpetually to their *will*. They are also surprised at the incomprehensible misapprehension on the part of the Jews (chap. vii. 35, viii. 22 and 28). But why? Are they so unacquainted with the disposition to *twist what does not please*? Or is this a modern discovery? O no! It is just what has always been done by those who did not *wish* to hear the truth.

Passing on from the general to *particulars*, when B. Bauer asks (on ver. 15) why the inhabitants of Jerusalem had not been amazed before this at the labours of Jesus as a teacher, he forgets that previous to this, Jesus had never attempted any public *teaching* in Jerusalem (any *διδάσκειν*, which seemed to require a *μεμαθηκέναι τὰ γράμματα*; any *formal* and not merely *accidental* address on a passage of Scripture, such as we find described in Luke iv. 14 sqq.).—On

ver. 23, *Weisse* observes that it is strange that the miracle at Bethesda should seem to be alluded to as the only one that had been performed in Jerusalem. Is he acquainted with any other? According to vers. 10–12, Jesus cannot have wrought any at this feast of Tabernacles; and He left Jerusalem as soon as He had finished His addresses at the former one (chap. v. 47).—*Bruno Bauer* also thinks it surprising that “a year and a half afterwards” (a year, he means) the sick man at Bethesda should still be remembered. But why? If a travelling preacher were to deliver a discourse in a place attended only by Rationalists, the abomination would be remembered for many a year, and the cry of “Fire” soon be raised if he were to show himself again; and such an act as healing on the Sabbath was more alarming even than a Gospel sermon. And in this case the recollection would be the more vivid, from the fact that it was *precisely a year before*, and on just the same *occasion*.—The question is asked, how John could know that some *wanted* to seize upon Jesus if they did not *carry it out*? As if they could not have gone up to Him, and even called out to one another, “Seize him.” To ver. 52 it has been objected, that there certainly did arise prophets out of Galilee. Who were they? The name “Galilee” does not stand for the ten tribes of the period before the captivity. *Galilee* is the antithesis to *Judæa*, the land of Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra. The *locality itself* could not with any propriety be described as unworthy to be honoured with prophets, but simply that *branch of the nation* which dwelt at the time of Jesus in the northern parts of Canaan, and whose distinct existence was as old as that of the name *Galilee*.

Let us now look at the conversation in chap. viii. It is said ver. 31 and ver. 44 suppose quite different hearers. That is very true; but John does not deny that. He describes Jesus as standing among the multitude; at ver. 31, he remarks that Jesus directed these words to those who, as He perceived, believed what was said before. But no one will understand this as if Jesus had singled out those who believed, and spoken to them alone, aside. But they—themselves, in the kind and degree of faith, doubtless very diverse—stood scattered among the rest. That the words, ver. 33, and especially vers. 39 and 41, did not proceed from persons who believed is so obvious, that John did not think it necessary to notice it expressly: “This time it was not the πιστεύοντες who spoke.”

3. The account of the woman taken in adultery I regard as a genuine production of the Evangelist, and am by no means conscious of the “frivolity” with which *Bleek* charges me. If we examine the *external evidence*, so far as the MSS. are concerned, B, T, and X are

the only *Majuscula* in which the section *is wanting*; in C and A *a few leaves* are lost (which certainly, according to a rough calculation, would not have furnished sufficient space for its insertion); L and Δ omit the section, but leave a *vacant space*, whether because the section did *not* stand in their originals, and it was the intention of the copyists to insert it from other sources (as *Hitzig* and *Bleek* suppose), or whether it did occur in their originals, and they had reasons or directions to omit it (which I think the more probable), admits of dispute. The *Majuscula*, D, K, G, H, M, U, all contain the account.—This was the state of the case at the time to which our *Majuscula* reach. Now, if we inquire into the critical testimony of the *first* four centuries, *Bleek*, indeed, assures us that “down to the middle of the fourth century the *pericope* was not recognised as John’s in any part of the Church;” but you look in vain for his proofs. The majority of the codices of the Peshito, and the daughter of the Peshito, the Persian version, contain the section; also the Coptic and Vulgate (not to mention the unimportant Armenian and Ethiopic). Beside this, *Jerome* (adv. Pelag. ii. 17) alludes to *many Greek and Latin MSS.* which contained the account, all of which were probably of greater value than our oldest *Majuscula*; and there are some *scholia* which appeal to ἀρχαία ἀντίγραφα in favour of the genuineness of the section. The fact that the pericope is noticed in the Apostolic Constitutions, and is *cited as John’s* by *Jerome*, *Augustine*, and *Chrysostom*, is a stronger testimony in its favour, than can possibly be found against it in the circumstance that *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and *Origen* happen never to allude to it. And though *Bleek* “cannot imagine it possible that fear, lest the leniency of the Redeemer towards the adulteress might be misinterpreted and abused by ignorant and frivolous persons, should have been sufficient to cause the whole of a genuine section of this Evangelist to be passed over in silence for several centuries” (the *difficulties* contained in the occurrence itself might certainly furnish occasion enough for its being referred to less frequently than other sections), “or to lead to its being omitted altogether from the text of the biblical MSS.” (that is not the case: only three MSS. ventured to ignore it altogether, others at least left a gap; two major and 44 minor mark it with obelisks or asterisks, and above 200 *Minuscula* contain it); it is still more inconceivable to the writer, that it should have occurred to any one to interpolate into the Gospel of John an account which for three centuries and a half “had not been received as John’s in any part of the Church,” and therefore cannot have existed in a single MS.; above all, in this particular place, where it appears to interrupt the connection!—In this *apparent interruption* of the connection, in the *diffi-*

culties which the deportment of Jesus appears to present, and which even to the present day render the pericope a *crux interpretum* to many, and in the *misuse* which either was actually made of the account, or to which any who were inclined to strict asceticism might fear that it would lead, we may certainly find reasons not only for the omission in certain MSS. of a genuine section of the Gospel of John, but also against the admission into the overwhelming majority of MSS. of a spurious section, which never was regarded as the production of John.

If we turn to the internal difficulties, which *Baur* assures us that we shall never be able to explain away, the three words ἐπορεύθη, ὄρθρου, and καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν, which call to mind the Synoptists, are evidently not enough to render it doubtful. There are many chapters of John in which it would be easy to find three words, which are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα to him. The only difficulty that presents itself is that of “discovering in what the trick consisted.” Many regard the meaning to be, that Jesus was appealed to as a judge, either that they might be able to accuse Him to the Romans as assuming an unwarrantable power, whatever His decision might be; or else, that if He acquitted the woman, they might charge Him with depising the law of Moses, and if He condemned her, might accuse Him of contempt of the Roman law, which did not permit of stoning. But, in reply to this, it has been very truly observed, that if that were the case, all that Jesus had to do was simply to disclaim the judicial authority imputed to Him.—If we bear in mind, however (as we have done above), the abuse which had crept in, of suffering such sins to go unpunished; the question may be regarded as simply an inquiry, whether judicial proceedings ought to be instituted or not. In this way the whole difficulty is solved, in spite of *Baur's* assertion, that every attempt at a solution “must be utterly in vain.” Such a question might be addressed to any private individual, and Jesus had no reason for declining to answer it. His “yes” would necessarily make Him an object of hatred to the great mass of the people; His “no” would furnish an opportunity of charging Him with disrespect to the law of Moses. *De Wette*, indeed, is of opinion that Jesus might have appealed to the usual judicial usage (abuse or disuse), and therefore have said, “No;” but to sanction a sinful abuse, which had arisen entirely from the excessive prevalence of the sin, would have been neither wise nor right. Jesus did much better, therefore, by this striking *ad hominem* appeal, to bring to light the cause of the abuse itself.

Baur finds a difficulty in ver. 9 itself. “How can we imagine it possible, that Pharisees would really admit the consciousness of sin in the Christian sense, in the manner here described? The case before

them they would not regard as applicable to themselves; for there is a great difference between notorious sins, such as open adultery, and the secret sins of the conscience." According to this, *Baur* understands the term ἀναμάρτητος to mean, "whoso is without sin in the absolute sense, he alone should presume to judge;" and in the same sense he understands the words, "being convicted by their own conscience." But it is perfectly clear that Jesus does not refer to the general sinfulness of the human race, but to one particular class of sins, namely, to those acts of licentiousness, of which *Josephus* says that they were at that time so general, that it was impossible to put the law in force against them; and also, that in ver. 9 the accusers were convicted by their own consciences of these particular sins.

When *De Wette* disputes the authenticity of the account, on the ground that there is a "want of connection with the discourses which precede as well as those which follow," I should like to ask, what reason there could be, supposing the occurrence to have taken place in the manner here described, why the Evangelist should omit to relate it, because there happened to be no internal connection with the discourse which came before? In that case, he ought not to have introduced the feeding of the five thousand after the healing of the sick man at Bethesda. But there is by no means such an utter want of connection. It is true there is no connection with the discourses, but there is the closest *practical* connection between the unsuccessful attempt mentioned in chap. vii. 45 sqq., and the fresh and apparently most favourable opportunity, either to bring a charge against Jesus, or to bring Him into disrepute; that is to say, between the attempt to find a ground of accusation, described in chap. vii., and the same attempt, of which the basis is shown in chap. viii. 1–11.—Again, the digression in chap. viii. 15–17 is perfectly unintelligible, unless it contains a side glance at chap. viii. 1 sqq. Hence, whilst *Baur* is proving the close connection between chap. viii. 1, 2 and the previous chapter, *Weisse* follows the very opposite course, and says that chap. viii. 1 sqq. is interpolated as a commentary upon chap. viii. 15; consequently, the discourse contained in chap. viii. 12 sqq. was at first without meaning, but was rendered intelligible through the happy accident of an interpolation. Before believing either in so unskilful an author, or so overskilful an interpolator, who could introduce facts which, like an electric spark, would give life and meaning to the discourses previously recorded, we prefer to believe that the whole hung very well together from the very commencement.

4. The reading, διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν καὶ παρήγεν οὕτως (ver. 59), we regard, with *Tischendorf*, and against *Paulus* and *Baur*, as

spurious, a gloss taken from Luke iv. 30. The words are not omitted by "merely a very few critical authorities," or only Codex D, "whose characteristic it is to alter with express regard to intelligibility." (1.) They are wanting in Codex D, the *Vulgate*, and the *Itala*, the three most important witnesses, therefore, of the Latin family, which warrant the conclusion, that the words in question *were not originally contained in the MSS. of the Latin family*. (2.) Of the versions and Fathers belonging to the African family, the Persian, Sahidic, and Armenian omit it, and also Origen and Cyril; whilst Codd. C and L, with the Coptic translation and Athanasius, contain the reading. We lay no stress upon the Armenian version, which is known to have been prepared under the influence of the *Vulgate*. Of so much greater importance confessedly is the Sahidic, whose antiquity and value are ten times higher than those of Cod. C, and which has the two older Fathers, Cyril and Origen, by its side, bearing the same testimony. The *African family wavers, therefore*, but the balance inclines in favour of the omission. (3.) In the *Byzantine family*, only Chrysostom omits the words.—The external testimony, therefore, is more in favour of omitting than of retaining the words. In addition to this, the introduction of the words from Luke iv. 30 may very easily be explained, and is favoured by the analogy of innumerable cases in which similar passages have been so commingled. On the other hand, it would be impossible to understand why it should have been dropped. It is true *Baur* attempts to show that the *Text. recept.* cannot be understood in any other way than as denoting a *miraculous disappearance* on the part of Jesus ("He made Himself invisible, and so passed through the midst unseen"). But the word ἡφανίσθη would certainly have been used in this case, and the words καὶ διέλθων κ.τ.λ. may be simply exegetical of ἐκρύβη ("Jesus hid Himself from them, withdrew from them, by simply passing through the dense crowd, which looked for Him anywhere rather than in its own midst"). And even if the received version can only be understood as describing a miraculous invisibility, surely *Baur* does not suppose that what is so opposed to his views would have been equally repulsive to a copyist of the first centuries, and therefore have led to the omission. The remark, that it was characteristic of Cod. D "to alter with regard both to obscurity and offensiveness," does not in any way contribute to a critical vindication of the received version. In the same way, it is nothing but an assertion without the least foundation, to say that chap. x. 39 and xii. 36 are to be understood as describing a miraculous disappearance.

§ 67.

CURE OF THE MAN BORN BLIND. PARABLE OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD.

JOHN IX. 1-X. 21.

As Jesus was passing along, He saw (in the street) a beggar who had been born blind. The disciples asked, in accordance with current opinions, whether his misfortune had befallen him in consequence of his own sins or of those of his parents; to which Jesus replied that he was blind, not in consequence of any particular sin, but through the providence of God, in order that in him there might be manifested the mercy of God, whose works He (Jesus) must at once accomplish, before the night of death should come upon Him; for it was as light that He was in the world, and He must diffuse the light abroad. He then made clay of dust and spittle, and having applied it to the eyes of the blind man, told him to go to the pool of Siloam and wash. He went and washed, and returned seeing. The neighbours and others, who had previously seen him blind, were amazed at this, and he was obliged to relate to them the whole affair. The more excitement it produced, and the more readily the attention of all who knew of His dispute with the Sanhedrim was attracted to Jesus, the more natural was it that the people should make use of this occurrence, which had also happened on a Sabbath, to stir up the fire either against, or on the side of Jesus. They therefore brought the man to the well-known and decided leaders of the pharisaic party, who were assembled together (probably in the temple). The latter questioned him concerning the matter; and as their own opinions were divided, they asked him his views of Jesus also. The man pronounced Him to be a prophet. But they, still distrusting his account, sent for his parents, and obtained from them a confirmation of his previous blindness. With regard to the cure itself, these old beggars would express no opinion, as they knew the feelings of the Pharisees too well. (For they had already decided among themselves, to excommunicate any one who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah.) The man who had been cured was then called again, and admonished "to give God the glory," for Jesus was certainly a sinner: he had better candidly describe the whole matter again. By this they hoped, no doubt, to bring him to contradict what he had said before. But the beggar understood their *finesse* so little, that he merely returned the rough reply, "Haven't you heard it often enough? Will you also be His

disciples?" Enraged at this, they told him plainly that they were Moses' disciples; but he was no disciple of Moses if he believed on Jesus. The man, however, was not to be trifled with, and very freely expressed his extreme surprise that they should consider Jesus not so well attested as Moses, whereas He had opened his eyes. How could a sinner do that? Jesus must assuredly have come from God.—They then resorted to violence, the threat of which the man would not understand, and turned him out of the temple. But Jesus, having heard of what had taken place, sought him out, and asked him whether he believed on the Son of God. The man inquired who the Son of God was. Jesus replied that it was He, and the man worshipped Him.—The Lord then said that He had come that the blind might become seeing, and the seeing blind. Some Pharisees who stood by took offence at this personality, and asked whether they were blind. Jesus told them that they were worse than blind, because they thought they could see. He then related a parable of the shepherd, who enters the sheepfold by the door, who knows the sheep, and whom the sheep follow; and of the thief, who does not go in at the door, but climbs in some other way. This He interpreted, first of all, as illustrating the contrast between those who, like the *Pharisees*, did not act towards the sheep, the nation, in the manner which God intended, but in wrong ways, and for selfish purposes, not with saving but soul-destroying effect, and *Himself*, who not only was not a thief; who not only approached the sheep in the way which God designed, but was *the door itself*, actually working through His own person the true method of cure. He then applied to Himself the figure of the *shepherd*, to depict in a more especial manner His mode of action. It was that of one who is pure love, free from all selfishness, and who, thinking only of the sheep, offers up his own life to the wolf, that he may rescue them. By this love He is known to the sheep, as He is known to the Father by the same.—This love, He adds, in opposition to the notions of the Pharisees, who were proud of their mere descent from Abraham, embraced more than Israel alone; there should be one Shepherd and one fold. The Father loved Him, because He was ready to accomplish this work by the sacrifice of His own life; for He laid down His life of His own accord; His death was not compulsory, but the manifestation of absolute love.—After this address the contention of the Jews for and against the Messiahship of Jesus burst forth afresh. But Jesus Himself returned to Galilee.

1. A few *general objections* have been offered to the account of the blind man. *Strauss*, indeed, declares that such a cure was impossible;

and it is hardly brought within the range of possibility by the assertion of *Schweizer*, that "at that time there were many persons blind from their birth, who would have been cured at once by modern science," for Jesus seems to have understood little, if anything, of modern science.—The narrative is doubtful, we are told, because it is wanting in the synoptical Gospels. The Synoptists, it is said, would be sure to select "*greater* miracles in preference to *smaller*," and "such miracles as were connected with instructive discourses." But there are no instructive discourses immediately connected with the cure of the blind man. There is no internal connection between it and the discourse about the shepherd; and chap. ix. does not contain any instructive discourse of such distinct and peculiar importance as to furnish *the* reason why this occurrence should be singled out for narration. So far as the "*greater*" and "*smaller*" miracles are concerned, we have repeated often enough that the distinction was entirely unknown to the Evangelists, and is an invention of men, who cannot understand that the *same* power is needed for the smallest as for the most striking departure from the laws of nature which have been in operation since the fall, namely, the *power of omnipotence*. In the days of the Evangelists *semeiometers* had not been invented.

An incorrect etymology is said to be given of Siloam in ver. 7. According to *Bretschneider*, who is followed by *Lücke*, *Strauss*, and *B. Bauer*, it is derived from מלש, a water-spout, not מלש, a messenger. But *Hitzig* has shown (*Isaiah*, p. 97) that מלש itself means *one sent*.—The question, why John gives the etymology, has been correctly answered by *Schweizer* in the paraphrase, "He sent him to the pool of Siloam, which like Himself (Jesus) means ἀπεσταλμένος." The life-giving spring is compared to Christ.

2. With regard to the *question put by the disciples* (ver. 2), in general it might be very well explained from the opinion then prevalent among the Israelites, that peculiarly striking sufferings and misfortunes were, as a rule, to be regarded as punishments for certain special sins and transgressions. But *Beza*, *Lightfoot*, and *Grotius* found a difficulty in the fact, that the disciples appear to regard it as a possible thing, that the blind man had sinned before his birth. Among modern commentators, *De Wette* has endeavoured to explain this from the Alexandrian theory of pre-existence, and refers to *Wisdom* viii. 20. But it is very questionable, to my mind, whether this theory of the Alexandrian Jews was so current in Palestine, as no other traces of it are certainly to be found there. The following appears to me a much more probable explanation of the question. Had the case in hand been that of an ordinary blind man, of one

who had *become* blind, the disciples would have had no difficulty in reconciling it to their theory of rewards and punishments. The man would have been set down at once as having committed some crime, and as having received this punishment from God *in consequence*. But they had now before them the much more rare and extraordinary case of a man who had had to bear the affliction of blindness, which the Israelites were in the habit of regarding as a punishment, from *his very birth*. If the man, therefore, was actually blind on account of *his own* sin, the punishment must have preceded the sin. *It was just this which the disciples could not understand*. They therefore thought that the man could not have been punished for his own sin, but must have suffered on account of some sin of his parents. *Yet this supposition involved another difficulty, viz., whether God would make a man miserable all his life long, on account of a sin which had not been committed by himself*. But as it seemed to the disciples that one or the other must be true, and as there were objections to both suppositions, the disciples appealed to the Lord to tell them which of the two was correct. The question, therefore, "*Who did sin, this man or his parents?*" arose not from the fact that the disciples regarded either as *possible*, but, on the contrary, that they looked upon both as *impossible* and *inexplicable*, and yet could not think of a third.

The *δόξα*, for the manifestation of which God had destined the blind man, was not that of a *display to be made*, but of *pity working with almighty power*.—The fear of the parents is inexplicable, it has been said, since the man who had been cured would not become a disciple of Jesus (or rather, *they* would not necessarily appear to be disciples of Jesus), simply because they said that Jesus had cured him.—The people were wise enough. They saw that those Pharisees, who did not wish Jesus to be *received* as the Messiah, would be sure to become much more excited and enraged, if any one adduced a *proof* of His Messiahship which might be the means of leading hundreds to confess Him.—When was the "resolution of the Sanhedrim," mentioned in ver. 22, "first formed?" The passage does not mention either a "resolution," or the Sanhedrim; it merely states "they had agreed" (cf. Acts xxiii. 20).—These conversations were all carried on in the presence of certain Pharisees accidentally meeting together (ver. 13), and not before a "council;" for not the slightest allusion is made to this; nor was the occasion one which could furnish occasion for an *accusation*. Moreover, if a formal accusation had been intended, it would have been necessary to summon *Jesus*, and not the *blind man*. We have here, therefore, only private preparations for a judicial accusation of Jesus at some future time.

. We pass on to *Gfrörer's* objection, that the "authorities" would not have addressed a common man in the manner described in ver. 28.—But these words are not intended to vindicate themselves. They simply contain the bitterest reproach in the most cutting form. The Pharisees call themselves Moses' disciples; and in so doing, refuse this title to the beggar, and treat him as an apostate. And the form of their address is perfectly appropriate, when we consider that it was not before the "authorities" that the man was standing; and that they were obliged to overpower him, not by judicial authority,¹ but by the *nimbus* of spiritual superiority.

CHAPTER VI.

UNCONNECTED PASSAGES.

§ 68.

CURES EFFECTED ON THE SABBATH, AND OTHER MIRACLES.

The rubbing of the ears of corn, and the withered hand (Matt. xii. 1 sqq.; Mark ii. 23 sqq.; Luke vi. 1 sqq.).—The complaint of the Pharisees on account of the rubbing of the ears of corn, which was ridiculous, if only because the act itself was not labour, Jesus met by referring to a case in which not merely a human precept, but a command of God, was broken; viz., that of the priests, who were obliged to perform the temple service on the Sabbath, and by the solemn declaration that His person was greater than the temple. And, as a general conclusion, He told them that laws are made for the sake of man, and not man for the sake of the laws.—He then² went into a synagogue; and

¹ The *casting out*, mentioned in ver. 34, was not in itself a form of legal punishment, but a simple act of violence.

² As Luke troubled himself, on the whole, but little about chronological order, we may assume that by ἐν ἐτέρῳ σαββάτῳ he merely means that, as far as he knew, the second occurrence took place on a Sabbath as well as the first. He did not know that it was *on the same Sabbath*; whereas Matthew connects the two in the most definite manner.—*Wieseler* (p. 231) argues very forcibly that ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ (Luke vi. 1) means the *first* Sabbath of the *second* year of a sabbatical period. But *Krafft* (*Chronol. u. Harm. der vier Evv.* pp. 18, 19) gives a different explanation, which has so much in its favour, that I feel at a loss for which of the two to decide. "In the years," says *Krafft*, "in which the 15th of Nisan, the first Passover Sabbath, did not fall upon either a Saturday (the weekly Sabbath) or a Sunday (in which case the *second* Passover Sabbath, the עֶצְרָת, would coincide with

seeing there a man with a withered hand, He addressed the question to the bystanders, whether it was lawful to do good on the Sabbath; and then healed the man.—There are no difficulties connected with this, except to those who maintain that “miracles are altogether impossible.”

The man with the dropsy (Luke xiv. 1–6), and the *woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years* (Luke xiii. 10 sqq.).—The latter, who was so crippled by demoniacal influence that she could not raise herself upright, was cured by the Lord in a synagogue; the former, at a meal in a Pharisee’s house. At the meal, Jesus appealed to the fact, that any one would rescue his ox or his ass if it had fallen into a pit on the Sabbath; in the synagogue, to the universal custom of letting an ox or an ass loose on the Sabbath, and giving it water.—Matthew connects the words in their first form with the cure of the withered hand, which causes *Strauss* great difficulty, as he cannot see how it could be repeated. But a gnome-like saying of this kind might certainly have been applied three times as well as twice. It is possible, however, that Matthew inserted the saying in that place for the sake of the contents.

The ten lepers (Luke xvii. 11, 12).—This occurrence, which is related chiefly as furnishing occasion for the words in vers. 17, 18, is not attended with any difficulty.

§ 69.

MINOR OCCURRENCES.

Anointing by the woman that was a sinner (Luke vii. 36 sqq.).—The questions, 1. whether this occurrence is the same as the *anointing* the weekly Sabbath), the *Passover week had three Sabbaths*, namely, the first and last Passover Sabbaths, and the weekly Sabbath which fell between. Now, the closing Passover Sabbath, regarded in its relation to the Passover week, was called the *second Sabbath*. But then, on the other hand, the *two* other Sabbaths would, each of them in its own way, be a “first Sabbath” in relation to this closing or second Sabbath; for they were equal in *rank*, the one as the opening Sabbath of the Passover week, the other as the weekly Sabbath occurring in the Passover week. In the order of their succession, therefore, the former might very well be called the first *simply*, and the weekly Sabbath as the *second first*, as distinguished from the *עצרת*, the *second Passover Sabbath*.—The following reason certainly weighs in favour of *Krafft* and against *Wieseler*. If the *δευτερόπρωτον* was a weekly Sabbath, falling in the Passover week, we can very well understand why Luke should mention the circumstance, that it was a “second-first,” i.e., a weekly Sabbath occurring in the Passover week, and therefore *regarded as peculiarly holy*. But if the first Sabbath in the second year of a sabbatical period is what he means, there was no peculiar sanctity in the day, and therefore no special reason why he should mention the fact. For we have already seen, that Luke was not concerned about arranging the different events in the precise order of their occurrence.

by Mary at Bethany in the Passion week; 2. if not, whether such a thing is likely to have been repeated; we shall examine in chap. ix. The narrative itself presents no difficulties.

Visit in Bethany (Luke x. 38 sqq.).—*Strauss* looks about here for discrepancies to support his valuable hypothesis, that this occurrence is identical with the account of the adulteress and the two anointings (at which Mary “also sat at Jesus’ feet!”), and that all these histories are nothing but embellishments of one and the same — legend. He has actually ferreted out two difficulties. “*Why is Lazarus not mentioned in Luke x.?*” asks the author of the “Natural History of the Prophet of Nazareth;” and *Strauss* shows that this is the more “striking,” because, “according to John xi. xii., he appears to have lived with Mary and Martha.” But surely he never means to draw from the fact that they desired his recovery, and afterwards mourned for his death, such a conclusion as this: “Lazarus must have lived with them; otherwise, how could they have wept for him?” If we turn to John xii. we find Lazarus *among the guests* (εἰς ἡν τῶν ἀνακειμένων σὺν αὐτῷ); and Martha appears to live with the host, for she *serves the guests*¹ (διηκόνει). They certainly lived in different houses *then*.—A second difficulty is, that Mary and Martha are represented by John as living at *Bethany*, near Jerusalem; whereas, according to Luke, the entrance into a certain village took place “on the journey to Jerusalem,” and shortly after their “departure from Galilee,” and “is separated from the entrance into Jerusalem by no less than eight chapters.” Unfortunately, however, in these eight chapters Luke is not giving any “account of a journey” at all, as has been generally supposed since the time of *Schleiermacher* (cf. § 20).

§ 70.

MISSION OF THE SEVENTY.

LUKE X. 1 sqq.

Before commencing a journey, Jesus selected *seventy* of those who were in the habit of following Him, upon whom He could rely as most decidedly His; and feeling it to be necessary before His departure to give the *nation as a whole* the opportunity of becoming acquainted with Him and His salvation, He sent them two and two

¹ When we have once established the identity of the anointing in John xii. with that in Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv., we shall also have proved that the δειπνον took place in the house of Simon the leper, and therefore not in that of Lazarus, and that Martha and Mary resided in Simon’s house.

into all the towns and districts through which He intended (this time) to pass. He told them that He was sending them unarmed to meet the dangers and hatred of the world. But, placing their trust in God, they were to proclaim the tidings that the kingdom of heaven had come, precisely in the manner which He had already enjoined upon the twelve (according to Matthew and Luke ix.). The seventy then went the round of the places, and boasted, on their return, that even the devils were subject to them. But Jesus replied, that the power of Satan was really broken, and henceforth He gave them strength to trample upon all the power of the enemy; but it was for them to rejoice, not so much on account of such strength as this, as at the mercy of God and the assurance of their own salvation.

1. If we follow the course of Jesus' ministry through the epochs described in chaps. ii.-v., and consider the near approach of His death, we cannot help looking about to see whether the instructions and appeals of the Lord were not concentrated in one more act, which should embrace not merely isolated individuals, but the nation as a whole. On the other hand, we cannot form any other idea, than that the acts and discourses of Jesus must, during all this time, have made a *lasting and decisive* impression upon a greater number than the twelve. Consequently, such an event as the mission of the seventy, mentioned by Luke, which occurred undoubtedly about the end of the second period of the ministry of Jesus (cf. p. 135), cannot produce on our minds any other impression than that of the greatest *probability*. And this impression is by no means altered by the silence of Matthew and Mark; for neither of them has drawn up a history of the development of the kingdom of Jesus. The design of the first was to adduce proofs that Jesus was the Son of David; that of the second, to depict the manifestations of His divinity. To neither of them, therefore, did the mission of the seventy offer materials adapted to their purpose. In Luke, on the contrary, who was occupied in sketching the labours of Jesus in all directions, and by contrasts, the account of the seventy is just in its place by the side of that of the twelve.

The number *seventy* is either a *round* number, as it so frequently is, or Jesus may have selected exactly 70 men. *De Wette* and others imagine, that because seventy elders were chosen by Moses, it necessarily follows that, if Jesus did select the seventy disciples, He did it for the purpose of *imitating Moses*; but that, as "Jesus had something more important to do, amidst the events which crowded so thickly upon Him, than to think of every conceivable significant number," the whole affair is impossible. So that, according to the opinion of

these gentlemen, when Jesus was about to collect a large circle of disciples, if just seventy individuals offered themselves, He ought to have carefully avoided taking that number, lest certain critics eighteen centuries afterwards should think that He had wasted His time in seeking for every significant number. This is certainly very forcible!

According to the account in the Gospels, the seventy were chosen *for a specific duty*; so that when this was performed, the circle was naturally broken up again. But Gfrörer infers from the fact, that in 1 Cor. xv. 6 Jesus is represented as appearing first to the twelve and then to five hundred, whereas no allusion is made to the seventy, and also that Eusebius says (i. 12), "the names of the seventy are not known," that they can never have existed at all!

2. The instructions given to the seventy (Luke x.) are said to be just the same as those given to the twelve (Matt. x.). But we maintain, on the contrary, that the address to the twelve has all the character of an induction into a *permanent office*, whereas that given to the seventy evidently consists of directions for one *single task*. In the former, allusion is made (vers. 17 sqq.) to persecutions that were actually to arise (and which did arise after the death of Christ); the design of the apostolic office is pointed out (vers. 22, 23); and the whole of the coming struggle is depicted, in its intensity, depth, and importance (vers. 23-34). But we find nothing of this in the address to the seventy. It is true, Jesus justly compares the seventy to sheep sent among wolves; but this brief comparison is all. No further reference is made to any actual persecution, or to the necessity for confessing Him in the midst of tribulation. The entire resemblance, therefore, reduces itself to this: 1. that they are prohibited from providing temporal comforts for the journey (vers. 4, 5); and 2. that the same *mode* of action is prescribed to them as previously to the twelve (vers. 6 sqq.).—But what is most remarkable of all, is that Luke himself has put these points into the mouth of Jesus in connection with the mission of the twelve (chap. ix. 3 sqq.); so that the address in Luke x. does not bear any closer resemblance to the inaugural address to the twelve as given by Matthew, than to the same address as reported by Luke. The entire *crux*, therefore, resolves itself into this, that *two thoughts* to which Jesus gave utterance in His address to the *twelve*, were repeated by Him when sending out the *seventy*.

§ 71.

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH SCRIBES AND PHARISEES.

1. *The question of the lawyer, what he must do to inherit eternal life* (Luke x. 25 sqq.).—The principal point here, is the connection in which it stands to the similar occurrences mentioned in Matt. xxii. and Mark xii. This question, of course, cannot be answered till we come to Matt. xxii.

2. *Dinner at a Pharisee's house* (Luke xi. 37 sqq.).—With reference to the relation in which the address in vers. 39–52 stands to that in Matt. xxiii., which is almost verbally the same, we find that Luke gives a very distinct and fitting occasion (cf. chap. xi. 37, 38, and xii. 1). The question therefore is, whether these verses, which stand in their original connection in Luke, are introduced by Matthew on account of their contents merely, or whether the words were really spoken twice. Such sayings as those in ver. 42, vers. 43, 44 (which Luke also introduces in a different connection, chap. xiv. 8), and ver. 46 very probably would be repeated by Jesus on various occasions. But in any case, the question is not easy to answer. The disciples certainly did not learn by heart what Jesus said against the Pharisees and scribes. Only the choice pithy sayings which He directed against them on different occasions, and the particular separate leading objections which they made to Him, did they know; and also the particular occasions which led to unusually animated discussions (Luke xi. xiv.; Matt. xxiii.) remained in their memories; but they did not know how many and what words the Lord spoke on this or the other particular occasion. In this respect they write freely, for they are not protocolists; and variations of this kind are not to be regarded as contradictions.

The fact, however, that Matthew introduces these sayings of Jesus in another place, is not the only thing which has been made a ground of objection here. The whole account is said to be impossible, and the occasion invented by Luke himself. For example, "To address such reproachful words to one's host, would, even according to an oriental standard, be indelicate in the extreme, and the grossest violation of the rules of hospitality."—But there is a divine plainness of speech which is never out of place. Let us just picture the circumstances to ourselves. Here is a club of Pharisees. For a long time they have been in the habit of amusing themselves at the expense of the lay Rabbi, the "carpenter, who is trying to establish a new sect." At length Jesus comes to the town; and they agree among themselves

to send Him an invitation. One of them undertakes to arrange it all, and sends the others an invitation to dinner, "to meet the new prophet." They eagerly embrace the opportunity. Jesus sees through their plan. But He is very far from wishing to decline the invitation He has received, and accepts it at once. They *shall* make His acquaintance; but it will be in a different way from what they intend. They take their places at the table. With demure faces they all wash their hands, and wait and look eagerly across to see what Jesus will do. They are delighted to think that He cannot well avoid washing His hands too, if only for the sake of appearance. But He quietly takes His place. The host, eager to make the best of the point of contention which has thus presented itself, begins at once to express his astonishment, and does it just in the way in which at the present day a man of good position would address a carpenter or a Methodist preacher, whom he had invited to his house as a mark of special condescension and favour. Jesus replies at once; and, instead of entering into a dispute about washing, gives utterance with the deepest seriousness to a most bitter philippic, which comes so thoroughly home, that they sit in perfect silence and make no attempt at a reply. But a scribe (a *very* distinguished man), who thought that Jesus had not intended to refer to him, ventured, when Jesus had finished, to take the part of his friends and brethren, and said politely, "But, dear Rabbi, by speaking thus, Thou reproachest us also." Whereupon Jesus commenced again, and delivered a second philippic against the scribes, which was only too well deserved.

A *third* difficulty is found in ver. 51 (cf. Matt. xxiii. 35), in the allusion made to *Zechariah, the son of Berechiah*. A prophet named Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, was stoned at the command of Joash in the fore-court of the temple (בְּחֶצֶר בֵּית יְהוֹנָדָה, 2 Chron. xxiv. 19 sqq.). And according to *Josephus*, a *rich man* named Zechariah, the son of Baruch, was slain by Titus in the temple a short time before the destruction of Jerusalem. Now, as the former is not called a son of Berechiah, but a son of Jehoiada, in 2 Chron. xxiv., the earlier commentators, and *Gfrörer* among the more modern, imagined that Jesus was here *predicting* the death of the Zechariah mentioned by *Josephus*. But his father is called Baruch and not Berechiah; and, according to the description given by *Josephus*, he does not bear the remotest resemblance to a prophet.¹ The prophet Zechariah, who lived *after*

¹ "So what provoked them against him, was that hatred of wickedness and love of liberty, which were so eminent in him. He was also a rich man; so that by taking him off, they did not only hope to seize his effects, but also to get rid of a man that had great power to destroy them."—Wars of the Jews, 4, 5, 4.

the captivity, was a son of Berechiah (Zech. i. 1); but he was not put to death. Jesus cannot therefore have referred to him, any more than to the *private individual* mentioned by Josephus, who was not slain till some time after the words were spoken by Jesus.

It is very evident, then, that Jesus alludes to the *prophet before the captivity* noticed in 2 Chron. xxiv. But how does this tally with the fact that Matthew represents Jesus as calling this Zechariah a *son of Berechiah*, whereas, according to 2 Chron. xxiv., he appears to have been a *son of Jehoiada*? Is it possible that the author of the first Gospel may have confounded him with the prophet after the captivity, or the man of the same name to whom Josephus refers? Let us look a little more closely at 2 Chron. xxiv. When Joash was seven years old (chap. xxiv. 1), Jehoiada was already high priest (chap. xxiii. 1 sqq.). Joash reigned forty years; from which we should perceive at once that Jehoiada must have been *extraordinarily old* when Zechariah was murdered, even if we did not read in chap. xxiv. 15 that he died at the age of 130 years (a considerable time *before* that event). It was after his death that the king's apostasy began; and after this that other prophets arose, including Zechariah (ver. 19). Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was a *grandson* of Jehoiada, seeing that, if he was a *son*, he could not have been less than a hundred years old?—His being called a "son" in vers. 20 and 22 is in accordance with a well-known custom; and in this instance there was *peculiar ground* for mentioning the grandfather rather than the father of Zechariah, namely, to bring out into the greater prominence the ingratitude of the king towards the descendant of his *deliverer* Jehoiada (ver. 22). With Jesus, however, there was no such *peculiar ground* for mentioning the grandfather instead of the father. He therefore named the father. And this He could do; for it by no means follows from the fact that his name does not occur in the canonical books of the Old Testament, that it was entirely lost at the time of Jesus. The genealogies of the priests were still in existence (cf. Luke i. 5); and the name of the father of a prophet, whose martyrdom had rendered so memorable, is very likely to have lived in the memory of the people.—There is *no necessity*, therefore, to assume, as *De Wette*, *Olshausen*, and *Bleek* have done, that the Zechariah here referred to has been confounded with the prophet after the captivity (Zech. i. 1). Such confusion, in fact, would be utterly *impossible*. Jesus could not have alluded to the occurrence in the way He did, if it had not lived in the minds and memory of the people. And if it did, it lived equally in the memory of the early Christian Church; so that, neither on the part of Jesus, nor on that

of Matthew,¹ could such a confusion have been possible, between either the prophet after the captivity or the man referred to by Josephus, and the prophet Zechariah whom Joash slew.

Fourthly and lastly, in reference to the discourse in xii. 1-12, the saying in ver. 1 is on this occasion as suitable as in Matt. xvi. 5, 6; and it has also the nature of a repeatable proverbial saying. The words in vers. 2 and 9 follow thereon quite closely and naturally, as also the exhortation in 4, neither to fear nor to crouch before earthly power. As, however, this section is also to be found in the instructions to the twelve (Matt. x. 26 ff.), it remains an unsettled point, whether Luke has not transferred it to this place on account of its cognate meaning, or whether Jesus did really on this occasion speak a word against hypocrisy and an exhortation to open confession of faith, similar to those in Matt. x.; but the Evangelists, not being able to distinguish accurately the words spoken on the two different occasions, have given, each one in his own place, all the single sayings of Jesus that belong to that circle of ideas.

§ 72.

PARABLES.

If Strauss likes to take the trouble to compare different parables together for the purpose of pointing out similarities and divergences, and showing how one parable may have arisen from the combination of two others, he is perfectly at liberty to do so. But it must not be supposed that the *genuineness* of such parables is thereby disproved, or that a combination of this kind is an evident sign of a later age. Whoever draws such a conclusion as this must be entirely ignorant of the nature of a parable, and its real usage in the East. A German scholar or fable-writer may compose a parable with thought and labour, and guard it henceforth, as being complete and unimprovable, from ever receiving a new turn. But in the open air of the East such comparisons spring spontaneously from the fancy itself. Now they are hinted at, now fully elaborated. In an animated conversation new turns are given to them. Presently the narrative itself takes another course, and they receive a fresh application. Something similar to this we have already seen in § 53; also in Luke xiii. 18 sqq., where several *similes* are hinted at in connection with the same thing;

¹ I suppose the possibility of Matthew having added the words "the son of Berechiah," though it appears to me much more probable that they are the words of Jesus Himself, in accordance with the Jewish custom; and that they were omitted by Luke, who wrote for Gentile Christians (Luke xi. 15).

and Luke xii. 36 sqq., where the same *simile* is presented in various lights.

Nothing further need be said, therefore, with reference to the parables of the *two debtors* (Luke vii.), of the *good Samaritan* (Luke x.), of *importunate prayer* (Luke xi.), of the *sudden death of the rich man*, of the *watchful steward and his lord* (Luke xii.), of the *fig-tree* (Luke xiii.), of the *lost sheep, piece of money, and son* (Luke xv.), of the *harsh judge*, and of the *Pharisee and publican* (Luke xviii.), since they are all perfectly obvious. The two following only remain to be noticed.¹

a. *Parable of the unjust steward* (Luke xvi. 1 sqq.).—A steward was justly charged with squandering the property of his lord. When the latter had made up his mind to dismiss him, he endeavoured to secure for himself, at all events, a maintenance by doubling the crime. Yet, notwithstanding the double wrong, the lord considered that, at any rate, the *prudence* of his proceedings was worthy of being praised. Now, if this be the case even where wrong is done, how much more is it to be praised and required in relation to things which are right (ver. 8)! In the latter, the wisdom is seen in the administration of those perishable earthly possessions which have been entrusted to us, in such a way as that we secure as friends, not the unjust, but those who are in heaven (God, the angels, etc.). In this case, it bears the form, not of unfaithfulness, but of fidelity (ver. 10). It is *necessary*, however, to exhort to so wise and prudent an administration of earthly good, just because the children of light are frequently disposed to neglect earthly *duties* and *earthly prudence* in their concern for what is heavenly (cf. ver. 8); and because real fidelity towards God, and the enjoyment of blessedness, is not conceivable without fidelity in earthly relations, and in the administration of earthly possessions (vers. 10–12). He who serves the Lord *entirely*, is sure to manifest the greatest care and fidelity in such things as these (ver. 13).

In this way the whole becomes clear. The only thing to be guarded against is, that we are not disturbed by the indefinite plural *φίλους* (ver. 9), and the paradoxical phrase *ὁ ἄδικος μαμωνᾶς* (ver. 11). Both of these expressions arise from the piquant disposition of the whole. Those who (like *Schleiermacher* and others) do not understand the parable, and therefore regard it as unintelligible, have to attribute this to the circumstance, that they think it necessary to transfer *every*

¹ The parables in Luke xiv. 16 sqq. and xix. 12 sqq. will naturally come up for consideration in chapter ix. And we shall then see that the parable in Luke xiv. is not identical with that in Matt. xxii., but that the latter is an expansion and modification of the former.

particular trait from the steward to the children of light, or else *simply to deduct* what appears to be inappropriate; whereas it is merely the formal side, viz., the *prudence* which has to be transferred; and with regard to the rest (the double *ἀδικία*), *precisely the opposite* is to be required of the children of light (vers. 10 sqq.).

b. The rich man and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19 sqq.).—*De Wette*, and after him *Strauss*, are of opinion that the sin of the one apparently consisted in his wealth, and that of the other in his poverty; so that the parable savours of *Essenism*.—But it is a peculiar kind of wealth which allows a poor man to lie and starve before the door. It is true, *Strauss* regards the conduct of the rich man as perfectly proper, since it is not stated that he refused the crumbs to the poor man; and the only intention is to depict the contrast between their respective lots. But if this be the case, why do we not read that he “*was fed with the crumbs*”? Is there no meaning at all in the word “*desiring*”? Moreover, what does the *anakolouthon* signify?—The only way in which I can translate the verse is this: “And when he longed to stay his hunger with the crumbs which fell from the rich man’s table . . . but even the dogs had compassion on him.” That is to say, though he would have had enough in what *fell from the table*—*what was actually wasted*, he did not receive even that. The dogs had compassion, but not the rich man. For why should the compassionate dogs be mentioned, if not as a tacit, and all the more bitter, contrast to unfeeling men? The allusion to Lazarus in ver. 25 is evidently a reproachful one. Whoever reads the parable with any human feeling, stands in need of no expositor to add exegetically, “The rich man was wicked, but Lazarus was good;” he must see at once that so startling a disproportion as that described in vers. 20 sqq. could not exist where the *rich feared God*. That the rich man was godless, is evident; and though there is no especial feature which proves that Lazarus was the opposite, it follows as matter of course, from the fact that it is stated in ver. 22 that he was taken into Abraham’s bosom.¹ Who is there who would not be surprised to find here a remark to this effect: “*ἦν γὰρ θεοσεβής?*” The real *design* of the parable is to show, that riches *in themselves* expose the soul to danger, and are likely to be associated with hardness of heart, which may lead to irreparable ruin; whereas poverty and sufferings *in themselves* are adapted to prepare the soul and train it for God. In this way the parable is closely connected with the previous one,—in fact, serves to explain it; whereas it is as far removed as the poles from the theory of the *Essenes*, that poverty in itself is *meritorious*, and wealth in itself *a sin*. No; so

¹ The name *Lazarus*, *Ἰλαρίος*, “*God helps*,” is certainly not without significance.

far as the *μαμωνᾶς* is an *ἄδικος*, so far it is pernicious; and the object of the parable was to show *how* it may be employed in alms and good works, and not the subordinate point in ver. 26.

§ 73.

DISCOURSES.

The discourse in Luke xii. 22–53 contains passages from the Sermon on the Mount, particularly from Matt. vi. 25 sqq.

Luke xii. 54 is an expansion of the brief saying which occurs in Matt. xvi. 3. In Luke it is unconnected; and in the latter, as in the former, is without difficulty.

The conversation on the occasion of the news of the massacre of certain Galileans (Luke xiii. 1 sqq.), is also perfectly clear, and is in perfect harmony with what is said in John ix. 2 sqq. With regard to the occasion itself, Bruno Bauer (Syn. ii. 94) observes, "History makes no mention of these horrors." Amid the innumerable horrors of that time (says Olshausen), it vanished like a drop in the ocean. "Were it so, and if the drop could no more be found, then Luke would also have known nothing of the event." Admirable logic! First, the deed was swallowed up like a drop in the sea (in this sense, that it was not of sufficient magnitude and importance for Josephus to mention it, but not that it had been absolutely forgotten by everybody); secondly, no one can recover the drop in this nineteenth century, *i.e.*, no one can discover any other account of the occurrence than that which is given by Luke; *ergo*, thirdly, Luke cannot have known anything about it!—Little need be said about the discourse in Luke xiii. 22 sqq. It contains the verse, "Enter in at the strait gate," which occurs in Matt. vii. 31, and was well adapted for repetition.

The objection made by *De Wette* to the position of the section, Luke xiii. 31 sqq., rests upon the old assumption, that Luke wrote in chronological order. The meaning of the somewhat paradoxical words of Jesus has been correctly explained by *Schleiermacher* (p. 195). "He must remain a couple of days longer in the place where He was, and then¹ yet another two days travel leisurely through the territory of Herod; and then after that He would leave Galilee entirely to them." The appellation "fox" (*ἄλώπηξ*), which *De Wette* thinks

¹ This "and then yet," etc., however, does not appear to me to be grammatically correct. The words run thus: "Behold, I cast out devils and do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the day after I shall have finished (ironical). Only (as I have said), I must still walk about (safely) to-day and to-morrow, and the day following," etc. The first "to-day" is surely identical with the second.

obscure, appears to me to be also perfectly clear. The Pharisees, in their desire to allure Jesus away, came and told Him, falsely, that Herod was laying snares for Him. Jesus replied (ironically), "Go and tell this Herod, who (according to your account) is so cunning in his actions," etc. His calling Herod cunning, as if He really believed them, and His commission to them to go to this Herod against whom they had brought the accusation, show clearly, when taken together, that He did understand *their* cunning, and *knew* that *their* account of Herod was false.—I agree with *Schleiermacher* in the opinion, that the words in vers. 34, 35, were first spoken on the occasion described in Matt. xxiii. 37, and were placed here by Luke on account of their suitability to the subject. Otherwise, how would the words *ὅτι οὐ μὴ με ἴδῃτε κ.τ.λ.* agree?

The address in Luke xiv. is free from difficulty. It is true, Gfrörer speaks of the advice given in ver. 12 as unseemly and offensive. It might be understood, however, as being, on the contrary, rather laudatory than otherwise, since it proceeded from the mouth of one who did not belong to the number of the "friends, brethren, kinsmen, or rich neighbours." In fact, ver. 14 appears to indicate that the host (a different man from the one mentioned in chap. xi. 37 sqq.) was well disposed towards Jesus. There is a reproof intended, no doubt, in vers. 12 sqq.,—a reproof not of the host, however, but of those haughty guests, who did not thank the host for his affection, but merely thought of the (mournful) necessity of strictly returning his invitation.

There is quite as little difficulty in the discourse in Luke xiv. 25 sqq., where two gnome-like sayings (Matt. x. 37, 38, and v. 13) are repeated.—The particular sayings of an *eschatological character* given at chap. xvii. 20 sqq. are very probably, like so many others, classed together by Luke. The original occasion on which they were spoken was most likely the one mentioned in Matt. xxiv., though some may have been repeated on various occasions.

CHAPTER VII.

LAST STAY IN GALILEE.

§ 74.

SCRIBES FROM JERUSALEM. JOURNEY TO PHŒNICIA AND THENCE
INTO DECAPOLIS. A DEAF AND DUMB MAN.

MATT. XV. 1-31; MARK VII. 1-37.

THE excitement which Jesus had caused at the feast of Tabernacles, induced the scribes and Pharisees not to lose sight of Him any more; consequently, some of them followed Him from Jerusalem. The fact of His disciples sitting down to table on one occasion with unwashed hands, furnished an opportunity for the inquiry, why His disciples dared to transgress the precepts of the ancients; and this was met by the counter question, why they dared to transgress the commandments of *God*. Jesus then called the people who were standing about to come nearer to Him, and explained to them, that it was not the food eaten, but the actions performed, by which a man was defiled. For the purpose of getting rid of these Pharisees, Jesus went from thence into the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, and wished to keep Himself in perfect privacy in a house, or inn. But this was altogether impossible. The report of His arrival soon spread abroad, and in the following way. On the road thither,¹ a woman of that country, a Phœnician, who had a young daughter troubled by an unclean spirit, having heard of Jesus, had come to meet Him, and, falling at His feet, had prayed Him to heal her daughter. Jesus made no reply, but walked on, apparently in the most unfeeling manner. The disciples themselves then took up her cause, and entreated on her behalf. But Jesus replied, the bread must be kept for the children, not given to dogs. The woman humbly rejoined, "True, Lord, but even the dogs eat of the children's crumbs." Jesus then said, "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt." And when she returned home, she found her daughter perfectly well.—From the land of Phœnicia Jesus went to Decapolis, where He found a deaf and dumb man, whom He touched and healed.

¹ Not Matthew only, but Mark also, represents the matter thus; as by the *γὰρ* he assigns the occurrence with the woman as the cause why Jesus did not succeed in remaining hid.

1. As a matter of course, the question about washing, which had already been asked at Jesus at a meal in the house of a Pharisee who dwelt in Galilee, could not be asked again by other Pharisees on another occasion. Before incurring the guilt of such a repetition, it behoved them to inquire whether the question which they had in their breast had not been already put, and was not therefore superfluous! No other difficulties except this beset this incident.

2. Matters don't stand so well with the Canaanitish woman. Strauss asks, in the first place, why Jesus (Matt. x. 5) sent the disciples merely to Palestine, and not to Phœnicia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, etc.; and as such a national exclusiveness seems to him suspicious, his suspicion is increased by the conduct of Jesus towards the woman of Canaan. A ground of prudence (by which the limitation in Matt. x. might be recommended¹) does not exist here, where it is not a question of inviting men to enter into the kingdom of the Messiah, but only of conferring a single temporal benefit. If Jesus had had "a more universal motive," He must have made it known to the disciples, and could not have assigned the one given in Matt. xv. 26. Consequently, it must have been real aversion to the heathen which led Jesus to act as He did; and Mark simply attempts to conceal this aversion, when he gives prominence in ver. 25 to the desire of Jesus to remain concealed.—But this is throughout an absurdity. Where does Mark conceal anything which Matthew relates? Or where does he allude to the attempt to preserve an *incognito*, as the motive for His conduct towards the woman? Does he not, on the contrary, refer to the occurrence on the road as the reason why it was impossible to preserve any *incognito* afterwards?—Strauss also assumes that Jesus was literally, and in all seriousness, so unfeeling and harsh, that even the disciples could not look on with complacency.² "There is no indication whatever," in the text, he says, "that Jesus merely wished to prove the woman, and to give an occasion for the manifestation of the whole strength of her faith; but rather the unmistakeable signs of a real change of mind." But what peculiar indications ought the Evangelist to have given in connection with a case which every unprejudiced mind would understand? Strauss expects a "This He said, tempting her," as in John vi. 6. Does he not see that the case is quite different there: that there the question might really have been taken in earnest; that there John's express object is

¹ That ground was not certainly "to avoid a final rupture with His countrymen," but to form in Judæa a centre and starting point for the new kingdom.

² And this was the enlightened Rabbi whom the world has to thank for its "regeneration through a new idea!"

to make prominent the right understanding of the question as against Philip's misapprehension? Here, on the contrary, the choice lies between two possible explanations: either to regard the conduct of Jesus as a test, or as unfeeling harshness; and where this was the choice, the Evangelists saw no necessity for guarding against misapprehension. They could very safely omit any explanation; whilst their purely objective description added beauty and clearness to the narrative.

According to Strauss's usual method, he ought to have drawn the conclusion, that the occurrence (as he understands it) was inconceivable, and therefore the whole account a myth. But see here: the opportunity offers of fixing a blemish upon Jesus, and representing Him as a hard and exclusive Jew; and *Strauss* eagerly embraces it: he says nothing about the discrepancy between the occurrence, as he understands it, and the narrative of the centurion. He even plasters up this discrepancy, that he may pronounce the occurrence historical. Such is the impartiality of the modern science!—On the touching of the deaf and dumb man, and the application of saliva, *vide* § 76.

§ 75.

FEEDING OF THE FOUR THOUSAND. SECOND DEMAND FOR A SIGN,
AND DISCOURSES.

MATT. XV. 32—XVI. 12; MARK VIII. 1–21.

In a desert spot on the south-east coast of the Lake of Gennesareth (in the neighbourhood of Decapolis), Jesus was occupied for three days in teaching and healing; and as the provisions which the people had brought with them had long been all consumed, it seemed undesirable to send them away in an exhausted condition to travel back to their homes. Jesus mentioned the difficulty to His disciples; and as they could hardly expect without further ground that the former miracle would be repeated, they thought that the question put by Jesus was sufficient in itself to lead to the conclusion, that on this occasion He did not intend to meet the difficulty by means of a miracle. Nor did Jesus blame them at all on this account, but simply inquired how much food they had by them, thereby indicating what His intention was. The disciples did not express the slightest doubt; and the feeding went on in the same manner as before.—Jesus then dismissed the people; and having entered the ship, crossed over to Magdala (into the province of Dalmanutha). There the unwearied Pharisees encountered Him again, along with certain Sadducees, who

had gone before for the purpose of watching Him; and as they had undoubtedly heard of the new miracle, they asked Him to work a miracle for them, a really great one, a *σημεῖον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ*. But Jesus, who worked miracles only where He expected thereby to awaken faith, and not for the gratification of curiosity, told them that they needed no special miracle to lead them to belief; but that, if they *would* believe, the signs of the times (*σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν*), the circumstances of their own age (including the works which He performed), were amply sufficient for that. So He left them; and entering the ship, crossed over again to the eastern shore of the lake. On the way He warned His disciples, in figurative language, to beware of the leaven (the all-pervading evil disposition) of the Pharisees (the hypocrites), and of Herod (the man of the world). But the disciples, who happened to have come without bread, misunderstood His words, and, taking them literally, supposed Him to mean, that when they purchased bread, they were not to buy it of Pharisees. They fancied, therefore, that He was blaming them for their neglect. But Jesus reminded them of the two miracles, as a proof that they had no need to trouble themselves in any way about the nourishment of their bodies and the preparation of food. The disciples then understood that Jesus was speaking of the doctrine (the principles) of the Pharisees and Sadducees.—And they came to Bethsaida Julias.

1. *Bruno Bauer* (Syn. ii. 356 seq.) points out the following geographical difficulty. In Mark viii. 1, Jesus proceeds to the eastern shore; in ver. 10, He returns to the western; and in ver. 13, He again crosses to the eastern, where He enters (ver. 22) into a Bethsaida, which must therefore have been situated on the eastern side of the lake. But we do not find, either in Mark or any other of the Evangelists, a Bethsaida on the eastern shore. We only read of one in *Galilee*; *Josephus* also “knows only one Bethsaida;” and “the question, whether he refers to the city of that name on the western side of the lake, which is also mentioned in the Old Testament, is a matter of perfect indifference.”—But that is by no means the case. In Ant. 18, 4, 6, *Josephus* speaks of a Bethsaida which was under the dominion of Philip, and which he enlarged and named *Julias*, in honour of the daughter of Augustus. Now, the simple fact that Philip only ruled to the east of the Jordan and the lake, would be in itself a sufficient proof that this Bethsaida was situated on the east, even if it were not expressly stated by *Pliny*.¹—That the New Testa-

¹ Hist. Nat. v. 15: *Jordanes in lacum se fundit, quem plures Genesarem vocant, amœnis circumseptum oppidis, ab oriente Juliade*.—According to *Josephus*

ment geography knows nothing of this eastern Bethsaida, is not true. (Cf. Luke ix. 10.)

In distinction from this Bethsaida, we find the other expressly called *Bethsaida of Galilee* (John xii. 21); and this, as being the native city of Philip, Peter, and Andrew, is identical with the one mentioned in John i. 44, Matt. xi. 21 sqq., Luke x. 13 sqq., and must have been situated on the *western* side of the lake (*vid.* § 51).

“Mark himself had mentioned the western Bethsaida in chap. vi. 45. Now, if he refers again to a Bethsaida in chap. viii., without making any distinction, he must intend his readers still to understand the western Bethsaida. But as he is speaking in chap. viii. 13 and 22 of the eastern shore, this would be a contradiction. The whole passage, therefore (chap. viii. 1 sqq.), must be an interpolation.”—On the contrary, we reply: Since he distinctly states, in chap. vi. 30 sqq., that Jesus had gone to Peræa, and then in ver. 45 says that the disciples sailed *εἰς τὸ πέραν*, *i.e.*, to Galilee, where they arrived at Bethsaida, whereas in chap. viii. Jesus is described as proceeding from the coast of Dalmanutha (the western) to the eastern shore, and *then* comes to Bethsaida, this alone distinguishes the one from the other, and renders any further distinction altogether unnecessary.

2. The only difficulty which even *Strauss* can find in the repetition of the *feeding*, is that he cannot believe that the second would be in all the attendant circumstances just like the first. Now what are these attendant circumstances? “The satisfying of a crowd”—should they have remained hungry this time, for a change?—“with a comparatively small amount of provisions.” But the amount of provisions, as well as the number of the people, is different. “Both times in a solitary place.” Should it have happened in a town the second time, where it would have been unnecessary? “Both times by the Lake of Galilee.” But the first time it was on the north-east coast, near Julias (Luke ix. 10); the second, on the south-east, near Decapolis. “On both occasions the people had stayed too long.” Should the second have taken place as soon as they came, or when they were gone? Besides, the first time they only remained till the evening; the second time they stayed three days. “Both times Jesus shows a desire to feed the multitude from private resources, which the disciples regard as an impossibility.” Not true (see below). “Both times the people are fed with bread and fish.” This was the ordinary

(B. J. 3, 10, 7), it must have been quite at the northern extremity of the lake. Cf. *Reland*, *Palæst.* p. 654; *Bachiène*, *hist. u. geogr. Besch.* ii. 4, 172 sqq.; and *Raumer*, *Palästina*, Ed. i. p. 100.

food of inhabitants of the sea-coast. "Both times Jesus orders the people to sit down, and they are supplied by the disciples"—(was no order needed the second time?)—"after the giving of thanks." Should Jesus have omitted the thanksgiving the second time for the sake of a change? especially as it was *unnecessary*. "Both times something remains over." But the first time it is twelve baskets, the second seven. "Both times Jesus sails across the lake." Ought He then to have remained in the desert? Besides, on one occasion He did not sail, but walked across the lake.—All the circumstances which were indispensably necessary to such a feeding as this, are the same in both; but all which *could* by any possibility be different, *were* so.

After expressing his own astonishment at the repetition of the feeding, Strauss takes it amiss in the disciples that they wondered at it. They certainly wondered for other reasons than he does. Strictly speaking, in fact, they were not surprised; but as Jesus had allowed the third day to arrive without betraying the least concern about the want of the people, they thought that on this occasion it was not His intention to relieve their necessities in the same manner as on the former occasion; and when He eventually consulted them about the way in which the people should be supplied, the conclusion which they drew from the question was, that Jesus did not intend to work a miracle. But when He proceeded to inquire still further, how many loaves they had by them, they saw at once what His intention was, and *not a word of doubt escaped from their lips*.

3. As to the *demand for a sign*;—Strauss stumbles at the repeated allusion to Jonah (Matt. xii. 39). As if Jesus could not speak to these persons—who were quite different from those who questioned Him on the occasion referred to in Matt. xii.—the same word (which He probably uttered more than twice, as a standing answer to such hypocritical demands). Strauss raises two other questions. First, Why did the demands for a sign take place in each case immediately after great miracles (John vi. 30; Matt. xii. 38, xvi. 1)? Did the Jews not allow the validity of these miracles? But in Matt. xii. 38, according to the true order of sequence, that immediate succession of the miracle and of the demand for a sign does not exist. The demand in John vi. 30 is explained sufficiently at p. 304. The demand in Matt. xvi. 1 can be explained quite as naturally. The Pharisees and Sadducees had heard of the feeding, and begged Jesus to let them also see a wonder, and they would believe.—Thus Goethe's saying here proves true, that everything general is unmeaning. If we look at these three passages superficially, Strauss's observation,

that the demand for signs always followed on the back of miracles, has some plausibility, which disappears on thorough examination.

That Jesus on these three occasions did not choose to work a miracle, is, according to Strauss's own admission, no proof that He did not on other occasions work miracles of His own accord. At the same time, he sees no little difficulty in Matt. xvi. 4, "A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall *no sign* be given unto it." It is true he is gracious enough to acknowledge, that by the "wicked and adulterous generation" Jesus did not mean all His contemporaries, but the hypocritical Pharisees and Sadducees. Yet he asks, whether it is likely that none of the Pharisees ever happened to be present when Jesus worked a miracle.—As if happening to be present, and having a miracle performed by express desire, were one and the same thing; or as if the expression, "shall be given unto it," could possibly apply to the former!—*Strauss's* ideas, however, do not reach so far as this. He cuts the matter short, and draws the conclusion, that as no reference is made to the miracles of Jesus in the apostolic Epistles, this reply of Jesus, in which He declines to work a miracle, is to be regarded as a solitary trace of the historical truth, which had been handed down to the time when the Gospels were written; namely, that Jesus wrought no miracles whatever,—a trace which the Evangelists, in their simplicity, introduced into the Gospels without observing its critical importance.—We shall enter more fully into this question in Part II.

§ 76.

THE BLIND MAN AT BETHSAIDA.

MARK VIII. 22–26.

The account of the repetition of the act of touching the eyes in the case of this man is very distinct in itself; but the question naturally arises, How was it that the man did not perfectly gain his sight the first time that Jesus touched his eyes? The cure was certainly not effected gradually, as *Olshausen* supposes, lest the sudden burst of light should injure his eyes. The negative critics, on the other hand, will never be able to demonstrate the essential impossibility of the whole transaction, as it is described by Mark, till they can explain the laws which regulate the sphere of miracles (a sphere which undoubtedly is not without its laws, though it is removed above the laws of our earthly nature). Instead of this, they prefer to deny that there are any miracles at all. For our own part, however, bearing in mind

that within the sphere of moral and spiritual influence the finite will has power to resist the work of grace, we can also conceive that in the sphere of the physical operations of grace a similar resistance on the part of unbelief, or a relative obstruction through weakness of faith, may also have been possible; and that this was the reason why Jesus required *faith* of all who came to be healed. If, then, the blind man was weak in faith, this will explain why Jesus condescended to resort to the use of the spittle and the act of touching, viz., to help his weak faith; and also why it was not till he had been touched a second time that the cure was complete. The cause of the comparative failure at first is to be sought, not in Jesus, but in the blind man himself.

Jesus could undoubtedly effect cures by His absolute omnipotence (as in the case of the cures in the distance); but here, as in so many other instances, it was His *will* to connect the cure with faith, that the faith might thereby be strengthened and matured.

§ 77.

THE TRANSFIGURATION.

MATT. XVI. 13–XVII. 23; MARK VIII. 27–IX. 32; LUKE IX. 18–45.

When they had come near to Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus asked His disciples what opinion they were accustomed to hear expressed by the people with regard to Him. On the same occasion He also inquired whom *they* supposed Him to be; when Peter, full of fire, broke out with the inspired declaration, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” Jesus congratulated him on this declaration; but, as a safeguard against pride, He reminded him that this pre-eminence in saving knowledge had not been acquired by himself, but received from God. And now upon him, whose name was “Rock,” should the Christian Church be founded (*vid.* Acts ii.), and to him should power be given to bind and loose. At the same time, Jesus instructed the disciples not to dispute with the people, who had not yet acknowledged Him as the Messiah, nor to endeavour without preparation to force their own views upon them.—Then, for the first time, Jesus began to foretell to the disciples His sufferings, and also His resurrection. But they understood so little of what He said respecting the resurrection, that Peter took upon himself to make an earnest attempt to keep back the Lord from the path of suffering; an attempt which Jesus repelled with severity, as carnal and seductive, and betraying the mind of Satan rather than of God. Jesus then proceeded to point out that His work consisted in self-denial, in taking up the cross, and in laying down His

life. At the same time, He announced a future return in glory; and, as a token of this, predicted the establishment of His Church before that generation had passed away.—Six days after these conversations had taken place, Jesus took Peter, John, and James up a high mountain, to pray there. While waiting there, the disciples fell asleep; and when they awoke, they saw the form of Jesus transfigured, His countenance shining like the sun, His clothes sparkling like snow, and Moses and Elias conversing with Him. Peter was carried away by the delightful impression, and said, “Master, it is good to be here; we will build dwellings for Thee, and Moses, and Elias;” not knowing what he said. A light cloud then came down and enveloped them; and a voice from the cloud repeated the same acknowledgment by the Father, of a Son so ready to suffer, which had already been expressed on the occasion of His baptism. At these words the disciples fell down upon their faces. And when Jesus raised them up, the vision had passed away. Jesus then told them not to mention the occurrence till after His resurrection; but they did not even understand what the word resurrection meant. *In the transfiguration, Jesus had declared to the fathers of the former covenant His readiness to redeem them by His death; and at the same time the unity of the new and old covenants was clearly exhibited to the heralds of the new, and Christ visibly manifested before their eyes, as the fulfiller of the law and the prophets.*—They then asked Jesus why the scribes were in the habit of saying that Elias must come before the Messiah (a saying with which the appearance of Elias that had just taken place appeared partially to harmonize). Jesus explained to them, that Elias would really come again before His descent to judgment, but that it was also written that the Messiah should come in humiliation and pass through deep (and now quickly approaching) sorrow; and even this His first coming had been preceded by an Elias, whom the people, however, had not believed,—an unbelief which would show itself still further in the death of the Son of man. The three disciples then understood, that by the Elias last named Jesus meant John the Baptist. *Thus had Jesus clearly distinguished between His first and second coming, and thereby given the key to the interpretation of all the Old Testament prophets.*—When they came down from the mountain, they saw a great crowd assembled round the other disciples, which moved to meet Him as soon as He appeared. When Jesus came into the midst of them, the deepest impression was produced by His aspect of unusual dignity and solemnity. But a man in the crowd cried out to Jesus to take pity on his son, who was a lunatic, possessed by a devil, which His disciples had been unable to cast out. Jesus reproved the disciples for their

unbelief, and directed them to bring the boy; who was immediately thrown to the ground by the devil, and lay foaming at the mouth. Jesus calmly waited, while the father described to Him the whole extent of the boy's sufferings. He then said, "All things are possible to him that believeth." The man replied, "I believe, Lord; help my unbelief." Jesus then commanded the devil to come out; and having raised up the boy, who was lying as though dead, restored him to his father. He then told the disciples that they could accomplish everything through faith; but that the performance of *such* an act required a faith well sustained by prayer and fasting.—They proceeded thence, and went about for some time longer in Galilee. Jesus then announced to them a second time His sufferings and His resurrection; but again they so little understood what the latter meant, that His words merely made them sorry.

1. Strauss regards the confession of Peter as if the view that Jesus was the Son of God had then dawned upon him for the first time; nay, from His question in Matt. xvi. 15, "Jesus appears to have wished" that the disciples might now at length come to that view. For how otherwise could Jesus, "as if terrified," forbid the further publication of this name, or represent the intuition of Peter as a divine revelation? The *terror* is a gratuitous contribution of Strauss's to the narrative. Jesus forbade the publication of the truth by him, because the disciples might easily have been led away by their joy at the possession of this firm and certain knowledge, which Jesus had now confirmed, to endeavour at once to deal with every one who might hold a different opinion (Matt., ver. 14); whereas Jesus did not want a confession enforced from without, but one which should result from the natural and inward growth of the people themselves. The insight of Peter is pronounced by Jesus a divine revelation; not because it had just flashed upon his mind, as some suppose, but because, then as now, no one, whatever his acuteness might be, could attain to such knowledge as this without the grace of God.

2. The *predictions of the coming sufferings* have been attacked by Strauss. He has very well shown that Jesus could not have divined or conjectured the precise nature of His sufferings in a natural way; and it is only a pity that he has given himself the trouble to explain in a natural way Christ's foresight of His passion *in general*. But he also denies the possibility of a prophetic foresight; not, however, because there is never any such thing as prophecy (he *thinks* this, but shrinks from saying it); but he merely proposes a dilemma. "Either Jesus foresaw His sufferings without any help whatever; or He studied

the Old Testament, and gained the knowledge thence. The former was not the case, because Jesus Himself appeals to the Old Testament prophecy (Luke xviii. 31, xxii. 37, xxiv. 25 sqq.; Matt. xxvi. 54). Consequently, He derived His knowledge from the Old Testament. But modern students know that these passages of the Old Testament, which Jesus might have made use of in His inquiries, have been proved by modern exegesis to have no reference to the sufferings of Christ. In the latter case, therefore, Jesus would have erred, and could not have been supernaturally enlightened.

But the Lord certainly never made so absurd a use of the Old Testament as *Strauss* supposes; viz., to deduce the particular circumstances of His sufferings from particular passages of the Old Testament, wrested from their connection. In fact, the empirical view, that certain detached parts of Christ's sufferings were predicted here and there, without the slightest arrangement, is entirely false. The whole course of the history of Israel was a grand prediction and typical foreshadowing of the Messiah; whilst by the guidance of God it came to pass, that many a feature in the sufferings of Old Testament believers was reproduced in the life of Jesus. From the fact that Jesus appealed more than others to the Old Testament as containing predictions of His sufferings, *Strauss* draws the conclusion, that it must have been from the Old Testament that Jesus Himself first *learned* that He would suffer; and that He cannot, therefore, have seen and known it before through His divine intuition, and His oneness with the Father. —Jesus, on the contrary, *knew* of His sufferings independently of the Old Testament; and *appealed* to the latter only to guard His followers from being grieved by these sufferings, and to show them that they were endured according to the predetermined counsel of God, and that the resistance which the ungodly nation had already offered to the imperfectly anointed messengers of the Old Testament, would not and could not be wanting in the case of the Anointed One of the New. Hence the circumstance that the sufferings of Jesus coincided, *even in minute particulars*, with the descriptions given, for example, in the Psalms of David, could not fail to strengthen the faith of the Apostles. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that Jesus Himself did not give prominence to such particulars.

Strauss maintains with great confidence, that the separate announcements of the sufferings of Christ in the Synoptists are in contradiction with those in John. On hearing this, one expects that John must have made Jesus say something about His sufferings which is incompatible with His expressions about them in the Synoptists, or use different modes of representation on one and the same occasion. But

the contradiction amounts only to this, that Jesus, on *different* occasions, used different expressions. In John, He speaks *before all the people*, at the *beginning*, in *obscure images*; in the Synoptists (as in John xiv. and xvi.), *towards the end*, to His *disciples alone*, and *clearly* and *plainly*. Further, the Evangelists relate distinctly and circumstantially that the disciples understood the announcement of the sufferings of Jesus, but not that of the resurrection: *vid.* Mark ix. 10, "And they kept that saying with themselves, questioning one with another what the rising from the dead should mean;" Matt. xvii. 23, where, after the second announcement of the death and resurrection of Jesus, "they were exceeding sorry;" and Mark ix. 32, "They understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him." They had already seen dead persons raised to life again; but only to a short life, to be followed by death again. They also believed in the future resurrection of the dead, but not till after a long night of decomposition in the grave. But how they were to understand the resurrection of *Jesus*, they could not comprehend. When He, the only One who could raise the dead, should be dead Himself, who would remain to awaken Him? Would He also continue dead till the final resurrection of all that were in their graves?—Even *Strauss* himself admits that the disciples could form no conception of the resurrection of Jesus; he also appeals to Matt. xxvii. 62 sqq., as a proof that some report of a prophecy of Jesus concerning His resurrection must have been spread abroad. And nothing more is needed to make the whole matter plain. Jesus had frequently predicted in plain terms that He should "be raised again;" but what He meant, the disciples did not understand. The enigmatical *words* were fixed in their memory; but they did not awake in their minds a distinct and habitual *hope*. What wonder, then, that the terrible blow inflicted by the death of Jesus came upon them with overpowering severity, and that the dim, mysterious words, which were still fixed in the background of their memory, were not sufficient to resist the powerful impressions produced by the calamity of the moment, and therefore were even less adapted than before to awaken hope in the disciples' minds, and produce the distinct expectation that Jesus would rise again, seeing that even in their calmer moments they had been unable to form any conception of what a resurrection could be?

3. The *prediction* in Matt. xvi. 28 is obvious. Even if the parallel passages in Mark and Luke did not show very plainly that Jesus was speaking here, not of His own return, but of the formation of *His Church*, and especially of the events of the day of Pentecost, this would be apparent from the preposition *ἐν* ("in His kingdom"), which must

mean *in*, and not *to*. Christ comes *in* his kingdom, when He founds His Church, and appears *therein*. His coming to judgment would be coming *to* the kingdom, not coming *in* it. He could only be represented as coming *in* the kingdom, if by kingdom we were to understand the *ornatus regius*, or the angels attendant upon Him; but this would be entirely opposed to the usage of Jesus and His Apostles.—The connection of the words, as we have given them above, is this: Jesus, for the purpose of preventing any doubts from arising, and to assure them of the certainty of His declaration (*ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν*), gives a *token* to His disciples, who were amazed at His prediction of His future glory, by foretelling a *much nearer event*, from which, as a manifestation of the *spiritual* power of Jesus, they might learn the certainty of His future *visible* glory.

4. We have already given our view of the *transfiguration*. The Old Testament fathers, both during their lives and after their deaths, had been looking forward with hope to the coming redemption. The time had now arrived in which Jesus had entered upon His last journey, with the firm resolution to lay down His life. What He had already declared in the simple fact of His baptism, and had demonstrated by overcoming the temptation, He had now declared to the disciples; and in connection with this declaration had conquered a temptation essentially similar to the first, but more delicate, and therefore harder to resist; namely, the temptation which came from the lips of a beloved disciple (a mixture of falsehood with good intentions), from whom it was undoubtedly hard for the Lord to tear Himself away. And as on the former occasion God had acknowledged, in the presence of the last Old Testament prophet, that this Jesus who was resolved to lay down His life was His own Son, He now made the same acknowledgment in the presence of the *lawgiver* and the *first prophet*, the chiefs of the first covenant itself. *Law* and *prophecy* here came in person; the first covenant, the covenant of hope, here greeted the new as its fulfilment; and God a second time declared Himself well pleased with Jesus.

The voice from the cloud has been called an “anthropomorphism.” With what justice, we cannot tell. That God has neither throat nor larynx, we are well aware. But if He desires to reveal to us men His own eternal thoughts, whilst our bodily ears cannot *hear* the eternal thoughts of God, He can, through His almighty power, produce an articulated movement of the air which shall reach the ear in the form of an *audible voice*.

5. Why were the disciples charged not to make the occurrence known? We reply, because there was no imaginable reason why they

should do so. The impulse would no doubt be very strong, to talk about what they had seen. But this sacred and significant event was not an object for curiosity or gossip. Till the feast of Pentecost enlightened the disciples' minds as to the real connection between the Old Covenant and the New, it was impossible that they should understand the meaning of the transfiguration. It was therefore best that it should not be made a subject of (unmeaning) conversation.

§ 78.

RETURN TO CAPERNAUM.

(The Stater. Discourses.)

MATT. XVII. 24—XVIII. 35; MARK IX. 33—50; LUKE IX. 46—50,
XV. 4—7.

On the way home, when not far from Capernaum, the disciples disputed among themselves which of them should be the greatest in the kingdom of Christ, for which they were looking.—As soon as they entered the town, the collectors of the temple-rate¹ came up and asked Peter whether his Master paid the rate,—evidently *expecting* and *assuming* that they should receive a negative reply from Him who called Himself the Lord of the temple. But Peter, whether from dulness of mind or fear, or from obsequiousness, was ready at once with an affirmative reply, instead of waiting at least till he had consulted the Lord. As soon as he entered the house, Jesus anticipated him with the question, whether kings demanded tribute of their own children; and then directed him to pay the tribute, to avoid giving offence (Gal. iv. 4). To prove to him, however, that He did not need to pay tribute like an ordinary subject, but that, on the contrary, the whole world was subject to Him, its King, He told him to go to the lake and cast in his line, when he would find the stater in the mouth

¹ Wieseler imagines that it was a Roman tax, and that Jesus declared Himself and Peter to be really "sons of the kings of the earth," attributing the possession of regal dignity to every God-fearing man.—This explanation does not appear to me a natural one. The fact, that according to *tract.* שקלים the temple-rate was paid in the month *Adar* (whereas according to my calculation this must have taken place in December), is no proof either that my calculation is wrong, or that this was not a temple-rate. For, granting that the work referred to really furnished conclusive evidence in relation to the time of Jesus, the collection might have commenced in *Jerusalem* as early as the time specified; whilst it would be perfectly natural that arrears should be collected at a later period from persons travelling about. Jesus had been travelling for a considerable time; and the collectors came to Him directly He entered Capernaum, which He made His home.

of the first fish he caught;—a reflection of the spiritual relation in which, as Son of God, He stood to the law, subject to it as man, yet fulfilling it by the power of His divinity (His divine nature being manifested in a finite form, and as the completion of humanity).—Jesus then asked His disciples what they had been disputing about on the road; but they were silent. Jesus therefore took a child, and placing it in the midst of them, told them that an unassuming disposition like that of a child was necessary before any one could enter into His kingdom; and it was for them to take children as a type, and to esteem and tend them as representatives of Christ. *Humility* and *love* were the great requirements; and it was in these they ought to vie with one another.—The words of Jesus, that they were to receive children *in His name*, reminded John of a man whom they had seen casting out devils, and who had appealed to the fact that he did it “in the name of Jesus,” though he was not one of His ordinary followers. Jesus commanded them not to prohibit him from doing this, or to disturb him in his silent and separate belief.—Jesus then proceeded to speak still further of offences, warning them against giving offence to others, and also against being led astray themselves. Above all, they should beware of offending in any way the little ones (who resembled children, and were despised by the Pharisees and Sadducees); for it was to save the forsaken, despised, and poor that He had come. He illustrated this by the parable of the lost sheep; and then passed on from the compassion of God towards us, to the placable and compassionate disposition which we ought to cherish towards others; and this He illustrated by the parable of the unmerciful servant.

1. Three objections are made to the *account of the stater*: (1) That the fish should bite at the hook with a stater in its mouth; (2) that Jesus should know that there was a stater in the fish; and (3) that there was no object in the miracle. With regard to the first, we leave it to people who have acumen and leisure enough for such things, to settle whether “the stater entered the fish’s mouth as it was biting at the hook,” or whether “the stater may have come from the stomach into the mouth in the act of biting.” The second has been anticipated at p. 39. The third objection could only be offered by one to whom such reasons are absurd, as a *want of money*, or a *wish to strengthen Peter’s faith*. The true reason, or rather the true explanation, may be seen above.

2. A difficulty has been pointed out in connection with the exhibition of the child, in the fact that, according to Matthew, Jesus passes away from the main intention, and shows, not in what they ought to

imitate it, but how they ought to treat it; whilst in Mark and Luke He does not touch upon the leading point at all.—But we have seen that the demand for the *unassuming disposition of a child* and *affectionate regard for others*, especially such as are in need of help, are equally essential; and the second demand was diametrically opposed to the selfish feelings of the disciples; so that Mark and Luke by no means relate what “has no connection” with the subject when they give prominence to the latter aspect alone.

The connection of thought in Mark ix. 38 has been correctly pointed out by *Schleiermacher*. It was, no doubt, the expression “in My name” which reminded John of the similar expression which they had heard the exorcist employ. How natural is this association of ideas! But Strauss imagines that this expression formed the link of connection, not in the actual conversation, but simply in the Evangelists’ account. Mark and Luke, that is to say, were both of them led by the sound of the words to connect together two accounts that bore no relation to one another. How strange that the same thought should occur to the minds of *two* authors! Which is the more probable: that in a free and unrestrained conversation a *word* should suggest to one individual an event of a kindred character, and that he should be led at once to relate what he would have mentioned before if he had thought of it; or that two authors, with ample time for calm reflection, should both be led by the mere sound of a word to connect together two occurrences which were related neither in time nor in similarity of contents, and that altogether independently the one of the other?

In the same way Matt. xviii. 8 is said to be linked on to vers. 6, 7, simply on account of the occurrence of the word *σκάνδαλον* (offence), “*though* the reporter takes up the thread again in ver. 10.” We maintain, on the contrary, that there is the most fitting train of thought; and the fact that Jesus passes from the warning not to give offence to *others*, to the exhortation not to suffer *themselves* *σκανδαλίζεσθαι* (to be offended), is in perfect accordance with Semitic usage. Both in Job and in Ecclesiastes we may find hundreds of such transitions. Whether the *parable of the lost sheep* was related on the occasion mentioned by Matthew, or on that given by Luke, is a matter of indifference. The two occasions are very probably identical. Luke mentions nothing but the presence of murmuring Pharisees. And this may very well have occurred during the discourses related in Matt. xviii.

The objection to Matt. xviii. 17, that the “Church” was not yet formed, may be met in this way. Jesus used the word *ἐκκλ.* and may

have described this *kahal* still more particularly as one composed, or to be composed, of disciples and believers. The Evangelist, by the use of the word *ἐκκλησία*, which his readers would all understand, showed clearly what *kahal* it was to which Jesus referred, namely, the Christian Church.

CHAPTER VIII.

JESUS BETWEEN JUDÆA AND PERÆA.

§ 79.

JOURNEY TO THE FEAST OF DEDICATION.

LUKE IX. 51-56 ; JOHN X. 22-42.

When the feast of the Dedication arrived, the Lord left Galilee and went straight to Jerusalem, sending messengers first, to provide a lodging. There was a hamlet of Samaria, which these messengers were not allowed to enter because they were Jews ; whereupon James and John, giving a childish, carnal direction to the faith which flamed up within them, inquired of Jesus whether they should not bring fire down from heaven, as Elias had formerly done. But Jesus turned round, and chiding them, said, "Ye know not in what spirit ye are saying this." He also reminded them that they were not with foolish affection to make His person the object of their thought, but rather with wisdom to keep His redeeming work before them as the object of all their actions.—When He arrived in Jerusalem, it came to pass that as He was walking in Solomon's porch, the Jews challenged Him to a plain declaration that He was "the Messiah," being impatient at seeing Him continue His work without their being able to lay hold of Him. Jesus replied that He had never concealed this, and had never refused to confirm the declaration by the testimony of His works ; but they had not believed these *witnesses*, just because they stood in no living connection whatever with Him ; in spirit they were altogether estranged ; in a word, they were not of His sheep. His sheep were those who listened to Him ; but He also knew them, and gave to them eternal life ; and the Father guarded them from falling away. Jesus had thus unfolded His whole work, His whole Messianic purpose, to the Jews ; and could now declare to them without reserve, and going beyond their own inquiry, "I and the Father are one." This so ex-

cited the anger of the Jews, that they lost all presence of mind, and instead of making the words of Jesus the ground of an accusation, began at once in a tumultuous way to prepare to stone Him. But they were quieted again by the calm inquiry of Jesus, "For which of His good works they intended to stone Him." They replied, in their perplexity, that it was not for good deeds, but because He called Himself God. He reminds them that if in the law (Exod. xxii. 7, 8) the name *Elohim* was applied to the nation of Israel, the consecrated Israel of the Father had much more right to be called the Son of God. They then sought again to lay hands upon Him, but Jesus escaped from their hands.

1. The appeal to His "*works*" in ver. 25, is, according to *Bruno Bauer*, at variance with the assurance, that the Jews, after all, would not believe. But is the punishment which a father administers to a disobedient son at variance with the conviction which he may have, that this punishment will also be ineffectual? And ought he on that account to abstain from punishment altogether; or would it not rather be an additional reason for inflicting it?—Another objection is made on the ground, that "when once a crowd had taken up stones (ver. 31), there would be no further possibility of reasoning with them." Not if the crowd had done so with a *good* conscience. But that *je ne sais quoi*, which impelled them first to look out for more definite ground for a legal charge, and then prevented them from bringing an official accusation, kept them wavering all along between the legal and the riotous method of securing the desired end. The thing called "a guilty conscience" is very awkward to deal with. Even a criminal, so long as he feels any hesitation, and his conscience is not quite destroyed, is glad of any circumstance which relieves him of the necessity for decision, and still holds him back. But these Jews were not all criminals. It was a mixed crowd. And those who had suffered themselves to be carried away by the rest, so as to take up stones, were the first to hesitate. The rest, when they found themselves forsaken by the mass, did not venture to act alone. Thus the second attempt was also frustrated (ver. 39).

2. A great outcry has been raised about vers. 26, 27. But no one would feel surprised if a minister, after an absence of three months, should say something on his return to remind his hearers of the last sermon he had preached. And still less is there to surprise in the fact that Jesus, who *often* compared His followers to lambs or sheep—a *very common* figure with the most various writers of the Old Testament, and therefore very familiar to the countrymen of Jesus—should

here *call* His followers His sheep, and distinguish them, as “being obedient, following Him, and also as kept by Him,” from those who did not believe.—In the parable of the good shepherd, which He had recited three months before, He had, it is true, employed the expressions, “hear His voice,” and “know My own;” He had also used the word ἀπαύξειν; but to distinguish the true shepherd from the hireling, and not, as in this instance, the *obedient* sheep from the *disobedient*.¹

§ 80.

JESUS BY THE JORDAN.

MATT. XIX. 1–15; MARK X. 1–16; LUKE XVIII. 15–17.

Jesus now remained on the eastern bank of the Jordan, opposite to Judæa; on the border, therefore, between Judæa and Peræa. Even here, those spies from the Pharisees found Him out, and continued their captious questions, by which they hoped to be able to entangle Him in difficulties in the presence of the people, and to weaken His influence. This time they had turned up the chapter about *divorce*. The question, whether a man “might give his wife a letter of divorce for every cause,” was a ticklish one, just because the Rabbis and the people were divided in their opinions;² and Jesus therefore, whichever side He took, would be sure to oppose one half of the nation. But Jesus, who was not in the habit, or under the necessity, of courting the favour of the people by artfully sparing the prevailing opinions, pronounced both schools, that of *Shammai* and that of *Hillel*, equally in the wrong. Marriage in itself, as an ordinance of God founded in the nature of things, is indissoluble; and every divorce (except where the bond has actually been broken on the one side) is sin against the seventh commandment. The objection, that Moses permitted divorce, He met by showing that the permission given on the part of the civil law (which only forbids those outbreaks of sin which it can prevent by outward force), and granted on account of their hardness for an educa-

¹ “They listen to the voice of the shepherd,” is the antithesis to “they know not the voice of the *hireling*.” Here, “they listen to My voice,” forms the antithesis to “ye do not listen to My voice.”

² See *Winer*, *Realw.* i. p. 354. That the question was, as De Wette supposes, still further perplexing, inasmuch as, if Jesus had pronounced in favour of the stricter view—that of the school of *Shammai*—He would have provoked the anger of Herod Antipas (who had arbitrarily put away his wife), is not likely. In that case the whole school of *Shammai* would have had to fear Herod’s anger. Besides, we hear nothing of such anger, though Jesus did really go beyond this school in strictness. What did Herod care about rabbinical disputes?

tional purpose, was no approbation.—The disciples thought that if it was always sin to desire the wife of another, it was better not to marry at all. No doubt, said Jesus, there are those who, from internal impulse, have abstained from marriage for the kingdom of God's sake.—*Little children were then brought to Jesus*, that He might bless them. The disciples, thinking that this was a useless thing, were about to send the people away with their children. But the Lord directed the children to be brought, and blessed them.

1. The last account, which has not been attacked, needs no justification. Any one who is fond of children will understand it.—In the question with regard to divorce, the only point on which *Strauss* can lay hold, is that in Matt. xix. 12 Jesus teaches *Essenic asceticism*; since He commends celibacy, not merely so far as the disciples practised it, that they might be less fettered in their apostolic activity, but as meritorious in itself.—But it is not so certain that the *Essenes* did regard celibacy as meritorious on account of its purity, in spite of the arguments of Gfrörer (Philo ii. 310, 311); for *Josephus* and *Philo* both agree in attributing the celibacy of the sect to *contempt for the female sex* (τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλασσόμενοι, καὶ μηδεμίαν τηρεῖν πεπεισμένοι τὴν πρὸς ἓνα πίστιν.—*Josephus*, B. J. ii. 8, 2. Cf. *Philo* in *Euseb.* præp. ev. 8, 8). In any case to interpret the words “for the kingdom of God's sake” (Matt. xix. 12) as meaning, not *for the sake of activity in spreading the kingdom of God*, but for the sake of a *passive merit* in connection with the kingdom, is a pure piece of artifice; to say nothing of its want of harmony with the general spirit of Jesus and the Evangelists.

§ 81.

THE RESURRECTION OF LAZARUS.

JOHN XI. 1–45.

On the banks of the Jordan, where John had once baptized, a quiet company of those who had heard his preaching were now gathered around Jesus; when a messenger arrived from Lazarus' house at Bethany with the intelligence that Lazarus was sick, and a request that He would come to his relief. Jesus sent the messenger back with the answer, that the sickness was not unto death, but for the glory of the Son of God. Both the messenger and the disciples regarded this as a declaration which would be followed by a miraculous cure; and the former returned to Bethany. When Jesus, there-

fore, began to make preparations, two days after, for going to Judæa, this appeared to the disciples as unnecessary as it was dangerous; and on His announcing as the reason, that He was going to wake Lazarus out of his sleep, believing as they did that the sick man was either restored already or certain to recover, they naturally understood Jesus to refer to bodily sleep, and could not imagine why He should interrupt these beneficial slumbers. Jesus then told them plainly that Lazarus was dead. In a still more troubled and anxious state of mind, Thomas looked at the approaching danger, and sighed out, "Let us go and die with him." Now, when Jesus reached Bethany, Lazarus had been four days in the grave. As soon as Martha heard of His arrival, she went to meet Him, and attributed her brother's death to the fact that Jesus was not there (as though the word spoken to the messenger had not possessed sufficient force on account of the great distance); but she immediately corrected herself, and assured Jesus that she still believed in His possessing all miraculous power. However, she had given up all hope with regard to Lazarus; and when Jesus said to her, "Thy brother shall rise again," she could only think of the general resurrection, as taught by Jesus, and by the prophets before Him. Nor did Jesus then tell her anything more distinctly, but merely spoke of Himself as the source of all life, and of every victory over death. Martha then hastened to fetch Mary, who was not yet aware that Jesus had arrived, and to bring her to the spot, outside the village, where Jesus then was. Mary came at once, and with her many of the inhabitants, who had gone to her house to comfort her. She fell, weeping, at the feet of Jesus, and all her companions wept with her. A thrill of sympathy at the sight of such grief, and of horror at the power of death, passed through the mind of Jesus. He told them to show Him the grave. "See, here he lies," they said. The tears then came into Jesus' eyes; and the Jews said, "Behold how He loved him!" But some wondered how it was, that one who could work miracles should have allowed Lazarus, whom He loved so much, to die. Jesus trembled again with divine anguish at the thought of the power of physical and spiritual death, of blindness and unbelief. He bade them open the grave. Martha, still expecting nothing, thought that He merely wished to see the corpse, and tried to dissuade Him, as he had been dead four days, and decomposition would therefore have begun. But Jesus reminded her: "Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldest see the glory of God?" He then prayed before the open grave, thanking the Father that He *had heard* Him, as He always did; and having declared to the bystanders His unity with the Father, He cried with a

loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth." The dead man then moved in the grave, and came out, still wrapped about with the grave-clothes. Jesus told them to set him free. Mary now believed on Him; while others went and told the occurrence to the Pharisees.

1. In this account we have a striking proof how disregard to a single verse may lead to the misunderstanding of an entire narrative. Most of the expositors and critics have overlooked the fact, that the words of Jesus in ver. 4 not only could be, but were sure to be, understood as announcing a miraculous cure in the distance. And *Strauss* consequently expresses surprise that the disciples did not understand the words "he sleepeth" (κεκοίμῃται); for must they not have known, since the resurrection of *Jairus'* daughter, to what Jesus generally referred when He used the word κεκοιμᾶσθαι? On the other hand, however, it should be borne in mind that, to use *Strauss's* own words, only the "three Coryphæi" were present on that occasion; whereas here (as the twelve certainly did not *all* utter the words given in ver. 12, but only one or more of them) the term "His disciples" may refer to totally different individuals. And in any case, when S. asks how the disciples could have made so strange a mistake, as to suppose that Jesus intended to awake Lazarus out of ordinary sleep, from which it is not a customary thing to awaken invalids; if he had opened his eyes, he would have seen that it was this very thing which perplexed the disciples, understanding the words of Jesus as they did; for in ver. 12 they express their surprise, that Jesus should disturb their friend from so salutary a condition.—But, as we have said, every ground of objection is removed, when once we consider that for two whole days the disciples had had no other idea, than that Lazarus had been rescued from all danger by the declaration of Jesus, "This sickness is not unto death;" and consequently that the words, "I go to awake him out of sleep," *could not* excite the thought of death in their minds.

The consequence of overlooking ver. 4 has been, that not only has ver. 12 been misunderstood, but vers. 21–24 also. The answer brought by the messenger had led Martha to hope that Lazarus would recover.¹ And when Lazarus died after all, it necessarily appeared to her that

¹ As the distance of Bethany from the southern end of the Jordan is at the most only a day's journey, and Jesus, though He left *Peræa* *two days* after the arrival of the messenger, did not reach Bethany till the *fourth day after the death of Lazarus*, it is natural to suppose that He made the journey slowly, and no doubt by a circuitous route. If we reckon the day when Jesus and the messenger met as the *first*, the messenger would reach Bethany on the second, the death and burial of Lazarus would take place on the *third* (or possibly on the *second*), the departure of Jesus from *Peræa* on the *fourth*, and His arrival in Bethany on the *seventh* (possibly the *sixth*).

the words of Jesus, as related by the messenger, had not proved effective. This will explain her saying to Jesus, that if He had been present, the recovery would have been more certain. In ver. 22 she merely declares, in general terms, that she has no doubt as to the miraculous power of Jesus. But Strauss and others understand ver. 22 as showing that she knew nothing at all about the words of Jesus given in ver. 4, and merely complained that He had not come; and ver. 22 is supposed to express a definite hope, that Jesus would still come to their help, in other words, raise Lazarus from the dead. The fact, that in ver. 24 every trace of this hope suddenly disappears, is explained (very forcedly) on the ground, that the words of Jesus in ver. 23 appeared too indefinite to warrant her in indulging the wish which she had previously manifested (ver. 22). But if ver. 23 contains no distinct promise, still less does it contain a distinct refusal, such as would account for the sudden overthrow of all her hopes. In any case, the continued absence of all hope, evinced in ver. 39, cannot possibly be explained, if we adopt that interpretation of vers. 21 sqq., which supposes Martha, in ver. 22, to have already expressed her belief that Jesus would still interpose in a particular way.—A proper regard to ver. 4 will make everything plain.

2. The conduct of Jesus has been misrepresented by Strauss, in order to prove its impossibility. The fact, that Jesus stayed two days longer by the Jordan (and we might add, travelled so slowly afterwards), is pronounced incomprehensible; and is not rendered any clearer by *Lücke's* remark, that Jesus was busily engaged at the time in a work of peculiar importance in Peræa.¹ For Jesus might have returned to Peræa, or He might have cured Lazarus from a distance, like the servant of the centurion.—For my own part, I cannot agree with *Lücke*, that it would have been “purely arbitrary and capricious” on the part of Jesus to remain in Peræa, if there had been *no such external reasons*, and He had really intended to stay there till Lazarus was dead. For we must bear in mind that the Son of God was not responsible in the same manner as we are. Not, indeed, that He was so exempt from the requirements of the moral law, that it was perfectly free to Him to neglect in an arbitrary manner any good that He might accomplish. Nor was this what He did. With His almighty power, it was as possible for Him to raise a dead man as to cure a sick one; and He did not accomplish *less good*, when He allowed the disease to issue in death, and then awakened Lazarus. He merely did the same good in a different form. If the question be

¹ This is objected to on the ground that the Evangelist says nothing about any such reason; but see John x. 41, 42.

asked, whether He might not have spared the sisters the deepest sorrow ; we reply, that He who was "the express image of the person of God," in whom dwelt all the fulness of divine wisdom, knew well that this sorrow and trial would be salutary, and that the passing sorrow would be more than repaid by the most intense joy.—To the objection, that John says nothing about an educational purpose, but rather describes the object of Jesus as being to glorify Himself ; we reply, that according to the theology of the simple-hearted Evangelist (chap. i. 4 and 12, xvii. 1, 2, etc.), the glory of Jesus consisted in converting and saving ; whilst the faith of the πολλοὶ is actually mentioned in ver. 45 as *the end that was attained*.—Strauss characterizes Christ's prayer as a "sham prayer," and explains ver. 41 as if there arose in the mind of Jesus, before He had well begun, the reflection, that He prayed not from personal need, but out of cold accommodation ; and thinks ver. 42 was added at a time when people had such high ideas of Christ's divinity as to find the prayer objectionable. But the simple state of the case is this. Jesus thanks the Father, before He raises Lazarus, that He *has* heard Him. At the same time, He says that He does not regard this *being heard* as something strange and rare, but rather as a matter of course ; but that He has *spoken out* on this occasion that the people might mark this His certainty (*ἠκουσας*), and thereupon recognise His divinity. Herein lay, at the same time, the request that the Father might bless the deed to the people's hearts and draw them to Himself. What trait in this prayer, then, wants internal truth ?

Baur supposes, that if Jesus wept at the grave of Lazarus, it must have been for the *loss* of His friend. But "tears shed for one who had died, but to whom He was going with the certainty of raising him to life again, could not be an expression of genuine sympathy." A very refined psychology certainly ! Why did Joseph weep at the very moment when he was about to make himself known to his brethren ? Or, how is it that a kind-hearted man, who has met with a family in the deepest distress, and is about to surprise them with relief, is overcome as he enters the house of misery with relief in his hand, so that tears are forced from his eyes again ?—It is true that such psychological truths cannot be constructed on the logical turning-lathe. But the logic of a warm heart is different from that of a scorched brain, and is always incomprehensible to the latter.—For those who still possess the former, this explanation will suffice : Jesus wept, neither because He was vexed at the slowness of the Jews to understand, nor from grief at the loss of His friend, but from deep sorrow at the *power of death*, which has forced from thousands and

millions of eyes similar tears to those which Jesus saw flowing from those of Mary and Martha. He wept, because He also felt keenly now, what it was to have a dear friend cut down by one's side. He wept, because the fact of His raising Lazarus would not cause the power of death over *humanity* to cease. He wept, too, because He knew that He Himself would have to descend into the deepest horrors of death, in order to take away its sting. The early dawn, when light was still contending with the darkness, might well be marked by dewy tears of grief.

3. In ver. 37, some of the Jews inquire whether one who had opened the eyes of the blind could not have saved Lazarus from dying. It is said to be at variance with the Synoptists' account, that they appeal not to the raising of Jairus' daughter, and the son of the widow of Nain, but merely to the last case which took place in Jerusalem, the cure of a blind man.—But it is not true that both these occurrences were known "throughout all Judæa, and throughout all the region round about." With regard to the former, all that is said is, that "the fame hereof went abroad into all that land." And though Luke predicates a wider notoriety of the second, we can only conceive of the report as being gradually diffused; so that there is nothing to compel us to the conclusion, that these Jews *must of necessity* have known of the raising of the widow's son at the time when Lazarus was raised.

4. The only question that remains is, *Why do the Synoptists make no allusion to this event?* There were two reasons, so *Strauss* informs us, why the raising of Lazarus should not have been omitted. In the first place, the miracle itself was much more wonderful than any other miracles; and the raising of Lazarus, who had been four days in the grave already, was the most miraculous and the most "conclusive" of the whole. And, secondly, it formed a most important element in connection with the trial of Jesus, as it furnished the immediate occasion for the recommendation of Caiaphas that He should be put to death.—The first reason has no force whatever. For we know that, according to the biblical view, there is no such distinction as "greater or smaller miracles;" but all miracles are the same to omnipotent power (cf. Matt. xvii. 20). Nor were the readers of the Gospels in need of anything peculiarly "conclusive;" since they did not question even the least of the miracles, and instead of believing in Christ because of His miracles, believed in the miracles because of Christ.¹ It is certain, therefore, that the disciples were not guided in

¹ Even in the case of eye-witnesses, the miracles served rather to confirm than to induce belief, inasmuch as from the *very nature of the case* they were

their selection of miracles to be recorded, by the fact of their being more or less striking in their outward appearance.

The second reason is just as feeble. According to *Weisse's* opinion, if the resurrection of Lazarus really occurred, it must necessarily have formed the leading point in the whole of the criminal procedure. Pilate would be sure to hear of it; the followers of Jesus would employ it in His defence; whilst the Jews would pronounce it a deception, and accuse Jesus of being an impostor. But we need no peculiar sagacity to perceive, that even if the Jews were induced by the report to accelerate their plans for getting rid of Jesus, who was becoming more and more dangerous every day, they would be cunning enough to keep silence upon this point, lest they should lay themselves open to a charge of injustice towards a *prophet*, and thus help to accredit Jesus. The *Jews*, therefore, said nothing about the matter.—But the *followers of Jesus*, would not they bring it forward? What, Peter at the fire? Or the disciple who fled away naked? Just picture them coming with certain advocates before the heathen Pilate, and interrupting the trial!—Or *Jesus Himself*? He might, indeed, have appealed, not to the raising of Lazarus only, but to many other miracles, as He had so often done before—without effect. But apart from the fact, that His reply in Matt. xii. 24 sqq. might be suitably repeated here, it does not appear to me that it would have been in harmony with the spirit of the *Jesus of the Bible*, to endeavour by such means as these to draw back from His atoning death.

Strauss is more modest, since the only point singled out by him is, that according to John xi. 47 sqq., the resurrection of Lazarus was the occasion of the movement of the Sanhedrim to put Him to death. Such an occasion, in his opinion, was too important for any Evangelist to pass over it. But he overlooks the difference between an *occasion* and a *cause*. They would have put Jesus to death, altogether apart from this occurrence. The *cause* was the hatred of the darkness towards the light, which is depicted by the Synoptists also. (See their account of the spies who followed Jesus wherever He went.) But the plan which John had chosen, was to give the most minute details of the attacks made by the *σκοτία* (*vid.* chap. vii. 44); consequently, he did not omit to state that the occurrence in Bethany was the outward occasion of that meeting of the Sanhedrim, in which the indefinite purpose was matured into a distinct plan.—The events which took

inseparably connected with the person of the Messiah. But the Bible knows nothing of any such *external* proof afforded by miracles to the work of Christ as is talked of in a period of dry, formal supranaturalism. Cf. Deut. xiii. 1 sqq. with John iv. 48.

place on former journeys to the feasts are also omitted by the Synoptists. Yet these events *must* have taken place, unless the last catastrophe, which they do relate, is to hang suspended in the air. (Moreover, we have seen that the Synoptists themselves do allude in general terms to the journeys up to the feasts.) If, therefore, the earlier facts connected with Jesus' conflict are systematically omitted by the Synoptists, why should they not also keep silence with regard to the last of them, the raising of Lazarus, which merely brought to a head the conspiracy already formed to put Jesus to death? Hence, neither as being "the greatest miracle," nor as being the "cause" of the decision to put Jesus to death, was there any reason why this occurrence should be noticed by the Synoptists, unless there were other circumstances which caused it to fit into the plan of either one or the other of them. To Matthew's purpose of exhibiting Jesus as the promised Son of David, it would have contributed nothing. Nor could it have been introduced in a natural way by Luke, who gives a collection of *discourses* in the chapters immediately preceding the account of the crucifixion. Why Mark should not have mentioned it, is not so easy to determine; but it is no easier to give a reason why he should necessarily have included it. We grant that it was not omitted by the Synoptists "for fear of bringing Lazarus, who was still living, into danger;" but it must also be admitted that it was not needful for every Evangelist to relate *everything*, and that, according to Matt. xi. 5, there were other instances in which the dead were raised; to which no allusion is made by any one of the Evangelists.

Now, if we observe that the occurrences which took place at *Jerusalem* did not form part of that mass of *oral* accounts which were most frequently repeated in the primitive Church at Jerusalem, and upon which the Synoptists drew (just because they were all so well known there before); and if we also observe, that during *the first years after the death of Christ*, there might be peculiar reasons of modesty, and also of safety, why accounts relating to individuals who were still living, and in the congregation, should not be made a subject of public recitation in their public assemblies (so that there would be a *double* reason why this account should not form part of the body of incidents from which the Synoptists drew); the omission here becomes much more intelligible.—On the other hand, the manner in which Christ was welcomed without reserve as the promised Son of David, on His entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 9, etc.), favours the conclusion, that the different rays of recognition of His Messianic character had just at that time been gathered into a focus by some more than usually striking event.

§ 82.

CONSULTATION ABOUT PUTTING JESUS TO DEATH.

JOHN XI. 46-57.

The high priests and Pharisees assembled immediately, and deliberated about what was to be done. The fact that Jesus would eventually attract the whole nation to His side, was the real subject of their deliberations; the pretext was, that as a conspirator He would incite the Romans to a war of extermination. Caiaphas, who filled the office of high priest in this, the year in which the institution itself was to come to an end, was ready and resolute with his solution of the difficulty; namely, that it was better that one should die for the whole, than that they all should perish. The meaning which he attached to the words is perfectly clear; at the same time, he uttered them not without the guidance of God. God brought it to pass, that is to say, that he was led to express his thought, to which he attached a false and wicked meaning, in such a form that it actually embodied the highest truth; so that the words contained the keenest irony towards himself. For the real intention, viz., to destroy Jesus, was frustrated by the very death upon which they here resolved, and which was in a very different sense the death of one for the nation; since it was through His death that Jesus conquered death and laid the foundation of His kingdom. And the coming of the Romans, which they took as a pretext, instead of being averted, was actually provoked, according to the judgment of God (Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq.), by the rejection of the Anointed One.—Caiaphas, who was still high priest, and in fact the high priest who slew the Lamb of God (though the sacrifice was a *voluntary* one on the part of the latter), and who thereby, on the one hand (*quoad eventum*), finished and completed the high-priesthood (since the antitype now took the place of the type), and on the other hand (*quoad malum consilium*) trifled away his own interests and those of the nation, was constrained in this way to proclaim the message of the cross; just as Satan, by his attempt to put Jesus to death, helped to complete the work of redemption.

1. If Caiaphas actually uttered these words, they were so remarkable, that neither the Evangelist nor any other Christian could possibly overlook their great importance, or the evidence of the guiding hand of God. The fact that the high priest, who from pure malice, and yet in fulfilment of the determinate counsel of God, of which he was

ignorant, led the Lamb of God to the slaughter, should also from pure malice and quite unconsciously have given utterance to a high-priestly truth, might very naturally be regarded by the Evangelist as an official *prophecy* (in fact, the very last); and there is no necessity to seek for the explanation in later rabbinical fancies of בִּתְּקִיל, *vox secundaria*, double sense, and so forth.—*De Wette* acknowledges that we cannot conclude from ver. 49, that John was ignorant of the fact that the high-priesthood was held for life; but he also thinks that the suspicion is not altogether unfounded, that John was not aware that Caiaphas held office during the whole time that Pontius Pilate was procurator. Yet, on the very same ground, if a historian should write, “That year (when Paschal II. concluded the concordat at Worms) Henry I. was reigning in England,” there would be room for the suspicion that he was not aware that Henry was king the whole time that Paschal filled the papal chair.

§ 83.

JOURNEY FROM EPHRAIM TO JERICHO.

MATT. XIX. 16–XX. 28; MARK X. 17–45; LUKE XVIII. 18–34.

From Bethany Jesus returned to the neighbourhood of the Jordan; and when the Sanhedrim had given orders to arrest Him, He took up His abode in a small town called Ephraim, near to the desert of Judæa (John xi. 54).¹ When the Passover drew near, He set out on the road to Jerusalem. A young man of rank met Him by the way, and put the question, “Good Master, what good thing must I do to inherit eternal life?” Jesus admonished him that he ought not to trifle with the word “*good*,” either by attributing goodness to Him (in whom he saw only *a man*), or thinking of good works in connection with himself.² God alone, the Holy One, is *good*. (So long, therefore, as he

¹ This is the description given by the Evangelist of a place otherwise unknown, which must have been situated somewhere to the south-east of Jerusalem, since Jesus passed *by Jericho* in going thence to Bethany and Jerusalem. I cannot agree with *v. Raumer*, therefore, who regards the Ephraim mentioned in John xi. 54 as identical with that referred to in Josephus (B. J. 4, 9, 9), which was not far from Bethel, and, according to the *Onomast.* of Jerome, twenty miles to the *north* of Jerusalem.

² According to the more accredited reading, Matthew has τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός. This is essentially the same as the answer reported by Mark and Luke. The purpose of Jesus was to clear up the confused, pharisaic notions of the young ἄρχων with reference to what was *good*. And it is a matter of perfect indifference by which of these two methods Jesus attained His object.

did not acknowledge the divinity of Jesus, he had no right to call even Him good. Jesus was not content with his recognition of Him as a moral man.) As the way to enter into eternal life, the Lord directed him to the commandments, in order thereby to lead him on to a consciousness of his sins. And in this He was successful. For when the young man prided himself upon the fulfilment of every external duty, the Lord pointed out to him the one, highest commandment of all, to turn away the heart from the earthly mammon. The young man went away in deep distress.—Jesus then spoke of the necessity of leaving and giving up all for His sake; and Peter addressed Him thus: “Lord, we have forsaken all.” Christ replied that nothing but such a sacrifice could make any man, and that this would make every man, fit to enter into the kingdom of God. The Israelites, therefore, who were the first called, would have no preference over the heathen, who were not called till afterwards; nor could they pride themselves upon their earlier call, as securing in itself a legal pre-eminence (for it is not the law, but grace alone, which brings salvation). This He proceeded to make still plainer by the *parable of the labourers in the vineyard*.—Jesus then told His disciples once more, that He was going to Jerusalem to suffer. But they did not understand Him. In fact, it presented a strange contrast, when Salome came with her sons, James and John, to petition Jesus for the chief places and honours in the kingdom which He was about to establish. But He said, “Ye know not what ye ask. Can ye drink of the cup (of suffering) of which I must drink?” Still they did not understand that He intended thereby to describe His kingdom as an *ecclesia pressa*, established by suffering and in suffering. He therefore continued: to distribute places in this kingdom was the prerogative of the Father alone.—The other disciples then began to dispute with these two about the claim to the highest place. But Jesus called them, and reminded them that whoever wished to be the greatest could only become so by being pre-eminent in humility.

1. That the words of Jesus in Matt. xix. 28 relate to His heavenly, and not to an earthly kingdom, is so obvious, when we compare Matt. xx. 20 sqq., that even *Strauss*, who disputes it in one place, is obliged to admit it in the most decided manner in another.¹

2. With reference to the saying in Matt. xx. 26, 27, he remarks that it occurs in three other places: 1. When the child is placed in the midst, Mark ix. 35; 2. at the last supper, Luke xxii. 26; and

¹ “This *παλιγγενεσία* is neither a political revolution nor a moral regeneration, but the resurrection of the dead.”

3. in the address in Matt. xxiii. 11. And though he (justly) thinks it credible that a contention about precedence might have taken place three times, he considers it impossible that this short gnome-like saying should have been repeated four times. But if the same disease occurs three times, why should not the same medicine be also administered three times? In the fourth passage (Matt. xxiii.), the Evangelist may certainly have introduced the verse on account of its fitness. But there is nothing to necessitate such a conclusion.

§ 84.

JESUS IN JERICO.

MATT. XX. 29-34; MARK X. 46-52; LUKE XVIII. 35-XIX. 28.

Since the feast of Tabernacles and that of the Dedication, and more especially since the miracle at Bethany, the movements of Jesus had become a *question of the day*, in which all the more interest was taken, from the fact that the importance attached to them by the Sanhedrim itself became known to the people at large. It naturally created some stir, therefore, when Jesus came forth from His retirement. From all quarters there followed Him crowds of people, who felt no doubt that the Lord was now about to commence His conflict with Jerusalem, and to establish "His kingdom" (Luke xix. 11). Jesus knew well that a quiet appearance in the capital was no longer possible; and also, that a public and imposing entrance, such as His would inevitably be, would be of no service to Him, since He had no intention of making use of the people for the establishment of an earthly kingdom, but would only accelerate His certain death. He therefore determined not to avoid, but resolutely to meet the fate which certainly awaited Him.—As He approached Jericho, accompanied by the crowd, there sat a *blind beggar* by the road-side, who, when he heard the noise of the crowd, and found on inquiry that it was Jesus the Nazarene who was passing by, called upon the Son of David to take pity upon him. The people were indignant that he should dare to call upon the King to turn aside from His triumphal procession, and ordered him to be silent, though without effect. But Jesus stood still; and having directed that the blind man should be brought to Him, asked him what he wished for, and granted his request that he might receive his sight. He then entered Jericho amidst the acclamations of the people.—In the town there was a man named Zacchæus, the chief of the publicans, who, being filled with mental anxiety on account of the acts of injustice of which he had been guilty, and with laudable

interest in the salvation which he heard that Jesus proclaimed, could not neglect the opportunity of seeing Him. Being short in stature, he was not ashamed, in spite of his official dignity, to climb a sycamore-tree, that he might make sure of seeing Jesus. But Jesus, who could read the heart, called to him to make haste and come down, for He must stay at his house that day. Zacchæus welcomed Him with the greatest astonishment and delight, and in the presence of the holy, and therefore gracious One, offered of his own accord to make practical retribution for all the injustice he had done. Such *efficacious* repentance elicited from Jesus the promise of *σωτηρία* and of the sonship of Abraham.—When those who were in the house raised certain questions about the approaching establishment of His kingdom, Jesus swept away all carnal ideas by relating a *parable* (Luke xix. 12 sqq.), in which He compared Himself to a king *going into a distant country*, against whom the inhabitants of the country, as soon as he has left them, *rebel*, and who lets them *have their way*, and, instead of giving his *faithful servants weapons* to put down the rebels, merely gives them *pounds* with which they are quietly to trade; but who, for all that, will come again at the *proper time*, and *having judged his own servants*, will *proceed to punish the rebels*.—Jesus then left Jericho, still attended by a great crowd, and healed another blind man, named Bartimæus (son of Timæus), under very similar circumstances to the first.

1. The divergences with reference to the blind men in the three synoptical Gospels are the following: Matthew mentions *two* blind men at the gate leading *out of* Jericho; Mark, *one* at the gate leading *out*; Luke, *one* at the gate leading *in*. Three explanations may be offered of this. First, we have that of *Strauss*, who supposes that the three accounts originated in a common *oral* tradition of the healing of *one* blind man, which was afterwards supplemented by two different accounts of the locality in which the cure occurred, and in the written account of Matthew was doubled, through being confounded with the similar account in Matt. ix. 27.¹ From this it would follow, that two of the Evangelists had made mistakes (the one with reference to the place, the other with regard to the number), but *not* that “the occurrence never happened at all.—Secondly, it might be assumed that Luke’s account is literally correct, that there was *one* blind man cured *before* Jesus entered the city; that Matthew, according to his usual

¹ Plausible, perhaps, if this account was given by *another* Evangelist. But how could one author confound a fresh account with one which he himself had already given as a totally different one?

custom, combined with this the account of a similar cure which was effected at a later period, and therefore (in perfect accordance with his ordinary practice) described the event as occurring on *the way out*, and borrowed the circumstances from the *first* cure; that Mark took the facts as given by Matthew, but corrected them by his own personal knowledge that the particular details occurred only in connection with *one* of the cures, though he erred again in describing the *second* cure as the one to which they belonged. The fallacy of this hypothesis, however, is proved at once by the exactness of the account given by Mark (vers. 46 and 49).—A third explanation suggests itself; namely, that there were really *two* cures effected, and *both* under the *same* circumstances; that Luke has narrated the one, Mark the other, and Matthew *combined the two*. The last hypothesis may naturally give rise to three questions: *a.* Is it probable that an occurrence was repeated in this way, with all the attendant circumstances? *b.* Is it possible that Matthew should have combined two events in such a way as this? *c.* Is it probable that Mark and Luke should have divided the two facts between them?

The first question is answered by *Strauss* in the negative, though he does not deny that there may be more than one blind man in the world, and that one of the gates of Jericho was quite as likely a place for a blind man to beg at as the other.¹—But we are told, that it would be “an improbability very closely resembling an impossibility” for *both to address Jesus as the Son of David* (yet this was what all the people called Him at that time; compare Luke xix. 11 with Matt. xxi. 9, and the parallel passages),—*for both to be ordered by the crowd to be silent* (yet like causes produce like effects; and the inhabitants of Jericho who accompanied Jesus when He left the city were likely to think it quite as improper to interrupt the King in His triumphal march, as the people who followed Him from other places had thought it the day before),—*for Jesus, on both occasions, to have the blind men brought to Him* (ought He then, for the sake of variety, to have left the second blind man sitting unnoticed by the road-side?),—and *for both to say that they wished to receive sight* (what should the second have said then? that he would like to be deaf and lame as well?).—If the fact did occur, that two blind men were sitting by the road-

¹ It is certainly to be regarded as much more probable, that such beggars would distribute themselves at the different gates of the city, than that they would all congregate in one place. And if the second had heard that his companion in affliction had been miraculously cured, could anything be more probable than that he should intentionally set himself to wait for Jesus at the gate leading to Jerusalem?

side when Jesus passed, these circumstances were almost certain to occur on both occasions; and there is all the less ground for coming to the conclusion that such a repetition is impossible, since there is a *dissimilarity* in a very trivial circumstance, such as we should hardly look for in so simple an incident. Mark relates, that as soon as Bartimæus heard the call, he threw away his upper garment, rose up, and (with evident eagerness) came to Jesus; whereas the blind man mentioned by Luke had to be brought to Jesus.¹

The fact that Matthew had combined two events together, presents no difficulty, as we have seen already at § 54, 1, simply because he *frequently* does this. Such a mode of writing history may certainly be called "inaccurate," if you please; but it is enough for our purpose that this is not the only instance in which we find such combinations in Matthew. *Strauss* says, "If so much stress is laid upon Matthew's account with regard to the locality, for the purpose of using it, in connection *with that of Mark*, to prove that two cures were effected, one on entering the city, and the other on leaving it, I do not see why the same importance should not be attached to the difference presented in his statement of numbers." But if he expects in this way to force us to the desperate conclusion, that *two* blind men were cured on leaving the city, and no others, he is very much mistaken. We attach *no* importance to the local and other attendant circumstances as noticed by Matthew, just because Matthew himself lays no stress upon them, and is in the habit of combining different events together. But we do attach importance to the account of both Mark and Luke with regard to locality, and therefore conclude that there were *two* cures effected. The question, "why the number two in Matthew should be disregarded," is unmeaning; for we believe that there were two cures, and it is by our opponent that the number two is rejected.

But why did not Mark and Luke both mention the two cures? And why should the one have narrated the occurrence as if it had been only on *entering* the city, and the other as if it had been only on *leaving* the city, that a blind man was cured?—If Mark and Luke had been eye-witnesses, we certainly should expect that each of them would mention the fact, that a second blind man was also cured under similar circumstances. But Mark may have heard from his informant only one of the accounts, and that with a precise statement as to the *name* (ver. 46) and the *earnest behaviour* of the man (ver. 49), and also as to the *locality*. Luke had either heard of only one, or if he

¹ The latter appears to have been some distance off: cf. ver. 40, ἐγγίστατος δὲ αἶτιόν. Bartimæus, on the contrary, who followed the sound of the voice without any guide, was probably near to Jesus.

knew of both, when he had described the first, there was no reason why he should still further describe the second, the circumstances of which were so nearly the same.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SAVIOUR'S LAST SUFFERINGS.

§ 85.

THE ANOINTING IN BETHANY.

MATT. XXVI. 6-13; MARK XIV. 3-9; JOHN XII. 1-10.

Six days before the Passover, Jesus arrived in Bethany, the village in which He had raised Lazarus from the dead. A meal was there prepared for Him in the house of a believer, *Simon the leper*, to which Lazarus was invited as a guest. But Martha would not give up the task of waiting at table upon the Lord. Mary, on the other hand, brought an alabaster-pot, full of costly anointing oil, which she emptied upon Jesus' head; and then anointed His feet, and dried them with her hair.—Judas Iscariot began immediately to murmur at the waste of so much money, which might have been given to the poor; and some other disciples thoughtlessly chimed in with this remark, having no suspicion of the wickedness of Judas' heart. From the very beginning, there had been a perpetual conflict going on within him, between belief and the love of the world. Jesus, who no doubt foresaw that in this conflict, in which the decision depended upon Judas' *will*, the love of the world would conquer, had nevertheless chosen him as one of the twelve disciples, and thus had given him every opportunity to rise superior to the flesh. By the *confidence* which He displayed towards him, He had also sought, if it were possible, to soften his heart; and He had taken care that early warnings should not be wanting of the danger of becoming hardened in sin. (That is no wise training which removes all outward inducements to the commission of sin out of the way, yet leaves sin itself as an *unknown* thing within the heart.) But Judas *would not*. He was a personification of Judah, the nation, which also *would not*, but preferred the wealth and luxury of the world to the poverty of Christ; which hereby lost *all love to Christ*, *hated Him*, and *put Him to death*, and having brought upon itself the sentence of obduracy, has revelled

in *money* for thousands of years. This was the case with Judas. Love to Mammon expelled all love to Christ; the more mildly Jesus sought to guide him by word and look, the more intolerable did the whole person of Jesus become; and a conflict of blind fury began within his heart against One whose divinity he was still unable to deny. On this occasion he gave expression to the sentiment mentioned above, from a wish that the money had been handed over to him, as he carried the purse for Jesus and the disciples, so that he might have been able to *steal* some of it. The wish could not be gratified now, yet he was unable to suppress it altogether. Thus he lay bound already with the fetters of darkness.—But Jesus said, “Let her alone: the poor ye have always with you, but Me ye have not always. She has anointed Me for My burial.” By this gentle hint of His approaching death, He still sought to awaken the conscience of Judas, who was already turning over in his mind the thought of destroying Him.

1. The differences between this occurrence and that described in Luke vii. 36 sqq., which took place at an earlier period, are so obvious, that there was no necessity to enumerate them. Everything is different except the fact that an *anointing* took place, and that it was followed by a *rebuke* (in the one case, of Jesus by the Pharisees; in the other, of Mary by the disciples). It is true, Strauss also points out two remarkable circumstances in which the account of John approximates to that of Luke,—the name in both cases is *Simon*, and the *feet of Jesus are wiped with the hair*. But the one was a Pharisee, the other evidently a quiet follower of Jesus; and it is certainly not incredible, that there should have been more than one Simon in Palestine. The wiping of the feet with the hair was a circumstance by no means unlikely to be repeated; it may have been customary to adopt this method of showing peculiar respect; at all events, it was a very natural thing, and one which different persons might easily do of their own accord, to wipe with their hair the anointing oil as it trickled down.

2. But, admitting that the anointing described in Luke vii. is different from that at Bethany, *Strauss* is then driven by his mania for consistency to maintain that the anointing described by John is different from that narrated by Matthew and Mark. The *time*, the *place*, the *person*, the *mode of anointing*, and the *rebuke administered*, he tells us, are all different.

The time; for, according to Matthew and Mark, the scene occurred after the triumphal entry into Jerusalem—at the most, *two days*

before the Passover, whereas John says it was *six days* before the Passover. But where do Matthew and Mark state that the anointing took place two days before the Passover? In my Bible I find no such statement, either expressed or implied. They relate, (*a*) how Jesus, *two days before the Passover*, foretold to His disciples that at this feast He should be delivered up; then (*b*) that the *Sanhedrim* had resolved *not to put Jesus to death during the Passover*; and (*d*) that the *treachery of Judas* subsequently induced them, *after all*, to select the feast of the Passover as the time for executing their design. Between *b* and *d* both the Evangelists place the *anointing* (*c*). Now it is difficult to imagine why the anointing should be placed between these two, unless there was some *internal reason* for it. If the passage read *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν* (and Jesus came to Bethany), we might suppose that it was placed in its proper chronological position (though without any definite formula). But the chronological order is really *interrupted*, and the expression used (in Mark xiv. 3 as well as Matt. xxvi. 6) is, "Now *when Jesus was* in Bethany (*τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γενομένου* [Matt.]; *καὶ ὄντος αὐτοῦ* [Mark]). The visit to Bethany had no immediate connection with the chain of events under review; but is introduced parenthetically, for the purpose of showing that the prediction of the *near approach* of Christ's death in Matt. xxvi. 12, and Mark xiv. 8, was not first uttered after the resolution of the Sanhedrim, but before it, and therefore was truly prophetic.—Thus we see, then, that Matthew and Mark not only do not introduce the anointing as an event which followed the resolution, that was formed two days before the Passover, but purposely preclude the idea of any such consecutive order. They say (*a*) that, two days before the Passover, Jesus told His disciples that at the Passover He would be put to death (Matthew); (*b*) that at that time the Sanhedrim had not even come to such a resolution themselves (Matt. and Mark); (*c*) that even when Jesus was in Bethany, He knew that His death was at hand (Matt. and Mark); (*d*) that it was not till after the meeting of the Sanhedrim that Judas offered to betray Jesus (Matthew and Mark).

The place. From John, who tells us that Lazarus was one of the guests, we see that it cannot have been in his house that the meal took place. Matthew and Mark state that it was in the house of a certain Simon. Who would imagine it possible to discover a contradiction here? Yet so it is. "Martha served; therefore it must have been in Lazarus' house; and as Lazarus himself is not called a guest, but one of them that sat at meat with them, he may have been the host." But just fancy any one, instead of simply saying, "In Leipzig Mr N. invited me to dinner," saying, "I was invited out to dinner in

Leipzig, and Mr. N. dined with me." Which is the most natural supposition: that *John* gave so fearfully roundabout a description, or that Martha insisted upon "serving" in the house of the host, with whom she was naturally on terms of intimacy?

The person anointing is not only not named by Matthew and Mark, but is not even introduced as if she "belonged to the house and family of the host."—Nor is she so introduced in John. And the reason why John gives her name, is that the reader was already acquainted with her (chap. xi.); a circumstance which was wanting in Matthew and Mark.

The mode of anointing. In John, the *feet* are anointed; in Matthew and Mark, the *head*. But if we suppose that Mary broke the pot and poured the oil upon the head of Jesus, and then catching the oil as it dropped from His hair, that it might not fall upon the ground or upon His clothes, used it to anoint His feet in the ordinary way, is it impossible that two writers should think it worth while to describe the peculiar manner in which Mary poured out the ointment, whilst the other merely noticed the anointing of the feet, as being quite sufficient to explain what afterwards occurred (John xii. 4–8)?

Lastly, it was *Judas* who complained, according to John; whereas Matthew and Mark state that "the disciples" murmured. "Now if it had been Judas who was the first to complain, the two Synoptists, who describe the treachery of Judas immediately after this meal, would certainly have mentioned his name here, if they had been aware that he was peculiarly prominent in this penurious complaint."—But we have seen why Matthew and Mark directed their attention to something entirely different when writing their account of the anointing.

On Judas, see § 93, 4.

§ 86.

ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

MATT. XXI. 1–11; MARK XI. 1–10; LUKE XIX. 29–44;

JOHN XII. 12–50.

The arrival of Jesus in Bethany was soon made known, and a great crowd streamed out from Jerusalem. The agitation of the people only served to mature the plans of the Sanhedrim for putting Jesus to death. When Jesus set out, the day after the meal described above, upon the road to Jerusalem, the people that had come up to the feast flocked to meet Him in constantly increasing crowds. Jesus

had just reached the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, between Bethany and Bethphage, when He directed two of the disciples to go into the village which lay before them, where they would find a she-ass tied, and a foal by her side that had never been ridden. They were to loose the animals and bring them to Him, and to answer any question as to what they were doing, by saying that "the Lord had need of it." This was done; their clothes were then spread upon the animals, which ran side by side, and the Lord mounted the foal. The prophecy of Zechariah was thus fulfilled to the letter, viz., that the desired King of Zion should enter, riding upon an ass, and indeed upon an unused foal of a she-ass of burden. Jesus proceeded, riding to the lofty peak of the Mount of Olives. A holy enthusiasm came over the people. They spread their clothes in the road, broke off peace-branches from the trees, and saluted Jesus with the words, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!"—Some Pharisees, who had come out with the rest, were filled with anxiety, lest a tumult should arise, and advised Jesus, therefore, to order the people to be silent. But He replied, "if these were silent, the stones would cry out."—When He reached the peak of the precipitous mountain, and saw the royal city of David spread out before Him in all its glory, He wept over it, and exclaimed, "O that thou wouldest see to-day the things which are essential to thy peace! But days of war and desolation will come upon thee, because thou hast not discerned the time of thy visitation."—He then entered into the temple. When there, certain Greeks, who had also come to the feast, desired to see Him. They were (like the Magi) first-fruits of the Gentiles, who did homage to the King of Israel on His entering upon His dominion. But what an entrance! What a commencement of His βασιλεία! There was no homage from the nation to which He devoted Himself, but a rejection by that very nation. By being bartered away for thirty pieces of silver, and dying upon the cross,—this was the way that He founded His kingdom! Revolving this in His own mind, Jesus said that the hour of His glorification had arrived; but it was glorification in death. Whoever would do homage to Him (this He said with reference to the Greeks), would have to look, not for earthly glory, but for tribulation.—He then prayed: "Now is My soul troubled; and what shall I say? Father, save Me from this hour? No; I came to die. Father, through My death, glorify Thy name." For the third time had Jesus now solemnly declared His readiness to die (first in the presence of John the Baptist; then in the presence of the lawgiver and the prophet of the Old Testament; and now, thirdly, in the house of God, the holy

place of sacrifice), and for the third time the thunder-like voice was heard, in which the Father declared His acceptance of the work of the Son.—But the people could not comprehend the voice and its signification. Jesus told them that it was for their sakes, that they might give heed to His work of overcoming Satan, and might be saved thereby. Fuller explanations of His death He did not give them; but exhorted them to believe in the light as long as they had it with them.

1. Let us look, first of all, at the difficulties raised with regard to *time* and *place*. Strauss says, that according to the Synoptists, Jesus went to Jerusalem on *the same day* on which He left Jericho; whereas, according to John, He *passed the night at Bethany*.—Where is it stated that He went to Jerusalem on the day He left Jericho? There is no express statement to that effect; but Mark and Luke, we are told, “mention the village of Bethany in such a way as to be decidedly at variance with the idea that Jesus passed the night there.” Yet they say nothing in the world except that Jesus departed from Jericho, and when He had arrived in the neighbourhood of the two places, *Bethphage* and *Bethany*,—that is to say, had reached the *foot of the Mount of Olives*,—He sent two disciples into the hamlet which lay *before* Him (this appears to have been neither Bethany nor Bethphage, but some third *κώμη*). But this does not prove that He did not spend the night in Bethany; nor was there any absurdity in passing over the night’s quarters, as *Bleek* supposes,¹ if there was no special reason for mentioning the circumstances that transpired there. The drawing near “to Jerusalem, to Bethphage, and to Bethany,” as Mark has it, or “to Bethphage and Bethany,” according to Luke’s expression, is nothing more than a general description of the neighbourhood of Bethany as distinguished from that of Jericho; and we can no more

¹ *Bleek* makes the general assertion here, that my “*whole book is based upon the assumption, that all the Evangelists possessed an equally full and accurate acquaintance with the entire course of the Gospel history, and every particular event.*” In disproof of this, I may refer to § 120. I assume the very opposite; namely, that from the oral accounts which were in circulation in the primitive Church at Jerusalem, a *selection* was gradually and spontaneously made of such events as were most *usually* described, and that it was from *this selection* that the Synoptists *chiefly* drew; whereas John gave fuller and more complete accounts, which as an eye-witness he could easily do. But this by no means shuts out the conclusion, that each of the Synoptists (quite as much as John) selected entire accounts, or particular features of certain narratives, with some regard to their adaptation to *their own peculiar plan*, and that a *portion* of the divergences which we find in the four Gospels may certainly be traced to the *plans* on which the different Gospels were composed.

conclude from Luke's expression, "when He was come nigh to Bethany," that the two disciples were sent forward *directly Jesus arrived at Bethany*, than we can infer from Mark's description, "when they came nigh to Jerusalem," that they were not sent till Jesus was close at the gates of the city itself. "Coming nigh to Jerusalem" is, of course, merely a description in general terms of a certain proximity, which might embrace an area of several miles; and the same might be said with regard to Luke, if he had spoken of their coming near to *Bethany alone*. Even in this case, nothing more would be involved than an arrival in that neighbourhood generally, without any explicit statement as to whether Jesus had already passed through Bethany itself, or had not yet entered it. But as *two* places are mentioned, it certainly follows, that by "drawing nigh" we cannot understand the precise act of arrival (which could not occur in two places at the same time); especially as a more exact description is given immediately afterwards, in the words *πρὸς τὸ ὄρος* ("at the Mount of Olives"). There is nothing, therefore, in the statements of either Mark or Luke at variance with the assumption, that Jesus did not send forward the two disciples till He had gone some distance beyond Bethany.—Thus the *Synoptists* and *John* are in perfect agreement with reference to both time and place; and there is no necessity to follow *Schleiermacher*, *Lücke*, and others, in adopting the hard and forced conclusion, that there were *two distinct entries* into Jerusalem.

2. The difficulties raised in connection with the entry itself may be summed up in these three: That Jesus is said to have ridden upon two asses; that the words of Zechariah are understood as speaking of two asses, *חמור* being the one and *עֵר* the other; and that there is no reason why Jesus should have increased the difficulty of riding by choosing a foal that had never been ridden.

With regard to the first, it is nowhere stated that Jesus rode upon both asses at once. The words of Matthew, *ἐπάνω αὐτῶν* (ver. 7), do not imply this, as *Winer* has already shown. For just as you might say of a man who was riding one horse and leading another, "he has got off the horses," so might you say of one who was riding a foal, by the side of its mother, and in fact by means of its mother, that he was mounted *ἐπάνω αὐτῶν*, since both would be closely connected together.¹ We find a similar expression in Acts xxiii. 24, "provide beasts, that they may set Paul on (*scil. ἐπ' αὐτὰ*), and bring him safe unto Felix."

With regard to the unriden beast, Strauss imagines that he has

¹ *Olshausen's* assumption, that Jesus rode upon the mother, and that the foal ran by the side, is in direct opposition to Mark (ver. 2) and Luke (ver. 30).

adduced an *argumentum ad absurdum*, when he says that "Jesus must have made the foal run steadily by His divine omnipotence." But as we can see no reason why the Lord should not make use of natural means, if such were really at hand, or why He should perform *unnecessary* miracles, it appears to us that if the mother was with the foal, "a sufficient reason" for bringing it is to be found in the fact, that the foal could then be guided by means of the mother.¹

On the supposition that this really was the case, we can perfectly understand why *Luke* and *Mark* should merely state that the *animal had never been used before*, without describing the manner in which Jesus guided it (viz., by the help of the mother), since the latter was a point that could have no peculiar importance to them; and also, why *John* should merely make the general remark, that a *prophecy* was fulfilled by Jesus riding upon an *ass*; whilst *Matthew*, on the contrary, to whom it was a matter of great importance to prove that the Old Testament prophecies were *exactly* fulfilled, gave prominence to the fact, that it was stated in Zech. ix. 9 that the King of Zion would come riding upon a חמור (the *genus*), and *in fact* (ו is evidently exegetical here) upon an עיר בן-אתנות. To him there was something worthy of note in the fact, that the חמור upon which Jesus rode was really an *unused foal of a she-ass that was used as a beast of burden*. This peculiar feature he was unwilling to pass by; and therefore he described exactly what was done with both the animals. He is not chargeable, therefore, with the "folly" of supposing that the חמור is one animal and עיר another; but he understood עיר to be exexegetical of חמור, and therefore merely described how Jesus actually rode upon an עיר, whilst the אתות was actually led by its side.

§ 87.

CURSING OF THE FIG-TREE, AND SECOND PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

MATT. XXI. 10-22; MARK XI. 12-26; LUKE XIX. 45-48.

In the evening Jesus went out to Bethany, and stayed there for the night. As He was returning the next morning into the city, He felt hungry; and seeing in the distance a fig-tree, on which it seemed likely

¹ The reason why Jesus should ride upon an animal that had never been used before, is to be found in the propriety of a King, who was about to found a *new kingdom endowed with the energy of primitive sinlessness*, making His entrance upon an animal that had never before been made to bear a burden.

that there would be some fruit, not because it was the proper season, but from the many leaves that were on it already, He went up to the tree. But there was not a single fig to be found. Jesus, who had now but one thing more to do before He died, to declare in word and figure His return to *judgment*, then pronounced upon the tree the curse that it should bring forth no more fruit for ever.—He then went to the temple; and there sat the cattle-dealers and money-changers in the fore-court, just as before. He had already driven them out once; and now again He showed that He was just the same still as He had been before, and that the increasing danger did not make Him afraid to call wickedness by its proper name. He drove them out a second time, and addressed them in still harsher words. “*My house,*” said He, “is a house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of *thieves*” (cf. John ii. 16). The priests did not venture at the moment to interfere. Jesus was surrounded by the enthusiastic crowd. Sick people were brought to Him, and He healed them. So great, in fact, was the excitement, that even children followed their elders in shouting, “Hosanna to the Son of David.” At length the priests and Sadducees approached Him in their most pompous style, and put the haughty question, “Hearest Thou not what these children say?” as if the mere fact of hearing must be sufficient to convince Him of the falsehood and wickedness of such exclamations, and as if they charitably assumed that Jesus could not have heard the blasphemy, as He would certainly have forbidden it. In this way they hoped by conventionalities and courtesies to *compel* Him to put a stop to the shouts Himself. But He took their question literally, and said, quite calmly, “Yes; He had heard and understood it all. It was quite right too; for David had said that out of the mouth of infants *God* had ensured Himself praise (the adoration of His power).”—In the evening Jesus went out again to Bethany; and as they passed the fig-tree, behold, it was withered. Peter directed the attention of Jesus to the fact that the fig-tree was actually dried up; and the other disciples were also amazed. But Jesus embraced the opportunity of addressing them on the power of faith and prayer to conquer and judge the world.

1. There is a *real difference* between Matthew and Mark with regard to the order of succession here. According to Matthew, it appears as if the purification of the temple followed immediately upon the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem, and the fig-tree was cursed the following (Monday) morning. Mark, on the contrary, states that Jesus cursed the fig-tree on the Monday morning, then proceeded to

purify the temple, and on returning (Monday evening) found the fig-tree withered away.¹ The following will show the comparative accounts:—

| | MATTHEW. | MARK. |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sunday.</i> | Entry. Purification of temple. | Entry. |
| <i>Monday.</i> | Return to Bethany. The fig-tree. | Return to Bethany. The fig-tree. Purification of temple. |
| (? <i>Tuesday.</i>) | | Return to Bethany. |
| <i>Day undecided.</i> | Question in Matt. xxi. 23. | The tree withered. Question in Mark xi. 27. |

There is nothing further to solve here. The simple fact remains, that Matthew has placed the purification of the temple in immediate connection with the entry into Jerusalem. And there can be no question which gives the more exact account, Matthew or Mark. For Mark gives definite data throughout; whereas Matthew merely places one event by the side of another. And for this very reason we cannot charge him with either inaccuracy or error. He merely writes his history as he *intends* to write it. It was a matter of no moment either to himself or to his readers, to know whether the purification of the temple took place on the same day as the entry into the city, or on the day following. Mark, on the other hand, gives pictures, and takes delight in sketching them. But there was no reason why Matthew should describe how Jesus, after having entered Jerusalem, went out again without having performed any remarkable work, and the following day came in again. Consequently, he does not scruple to place the purification of the temple immediately after the entry, and then mentions the fact that Jesus went out to Bethany to spend the night.—He next recalls the *case of the fig-tree*. Of this he merely says, that it was *πρωί*, in the morning, that the curse was pronounced. He does not state, either that it was on the morning before the purification of the temple, or the morning after. *Apparently*, as the words stand, the latter is implied (in contradiction to Mark). But to take this word *πρωί* as a *distinct and positive statement* that “it was the *next* morning,” would be as wrong as to render the passage, “In the morning . . . Jesus *had* hungered, and . . . *had* said, Let no fruit, etc. . . . ; and now (in the evening—? the next morning)

¹ This is hardly correct. Mark says, “And when even was come, He went out of the city: and in the morning (*πρωί*), as they passed by, they saw the fig-tree dried up from the roots.” This was, no doubt, the following morning (Tuesday, according to *Ebrard's* calculation), the same day on which He “came again to Jerusalem,” and the events described in chap. xi. 27–xiii. 37 occurred.—TR.

the fig-tree *was* withered away." Such a *distinct agreement* with Mark would be no more in accordance with Matthew's plan than a *decided contradiction*. He merely gives in a perfectly simple manner all that is requisite to recall the scene of the occurrence, viz., that it took place in a morning walk to Jerusalem. On what particular day, was not a point with which Matthew concerned himself. He therefore merely states that the fig-tree immediately withered away; whereas Mark describes minutely *how* and *when* the disciples found it withered. —In ver. 23 Matthew also attaches the question of the elders and high priests with the loose formula καὶ ἐλθόντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, without mentioning any particular time.

2. The three principal difficulties pointed out in connection with the fig-tree are the following: *First*, as the earliest figs are not ripe till June, it is difficult to understand how Jesus could reckon upon finding figs in March or April. *Secondly*, the expression in Mark, οὐ γὰρ ἦν καιρὸς συγκῶν ("for the time of figs was not yet"), is a very striking one; for if it was a matter of course that there should be no figs upon the tree, how could Jesus pronounce a curse upon it as a punishment for having none? *Thirdly*, even apart from this, to curse a tree "is purposeless, immoral, and a manifestation of unworthy passion."

The first of these difficulties *Paulus* meets in this way: "The winter fig (late kermouse) begins to be formed late in the autumn, and ripens early in the spring, so that about Easter the third fruit of the fig-tree might possibly be met with here and there." But *Paulus* has taken this explanation simply from a passage in *Pliny* (16, 27: "seri fructus per hiemem in arbore manent, et æstate inter novas frondes et folia maturescunt"), of which it is very doubtful whether it was applicable to Palestine. *Shaw* the traveller states distinctly (p. 296), that in Palestine the late kermouse ripens in autumn after the leaves have fallen off the trees, and, when the weather is mild, sometimes hangs till the spring. But this was evidently the case only when the figs had not been gathered,—a thing that would not often occur, as the kermouse required gathering; and it was the boccere alone which could be left to fall of itself (*vid.* Nahum iii. 12). From this it is evident that Jesus could not so decidedly expect that at the Passover, when the spring is just ending in Palestine, He might find a late kermouse or two still hanging on the tree (more especially as the tree was standing unprotected by the road-side). Moreover, this is also obvious from the fact that, according to Mark xi. 13, it was the *quantity of leaves* which first suggested the thought that there might be fruit upon the tree. This does not at all apply to the late kermouse, the fruit of which ripens at the time when the leaves are not upon

the tree. Still less can the *early kermouse* be referred to, as this does not ripen till August. And even the *boccore*, which ripens in June, could not justly be expected in March or April.—The *second* difficulty, namely, that Mark says, “The time of figs was not yet,” is thus to a great extent removed; that is to say, we may see already that the observation was well-founded. Whether it was *well-timed*, is another question; and coincides with the inquiry, *whether Jesus can have gone to look for figs at a time when, in the ordinary course of nature, there could not possibly have been any to be found.*

In seeking for an answer to this question, we must not overlook the words of Mark, “And seeing a fig-tree afar off *having leaves*,” and the similar allusion in Matthew to the fact that the tree had *leaves* upon it. Now, it is well known that the fig-tree shoots out first of all the fruit (*involucra* of blossom and seed), and then puts out its leaves. If the leaves, therefore, have reached a certain size and quantity, it may reasonably be expected that there will be at least a few ripe figs. And if the tree has leaves upon it, but *no figs at all* (either ripe or unripe), this is a sign that it is a worthless and barren tree, which has made no good wood, and on which figs, therefore, cannot be expected to appear. It was not the *time of year*, then, but the striking *quantity of leaves* for the time of year, which led to the expectation that there would certainly be figs upon the tree, and even some ripe ones among them. But when Jesus went up to the tree, not only did He find no ripe fruit, but no fruit at all. If it was not out of course, therefore, that there should be no *ripe* figs at that season of the year, it was altogether out of course that there should be *so many leaves without any fruit at all.*¹

This tree appeared to Jesus a most significant type of the false Israel. In the case of Israel also, it was not the time to expect *fruit*; but what could justly be expected was, that if there was no fruit, there would be no *appearance of fruitfulness*. Just as the fig-tree in its normal condition would have no leaves at a time when there was no fruit, so ought the nation, which was not yet sanctified, not to assume the appearance of holiness, but to repent. Instead of this, it was just

¹ We may see from this why Mark should introduce the remark, that “the time of figs was not yet.” The persons for whom he was writing, and who certainly lived in a country (whether Italy or elsewhere) in which there were fig-trees, *knew* very well that at Easter it would be of no use to look for ripe figs. He might justly expect them to exclaim, therefore, “What, are the figs so early in Palestine that you may expect to see them covered with leaves, and gather fruit at Easter?” He anticipates the objection by stating that the time for figs had not arrived; in which he also implies that “the abundance of leaves, mentioned in ver. 13, was also something out of the regular course.”

like that *abnormal* fig-tree, which, at a time when no fruit could be really expected, presented in the distance the *appearance* of the greatest fruitfulness and maturity, but on closer examination was found to be full of bitter leaves, without any produce of greater worth, and even without good wood.

Jesus prophesied on this occasion by means of a *symbolical action*. He pronounced a curse upon the tree, and caused it in the course of the day to wither entirely away.—Now what was the purport of this miracle? One must indeed be blind not to see it. The same as the address in chap. xxiv. There is really no necessity to enter more particularly into Strauss's objections.—Because Jesus would not allow a town full of ignorant Samaritans to be destroyed by fire, and all opportunity of repentance to be taken from them, *therefore*, we are told, He cannot have performed any "penal miracle!" Strauss seems here to assume that there was a capacity for improvement in the fig-tree, and to wish that Christ had preached a sermon to it. But immediately afterwards we are told that the "penal miracle" was immoral, because the tree was incapable of *any* improvement.—*Strauss* then conjectures that Jesus addressed the fig-tree in the way He did, from simple anger at not finding any figs. But such a conjecture is too worthless and wicked to have sprung from anything but utter insanity.—Immediately after, the barrister for the Gergesenes comes forward again, and advocates the case of the owner who lost his fig-tree. But He who gave eternal life to the world, surely possessed the right to deprive the world of a fig-tree, which was left at the mercy of every passer-by, and moreover was utterly barren!

Against our "symbolical interpretation" he has nothing to say, except that "Jesus would certainly in that case have given His own interpretation." But, as we shall see, Jesus has actually done this (Matt. xxiv. 32). Even before this time the comparison of unbelieving Israel to a barren tree, which is "cut down and cast into the fire," was a familiar one to the disciples (Matt. iii. 10, vii. 19; Luke xiii. 6 sqq.).¹ Now Jesus actually pronounced the curse. For the moment He gave no explanation; but He only thereby excited the interest of the disciples all the more, and prepared them to understand what He intended still further to say concerning the judgment (Matt. xxiv.).

3. In connection with the *purification of the temple*, two questions arise: whether a repetition is probable; and why neither the Synop-

¹ *Strauss* himself quotes these passages; but instead of coming to the conclusion, that an *immediate* explanation of the act of Christ was rendered unnecessary in consequence, he argues, in his own style, that the cursing of the fig-tree was a myth which had grown out of the parables.

tists nor John should have mentioned more than one occasion. There is not the slightest difficulty in answering the first in the affirmative. It is true, that if we look at the two facts as they are compressed together in the synopsis of *Lücke* and *De Wette*, and abstract them from the rest of the life of the Lord, taking no notice of anything that lies between, it is difficult to suppress a feeling of astonishment, that Jesus should have done exactly the same thing on two separate occasions. But if we regard the two transactions as they really stand at the commencement and close of the public life of Jesus, it is impossible to discover any difficulty, either in the purification of the temple itself, or in the repetition. It is admitted that a prophet who was just making his first appearance, and was still unknown to the priests, might perform such an act as this. It would appear by no means improper, but would rather meet with the approval of all good men; and as we really find, it did not expose Jesus to any serious rebukes. Since that time the practice appears to have been suspended; at least, we need not hesitate to draw this conclusion from the fact, that at the subsequent festivals Jesus did not feel constrained to renew the purification. But at the last feast of the Passover the buyers and sellers were there again. What if the priests, in simple defiance of Jesus, and to incite Him to a fresh act of violence, intentionally introduced the scandal once more? At all events, this is certain: that if now, at the end of His career, Jesus found the evil there again, it could no more meet with His approval than at the beginning; and even at the risk of bringing the already existing hatred of His enemies to a head, He could only repeat what He had done before.—In Matt. xxi. 13, and the parallel passages (cf. John ii. 16), we find an impartial, and therefore all the more certain proof, that the act was accompanied on the second occasion with much keener rebukes.

But why should the *two* acts not be mentioned by any of the Evangelists?—The reason why the *Synoptists* do not mention the first purification is very obvious. They only commence their continuous history with the time when Jesus was in Capernaum. And the fact that they had not mentioned the first purification, is a sufficient explanation of the reason why—even if (as we suppose) the second was intentionally and wickedly invited by the priests—no allusion should be made to this by the Evangelists themselves.—John, who traces the events of Christ's life from the first Passover, describes the first purification. And for that very reason, probably, he saw no necessity to mention the second. It is true, it was one element in the growth of the *σκοτία*. But it was merely an *outward provocation*; and did not

seem, like the resurrection of Lazarus, to explain the inward character of the hatred felt towards Jesus. It was therefore passed over by John, who had traced, throughout the life of Jesus, the *inward* growth of the feeling of hostility; but who, when once he had mentioned the climax which it had reached in the determination to put Jesus to death, made it henceforth his sole purpose to describe the last discourses of the Lord,—the last glorious shining of the light in the darkness. —Throughout, too, we find that John notices merely the *internal* elements in the conflict (the growth of the light-loving and light-hating dispositions). All such merely *outward captious questions*, as that noticed in Matt. xxii. 15 sqq. (the question about paying tribute to Cæsar), he passes over altogether.

§ 88.

JESUS VINDICATES HIS AUTHORITY. PARABLES.

MATT. XXI. 23—XXII. 14; MARK XI. 27—XII. 12; LUKE XX. 1—19.

As Jesus was teaching in the temple, the high priests and elders formally approached Him, for the purpose of inquiring what authority and warrant He had for His ministry. By a counter question Jesus appealed to the testimony of John the Baptist. He asked them, namely, whether his baptism was of God, or not; thus placing them in the dilemma, that they must either acknowledge Him of whom John testified, or reject John, in opposition to the unanimous feeling of the people. This counter question remained unanswered. With the introduction of John's name, Jesus connected the *parable of two sons*; comparing the publicans and harlots, who repented at the preaching of John, to a refractory son who afterwards comes to a better mind; and the priests and elders to a son who is ready at once with the *promise* of obedience, but does not carry it out.—He then proceeded openly to reprove their wickedness in the *parable of the rebellious husbandmen*, who put to death all the messengers of the lord of the vineyard, and last of all his own son. As they did not understand the parable, Jesus told them plainly that He was the corner-stone which the builders rejected (Ps. cxviii. 22), and that the kingdom would be taken from them. Thereupon they would gladly have laid hands on Him at once, but they feared the people.—Jesus proceeded to address them still further, and related the *parable of the guests invited to the marriage of the king's son*, who, instead of welcoming such a mark of friendliness and grace, either do not come at all, or in the *blindest wickedness* put the royal messengers to death; upon

which the king sends out to invite any one who might be found in the streets, with the simple condition that they shall put on the wedding-garment which they will receive from himself. A guest who despises this dress, and yet forces his way in, is punished just as severely as those who do not come at all.

1. There are no difficulties connected with these incidents and parables. A parable somewhat like the last was related by Jesus at the Pharisee's meal, mentioned in Luke xiv. (*vid.* § 72). But there the allusion is not to a royal marriage, but to a simple domestic meal. There, no punishment is inflicted upon those who are invited; the invitation is simply not accepted. There, it is not "all in the highways, both good and bad," who are invited to supply the place of those who will not come; the contrast is rather between rich men and beggars. So that, even outwardly considered, there is in the parable before us an *essential deviation* from that in Luke xiv. The internal difference is still more striking. There, Jesus starts from the *moral* principle, that we ought not to *give* that we may *receive again*, but out of pure benevolence. After He has laid down this principle in a brief figure (Luke xiv. 12 sqq.), an allusion made by a guest to "the kingdom of God" furnishes Him with an opportunity to show that this is the way in which God acts: that He confers His blessings out of free grace; and therefore, that only those who feel themselves beggars, and in distress, are either fitted or disposed to accept the grace of God.—Here, on the contrary, no such *moral* starting point exists. The leading intention is to show, not merely the *disinclination of the self-righteous*, but the *blind maliciousness of the hardened foes of Christ*; and then (by the allusion to the "wedding-garment") to point out, that even for such as do not in *blind anger* hate all that is divine, but would gladly come to God, it is still a question of importance, whether they expect to find admission to the kingdom of God in the right or the wrong way, by accepting the grace of God, or by self-righteousness.

§ 89.

CAPTIOUS QUESTIONS.

MATT. XXII. 15-46; MARK XII. 13-37; LUKE XX. 20-44.

The time had now come to strain every nerve to shake in some way or other the dangerous influence acquired by Jesus, and to lay hold of Him by any method that might present itself. First of all,

some of the Pharisees united with certain members of the Roman and Herodian party, and laid the question before Him, whether it was right (in the sight of God, and according to His law) to pay tribute to the Roman Emperor. It was, in fact, the law of God, that Israel, as the theocratic nation, should acknowledge Jehovah alone as its King; all servitude took place solely as the result of a special judgment of God; and it was always regarded, especially since the time of the Maccabees, as an act of theocratic virtue and faith, and one peculiarly well-pleasing to God, to throw off the yoke of the heathen. Consequently, if Jesus had expressed His approbation of the tax, He would have spoken in direct opposition to all theocratic ideas. If, on the other hand, He condemned it, there were Herodians present, who would be ready at once to make His words the ground of a judicial accusation.—What, then, did Jesus do? He brought out this point, that all servitude is *a judgment of God*.¹ He asked to see the tribute money, and pointed to the effigy of the Emperor, in other words, to the fact that the nation was *actually* under the dominion of the Emperor. He then said to them, “*Render to Cæsar what is already actually his own,*² and unto *God the things that are God’s*” (namely, that repentance, to lead you to which He permits this foreign rule, and by which alone it will ever be possible for Israel to recover its theocratic right to political independence). The people were astonished, and let Jesus go.—The Sadducees now came forward to try what they could do, and put a question which, as they hoped, might so perplex Him as even to render Him an object of ridicule. Having no belief in a *resurrection* themselves, they asked Him what would be done in the resurrection with a woman who had had seven husbands in succession; to which would she then belong?—Jesus rendered their question nugatory by tearing up the caricature of a resurrection, upon which the question itself was founded. It is not to a repetition of this life that we shall rise again, but to a life of a very different kind, in which every material and sexual relation is entirely done away. Their denial of the resurrection, however, He pronounced unscrip-

¹ *De Wette* thinks that what Jesus meant to say was, “that taxes and coins, from their very nature, had nothing to do with the rights of God.” But Jesus, acknowledging as He did the Old Testament as a revelation of God, could not say this without reserve. Nor is this thought in any way involved in His words. His allusion to the circumstance, that the current coin of the country bore the *imperial stamp*, could have no other purpose than to point to what was actually the fact, and therefore permitted by God Himself, that they were under the dominion of foreigners.

² *Τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος*. This refers primarily to the *coin*, and then to everything else which was in like manner an actual proof of imperial authority.

tural; for, assuming that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had passed away, like cattle, to exist no more for ever, how could God have still called Himself *their* God, centuries after their death? This is only conceivable on the ground that they “lived to God.”¹

Now, when the Pharisees saw that the Sadducees had failed in their attempt, they came up as quickly as possible to put another question to Jesus in the presence of the Sadducees,—one which He certainly could not answer, and which would therefore establish their own superiority to the Sadducees, who had been unable to defeat Him.² One of them, a lawyer, inquired which of all the different commandments was the greatest. A reply to this question presupposed a more exact acquaintance with the law than this νομικός, who prided himself upon his reading and learning, gave the “uneducated Jesus” credit for; and whatever answer Jesus might give, he expected that, well versed as he was in the Mosaic law, he could easily bring forward objections, and overwhelm Him with his learning, so as to be able to confound Him, and hold Him up to public ridicule as an unlearned man. But He, in whom the law and the prophets were fulfilled, named one commandment which really embraced the fulfilment of the whole law, and was certainly the greatest, inasmuch as it contained within itself all the ἐντολάς, both great and small,—the command, namely, to love God absolutely, and your neighbour as yourself. Such an answer took the lawyer by surprise, and not merely satisfied his understanding, but cut still deeper. “Well, Master,” he exclaimed, “Thou hast said the truth: there is but one God, and to love Him supremely, and to love your neighbour as yourself, is more than all whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices.” When Jesus saw how the man

¹ Strauss regards this as an argument “altogether in the spirit and tone of the rabbinical dialectics of that age.” In the title here applied to God, there was “no intimation,” he says, “of a continued personal relation between Jehovah and these men,” but simply the idea, that “as Jehovah had been their guardian, so would He still continue to be the guardian of their posterity.”—Yet in Exod. xxxii. 13 and Deut. ix. 27 God is appealed to, to fulfil to those men the promise which He had given them. There is also frequent allusion to being gathered to the fathers; and being buried here and there in very different places could not be called a “gathering.” Moreover the name always denotes the *continued existence* of whatever may bear it. No one, and God least of all, would name himself from things that have *absolutely perished*, but only from such as have still an abiding and essential relation to himself.

² Not, however, as De Wette imagines, to give vent to “their vexation at the fact that He had triumphed over the Sadducees.” Their vexation on this account is not likely to have been very great. On the contrary, we have here two envious parties standing side by side, *both* opposed to Jesus, but each desiring that the victory should be gained, not by the others, but by themselves.

with uprightness of mind forgot his pride in the contemplation of the truth, he said, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." And the Pharisees, seeing how the conversation ended, turned away and asked Jesus no more questions.¹

The Lord now determined for His own part to address a question to the Pharisees. Turning to a number of them who were collected together in the temple, He inquired how David could call the Messiah his *Lord*, seeing that He was to be his *Son*. This question, by which Jesus pointed them to the divinity of the promised Messiah, they were perfectly unable to answer.²

¹ Matthew simply mentions the answer which Jesus gave; his sole object being to exhibit the *superiority of Jesus*. Mark, in accordance with his usual pictorial style, describes the actual issue of the whole occurrence. This is the sum and substance of the "important diversity" in the two accounts to which *De Wette* refers. For even Strauss himself could never seriously maintain, that the fact of Matthew commencing his quotation from Deut. vi. 5 with "Thou shalt love," and Mark with "Hear," creates an irreconcilable difference.

² The allusion in Ps. cx. 1 to 2 Sam. vii. 1 Chron. xvii. is unmistakeable. Nathan prophesies there that David is not to build a house for the Lord, but the Lord will build a house for the seed of David; the seed of David shall stand in the filial relation to God. When Solomon (1 Kings viii. 26, 27), after having erected *his* temple, prays that God will fulfil the promise given to David, *for* his temple of stone is not a true and complete fulfilment, he displays a deep insight into the meaning of Nathan's prophecy. Consequently we need not be surprised to find at the very outset, in the case of *David himself*, a presentiment amounting almost to a conscious perception of the fact, that Nathan's prophecy points to a descendant invested with divine honour. (Although the word "seed" is collective, the *thing* predicted of this seed could not be fulfilled in a plurality of individuals; some *one* individual must necessarily be thought of, in whom the ultimate fulfilment would occur.) And David actually gives expression to this view in 1 Chron. xvii. 17: "Thou spakest of Thy servant's house with reference to something which is still far off (לְמִרְחֹק), and hast regarded me like the form of the man who is up to (bis hinauf zu, as high as) Jehovah God" (הָאֵלֹהִים in the place of אֱלֹהִים; מַעַל with הָ local). Ps. cx. 1 is in perfect analogy with this. Verse 4 of this Psalm also points back to Nathan's prophecy; the calling of David's seed, to be both king and the builder of the temple, was at any rate a combination of royalty and divine service, as in the case of Melchizedek.—Every other explanation of Ps. cx. is in some respects a forced one. It was thoroughly at variance with Israelitish ideas for a subject to ascribe to his sovereign a seat upon the throne of God (and equally so for a king to personate a subject, and ascribe such a seat to himself). The throne of God, in the Old Testament, has no other meaning than the throne of God *in heaven*, the seat of universal dominion (e.g., Ps. xi. 4, xxxiii. 14, etc.). According to 1 Chron. xvii. 12, 14, "I will settle him in *My* kingdom," a participation in this universal dominion might be ascribed to the seed of David promised by Nathan; and according to 1 Chron. xvii. 17 such participation *was* ascribed to it. But it was in an *ideal form*. It was utterly impossible that in Israel such

§ 90.

THE GREAT PHILIPPIC. THE WIDOW'S MITE.

MATT. XXIII. 1-39; MARK XII. 38-44; LUKE XX. 45-XXI. 4.

Jesus now began expressly and thoroughly to hold up the Pharisees and scribes in their true character before all the people. As a faithful Shepherd, He warned the people against those who occupied indeed the *chair* of Moses, but in an anti-theocratic, ungodly spirit sought their own honour and not that of God, abused their office of shepherds in an abominable manner to their own selfish ends, and for the sake of their own earthly profit led the nation in the road to destruction. In the most solemn manner He now pronounced *woes* upon them for keeping the kingdom of heaven *shut*. He called them whited sepulchres; He pictured them most minutely in their whole ways and manners; laid at their door all the holy blood of the prophets that had been innocently shed; and mourned over Jerusalem, which He would willingly have gathered as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, but which *would not*. Jerusalem, which thus rejected its Saviour, would now be laid waste through the judgment of God¹ till it felt remorse, and again with praise acknowledged the Lord.

Jesus had taken His seat opposite to the *γαζοφυλάκιον*, and was watching the people as they threw in their gifts.² A widow came up, words as those in Ps. cx. 1 should be addressed out of flattery to a real Israelitish king (cf. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16 sqq.).

¹ It is self-evident that "your house" in ver. 38 does not refer to the houses of particular Pharisees, who had been addressed in vers. 13 sqq., but to the *seat of the nation*, Jerusalem as a whole. Hence all such explanations are false, and even absurd, which regard ver. 39 as predicting the return of Christ before one generation had passed away. The subject of *ἰδοῦτε* and *εἰπητε* is evidently not particular individuals among those who were addressed, but the nation as a *whole*.

² *De Wette* imagines that the Evangelists must have confused two different things together; for, since Josephus speaks of several *γαζοφυλάκιοις*, which were not chests for offerings, but *chambers*, or rather *houses*, for the deposit of treasures (*vid.* Wars of the Jews, 6, 5, 2: "they also burned down the treasury-chambers, in which was an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of garments, and other precious goods there deposited; and, to speak all in a few words, there it was that the entire riches of the Jews were heaped up together, while the rich people had there built themselves houses (*οἶκους*) to contain such furniture"), the Evangelists, on the other hand, evidently referred to chests for offerings (probably the *שופרות* mentioned in *tract. Schekalim* 6, 1, 5).—But the confusion is not on the part of the Evangelists. In the passage quoted, Josephus is evidently speaking of such treasure-chambers as were erected in the temple *during the siege of Jerusalem*. Or are we to suppose that the rich Jews had houses built in the fore-court of the

and dropped in two λεπτά. Jesus then called His disciples and said, "This poor widow has cast in more than all the others. They have all given of their abundance; but she has given all that she has saved, all that she has to live upon."

§ 91.

DISCOURSE OF CHRIST ON THE SECOND ADVENT.

MATT. XXIV.—XXV.; MARK XIII.; LUKE XXI. 5–38.

As Jesus was going out of the temple, the disciples called His attention to its splendour and glory; but He told them that there would not be left one stone upon another, all would be thrown down. Now it was very evident to them, and to the nation at large, from predictions in the Old Testament, that there would be, 1. *the coming of a Messiah*, which they knew to be now fulfilled in Jesus; 2. *the last judgment*, which the Israelites (according to passages of the O. T. representing it as to be held by the Messiah) expected to occur in the Messianic age, but which Jesus had described to them as still future, to be held by Him after He had entered into glory, though without informing them when it would take place, or when this glory would be attained (Matt. xix. 28; Luke x. 14, xi. 31; John v. 29, vi. 39); and 3. *a tribulation of Jerusalem*, which would precede the final glory (probably gathered from Dan. ix. 13 and 26, xii. 1; cf. De Wette on Matt. xxiv. 3). But Jesus had frequently foretold His own *death* to the disciples. And in the prophecies of the Old Testament, not only are there predictions that the Messiah would suffer before He was glorified (Isa. liii. and liv.), but two *distinct advents* are also foretold (Zech. xi. 1¹). The meaning of this prophecy, however, which was couched in figurative terms, was destined to be hidden until it had been ful-

temple in times of peace, to store up their money, their garments, and their whole property?—Let us turn to another passage of *Josephus*, viz., Ant. 19, 6, 1. We there read that, "as for the golden chain which had been given him by Caius, of equal weight with that iron chain wherewith his royal hands had been bound, he (Agrippa) hung it up within the limits of the temple, *over the treasury* (γὰρ ὀφρὺ λάκιον)." Here then, in the period antecedent to the war, a single γὰρ ὀφρὺ λάκιον is mentioned, and one *over* which it was possible to hang a chain, which cannot therefore have been a *chamber*, but must have been something distinct which *stood against the wall*.

¹ *Rejection of the true Shepherd*, Zech. xi. 12; the nation given up to cruel shepherds, ver. 16; Jerusalem a cup of reeling to all nations, chap. xii. 1, 2; besieged, vers. 3 sqq. *Then first*, the setting up of the *kingdom of glory*.—Similarly, Mal. ii. 5, 6, 8, 9, and iii. 1 sqq.

filled. At all events, in the time of Christ, we do not find the slightest trace, either in the nation at large, or among the disciples themselves, of the expectation of a second advent.¹ The announcement of Jesus' sufferings, therefore, was an element which threw all their previous eschatological notions into confusion, and completely changed the whole conception. Hitherto they had expected a *Messianic period*, and during that period a *conflict* (in which the temple would possibly be destroyed), and then the *last judgment*. But now this Messianic age was represented to them as *divided into two parts*. From the nature of things, it was evident in which of these two the *last judgment* would occur;² but they could not tell when they were to expect the *destruction of the temple* (which they had either inferred, as De Wette supposes, from Dan. ix., or, what is more probable, which had just been foretold to them for the first time, Matt. xxiv. 2), whether in connection with the death of Christ, or with His *parousia*.³—With this uncertainty and curiosity, as soon as they had reached the Mount of Olives, they addressed two questions to Jesus,—1. *When the temple would be destroyed?* and 2. *When the return of Christ would take place, along with the end of the world?*

Jesus commenced with the second inquiry, as being practically the more important of the two (Matt. xxiv. 4–14). He warned them, first of all, not to allow themselves to be deceived by pseudo-Christ. The final catastrophe was by no means to be regarded as close at hand. From the breaking out of war, pestilence, etc., they were not to conclude that the τέλος was near. On the contrary (before the establishment of the kingdom of God in its glory), there would first come an

¹ The announcement of Christ's sufferings was both a novelty and a surprise to the disciples (Matt. xvi. 22, xvii. 23, xx. 21, etc.). And the people at large had so little idea of the possibility of the Messiah having to die, that they constantly adduced the fact of Jesus' death as a proof that He could not be the Christ (cf. 1 Cor. i. 23, and the style of the Apostles' reasoning, in Acts ii. 23, 24, iii. 13 sqq., v. 30, vi. 10, vii. 52, 53, x. 30).

² Thus we see that, as a matter of fact, the *συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος* is closely connected with the *παρουσία* in the question put to Christ by His disciples.

³ De Wette and many others start with the assumption, that the disciples "had thought of the *destruction of Jerusalem* and the *coming of Christ* as contemporaneous." But where does De Wette gather this? On what does he found his conclusion? The Israelites before Christ, no doubt, believed that the destruction of the temple, predicted in Dan. ix., would occur in the *Messianic era*, which they had not learned to divide into the two periods of suffering and glory. But to the disciples this Messianic era now appeared divided into two parts,—the present in which they lived, and the *παρουσία*, which was still to come. What, then, could lead them to so decided an expectation, that the destruction of the temple would coincide with the *parousia*? There is nothing in Dan. ix. to lead to such a conclusion.

age of divers tribulations; the nations would pass through a period of fermentation, and even this would be only the *commencement of the birth-pangs* (ὠδίνων) of the new world. In this process persecutions on the part of those who were opposed to Christianity, and inward apostasy on the part of Christians themselves, would grow into great θλίψις. *But the end itself would not come till the Gospel had been preached in the whole world.*

One of the questions was now answered. The disciples were not to expect the immediate establishment of the *ecclesia triumphans*, and therefore were not to regard the commencement of sufferings as indicating the immediate approach of the end (τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος).

Jesus, after an obvious pause, then passed on to the *other question* (with reference to the destruction of the temple). When they saw the idolatrous abomination of the Roman eagles approach the soil of Canaan, they were to flee from Judæa to the mountains. For then there would burst upon Jerusalem an unparalleled tribulation, which the Lord would bring to an end in time, for the sake of the elect alone. Jerusalem would be trodden down by the heathen (Matt. xiv. 15–22, and parallel passages).

In the meantime, whilst Jerusalem would have to endure this calamity, there would by no means follow an immediate triumph for the Christians, but the times of danger and of suffering (of false teachers and persecutions, vers. 4–14) would still continue. They must not put confidence, therefore, in those who should then give themselves out as Christ; for He, the Lord, would not return at this precise period, immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, nor in fact at any period that could be determined beforehand, but *like the lightning, suddenly and unawares*. When the corruption of the world-carcase was complete, the eagles of judgment would appear (vers. 23–28).

Speedily after the days, which still belonged to that tribulation of persecution and apostasy (predicted in Matt. xxiv. 9 sqq., and 23 sqq.), the sun and moon would be darkened, the worlds tremble, the sign of the Son of man appear in the clouds, and Christ with His angels come to judgment.

Jesus thus returned to the question which he answered first, and showed the special *sign* of His *parousia*. He then reminded the disciples of the fig-tree, and exhorted them to watchfulness. As you see by the gradual bursting of the leaves of the fig-tree that the summer harvest is gradually drawing nigh, so might they, when they perceived all these signs of the steady growth of that which is antichristian, measure the nearness of the spiritual harvest. That generation should not die out till all those signs of growing Antichristianity had become

distinctly perceptible.—But the exact time of the judgment was known only to the Father in heaven. It would break forth *suddenly and unexpectedly*, like the flood in the days of Noah; hence the importance of watching. This exhortation He still further enforced by *parables*, of the *watchful servant*, the *ten virgins*, and the *talents*.—He then continued: when He should come, He would divide the sheep from the goats, according to their works; the former, those who had done good from love, not for the sake of merit and righteousness; the latter, those who would plead that they had never seen Jesus in the world, and therefore could not do anything for Him. These will go into everlasting punishment, the former into everlasting life.

1. Commentators, almost without exception, have discovered this difficulty in the discourse before us, that Jesus speaks of the *last judgment* and the *destruction of Jerusalem* as occurring at the same time. For (1) in Matt. xxiv. 15, after having *announced* the judgment of the world, He proceeds to *describe* it as if the destruction of Jerusalem would actually form the commencement of it; (2) in ver. 29 He says, that His return will take place *immediately* after the destruction of Jerusalem; and (3) in ver. 34 He says, that *everything* which He has just predicted will take place before the existing generation has passed away.

Those who regard the difficulties as *insoluble*, either assume, with *Strauss*, that Jesus Himself was mistaken (in which case, not only was He a fanatical dreamer, but Matt. xxiv. 27 and 36 sqq. are perfectly unintelligible); or say, with *Schulz*, *Neander*, etc., that the disciples misunderstood His words. But it is inconceivable, that, after the disciples had inquired particularly about the *time*, it should have been just with reference to the *time* that they so totally misunderstood the words of Christ; and still more inconceivable, that having made this mistake, they should still record that part of Christ's discourse which we find in Matt. xxiv. 36 and Mark xiii. 32.

Those who have *attempted to solve* the difficulty, have done so in three ways. *Olshausen* refers to the nature of prophecy, of which it is one of the characteristics, to combine together, as *in perspective*, things near and remote. This is, no doubt, perfectly correct: *Isaiah*, for example, sees in the spirit the suffering servant of God, and then suddenly passes on to the last absolute pæan of Zion, and the final consummation. But in such cases as these, a definite *datum* is no more given as to the *proximity* of the two events, which are thus seen in perspective, than as to their distance. In the case before us, on the contrary, we have a definite *εὐθέως* (immediately), a *γυνεὰ αὐτῆς* (this

generation). Precise indications of this kind would not have been *in perspective*, but *erroneous*. Moreover, the disciples had already distinguished the destruction of the temple from the *parousia*, and with reference to both, made particular inquiry about the *time*. So that Jesus would have told them, if He had known; and if He did not know, would have said to them, "I cannot tell." But He would never have placed the two together in perspective, and employed such expressions as "immediately after" and "this generation," so as to make it appear as if He intended to give the time with the greatest precision.—Others, such as *Calixt*, *Lightfoot*, *Wetstein*, etc., regard Matt. xxiv. 29 sq., and the parallel passages, not as a description of the second advent, but as a figurative representation of an "invisible advent at the destruction of Jerusalem."¹

A third attempt is made to remove the difficulty by means of a forced exegesis (*vid. Schott*). The end (τέλος), mentioned in vers. 6 and 14, is understood to mean the "end of Jerusalem." *Εὐθέως*, in ver. 29, is supposed by *Paulus* to be an "accidental amphiboly," and by *Schott* to be a bad rendering of the word *δυσως*, which the Aramæan original probably contained. And πάντα ταῦτα, in ver. 34, are thought to refer to vers. 15–22 alone.

In the explanation which *we* have given above, we simply take the question put by the disciples, and so carefully reported by Matthew, and examine at the outset such eschatological ideas as they *entertained*, and *could entertain*, at the time when they asked the question. All that remains for us to do now, is to vindicate our own exegesis.

2. So far as Matt. xxiv. 4–14 is concerned, it is perfectly obvious, that here, as everywhere else, τέλος is equivalent to συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος. In ver. 14 Jesus had *fully* answered one of the questions put by the disciples, as to the time of the συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος, by telling them not to expect it too soon, or previous to the spread of

¹ *Typologically*, there are two ways in which such an allusion might be explained. It might be supposed that the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is the actual object to which Christ refers; and that, as this destruction is a type of the final judgment, the description of the type passes involuntarily into that of the judgment typified. (But πότε, ver. 3, εὐθέως and ἡ γενεὰ αὕτη, ver. 29, preclude any such interpretation.)—Or we might understand the words of Christ as alluding not to the destruction by Titus, but to the destruction of Jerusalem predicted in Zech. xii., which is *still future*, and will take place immediately before the last judgment; and might say, that as the destruction by Titus was a type of this, many of the things which Jesus says with regard to the latter also occurred in connection with the former. (But the fact that Jesus and His disciples were speaking of the temple then standing, vers. 1–3, is sufficient to prove at the outset that this explanation cannot be entertained.)

Christianity throughout the whole world. He is now able to *pass on* to the other question. And we actually find a marked transition. Thus far He has been speaking of an indefinite future ; He now passes on, by the use of the word *ἔτι*, to speak of a distinct period of time. Between vers. 10 and 14 He has left off using the second person ; He now begins to address the disciples again, as if they would be sure to outlive the events described in vers. 15 sqq. According to our explanation, the particle *οὖν* is perfectly intelligible. It cannot possibly have the meaning, *therefore* ; for this would give no sense at all, as what Christ has just said in ver. 14 could not be the reason for the exhortation in ver. 15. The meaning *then* it never has. So that the only explanation left is, that it “ serves to resume a thought, when something else has intervened ” (*vide* Winer, Grammar ; cf. 1 Cor. viii. 14 ; and Rom. v. 18, compared with ver. 12). Jesus, having answered one of the questions, now returns to the other.

At ver. 22 we observe, that the expression *ἐκολοβώθησαν* (“ shall be shortened ”) implies that the tribulation of Jerusalem *shall come to an end* ; a fact which is still *more clearly expressed* in Luke xxi. 24. So that when Christ proceeds to speak, in vers. 23 sqq., of a fresh danger that the Christians may be drawn away, the word *τότε* (then) must refer, not to the period during which the siege of Jerusalem is still continuing, but to that which follows the complete desolation ; for, according to ver. 16, the Christians are not to be in Jerusalem at all during the siege. Ver. 23, therefore, introduces the thought, that the state of things depicted in vers. 4–14 will continue after the destruction of Jerusalem. And, as we have shown above, this is in harmony with the idea contained in vers. 27, 28.¹

The “ *tribulation (θλίψις) of those days,* ” mentioned in ver. 29, can only refer, then, to the period already described as one of *θλίψις* in ver. 9, and as one of persecution and apostasy in vers. 23–28, and to the permanent *θλίψις*, connected therewith, which Jerusalem was to endure, and which would consist in its *being trodden down*, in the continued extinction of the Israelitish kingdom, and the subjugation of the nation ; but not in the merely momentary event of the destruction of the Jewish capital. *Εὐθέως* (immediately) stands in contrast with the idea of a *previous announcement and preparation* ; as though, between the tribulation and the advent, some third period or particular

¹ *De Wette* would gladly find an allusion to the siege of Jerusalem in ver. 28. He therefore disregards the fact, that according to Job xxxix. 30, Hab. i. 8, and Luke xvii. 37, the words were *proverbial* ; and understands the *ἀετοὶ* as referring to the *Roman eagles* noticed in ver. 15. But how strange an idea, “ Christ will appear suddenly ; for where the carcase is, the Romans are sure to come ! ”

sign was to be expected, which would separate the one from the other. On the contrary, the advent (*παρουσία*) is to take place *immediately* after the tribulation.

On ver. 34 we merely remark, that "all these things" (*πάντα ταῦτα*) must evidently mean the same as in the previous verse. Now, ver. 33 cannot refer to all the things which Jesus has spoken of, including the final judgment of the world; for if it did, it would contain the unmeaning statement: "*When ye see all these things, war, pestilence, the destruction of Jerusalem, false teachers, the darkening of the sun and moon, the sign of the Son of man in the clouds, the Son of man coming with His angels, and all the world gathered round Him, ye may know — that the judgment is near.*" He who sees the judge engaged in judging, does not need to be reminded that the judgment is near.—What Jesus meant by *πάντα ταῦτα* is evident from the simile He employs of the fig-tree gradually putting forth its leaves; viz., the *indications of growing Antichristianity* described in vers. 4–14 and 23–28.

But however correct everything appears in this discourse, even according to the account given by Matthew, we might be tempted to grant so much, that if the author of the first Gospel had had in his own mind *a clear perception* of the actual distance between the destruction of Jerusalem and the return of Christ, he would have noticed more particularly, and related more emphatically, those expressions of Jesus in which this interval is pointed out. In ver. 29, for example, he might have selected another word in the place of *θλίψις*, which certainly recalls ver. 20 more forcibly than vers. 23–28.—The fact, that Luke (ver. 24) so obviously separates the destruction of Jerusalem from the return of Christ, we might then try to explain, as *Credner*, *Bleek*, and others have done, on the ground that Luke did not write till after the year 70 (which, however, was by no means the case). But this would be nothing else than to assume, that Luke transferred this distinctness to the words of Jesus *post eventum*, and therefore that Jesus Himself had not a clear consciousness of this interval. Apart from all *doctrinal* grounds, however, either *pro* or *con*, there are no *critical* reasons which force us to any such assumption. For even Matthew himself has preserved some intimations of this interval; and the diversity in the two accounts may be explained on grounds having no connection whatever with the date of composition. The *date of composition*, in fact (*i.e.*, the assumption that Matthew wrote before 70 and Luke after 70), would *not* in any way explain the difference. For, how long the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the second advent would be, was no more known to the Apostles

and early Christians after the year 70 than before, and therefore the notion of a *πληρωθῆναι καιροῦς ἐθνῶν* (Luke xxi. 24, "until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled") could not have been founded upon any such knowledge. This expression, therefore, was no doubt employed by Jesus Himself.

But when we find that Matthew makes no allusion to the "time of the Gentiles," and represents the period between the destruction of Jerusalem and the second advent as a *continuous tribulation resting upon Jerusalem*, and in this sense combines and identifies (ver. 29) the tribulation which lasts till the *parousia* (ver. 8) with that produced by the destruction of Jerusalem (vers. 20, 21), whereas Luke describes the same period as "the time (day of grace) of the Gentiles," the reason for this lies quite simply in the fact, that Matthew looks at Jesus from the standpoint of *Jewish* Christianity, Luke from that of *Gentile*. Matthew writes as an Israelite. The destruction of Jerusalem is to him the last severe chastisement inflicted upon his nation, for the purpose of humbling it, and preparing it for the establishment of the kingdom of the Messiah. Luke writes as a Gentile Christian. To him the destruction of Jerusalem is the deliverance of Christianity from the fetters of the people of Israel according to the flesh, the commencement of the "times of the Gentiles" (*καιροὶ ἐθνῶν*). Matthew urges, (1) that this tribulation of the people of Israel is at the same time a tribulation for the disciples of Christ also (*vid.* vers. 8, 20, and 29), since the period of the Church triumphant will first commence when Israel is re-established; and (2) that immediately after this tribulation the Lord will come again to comfort His people (cf. ver. 30, the evident allusion to Joel iii. and Dan. vii. 14 and 27; the coming of the Son of man a victory of theocratic Israel over the ungodly heathen powers). Luke, on the other hand, lays stress upon the fact that opportunity for conversion shall be given to the Gentiles. Both sides are true, and they are not opposed the one to the other, but rather supplement each other (compare with Matthew what Paul says in Rom. xi.). Hence they may be traced to one original discourse of Jesus, in which they both unite. Neither of the Evangelists has added anything of his own; but each one has laid to heart and noted down particular portions of the address, and in the same way omitted others.

The reason why Matthew does not mark the section still more clearly in ver. 5, or make a more obvious distinction in ver. 34 between the general condition of things before the second advent and the special signs of that event, may be found in the fact that, according to the will of God, none of the Christians of the first age had any

conception of the length of the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the *parousia*. That so long a time would intervene, they were neither able nor intended to know.

3. We have hitherto confined ourselves to Matthew. If we turn to Mark and Luke, we find that neither of them reports the question put by the disciples in so special a manner as Matthew; for although the word *συντελεῖσθαι* occurs in Mark, it is only with reference to the destruction of the temple (*ταῦτα*), mentioned just before, and in Luke also the question relates to this alone. In fact, the *form* in which the question was put, was indifferent to the Evangelists, and might very well be so. It could not be a matter of any importance, whether these disciples merely mentioned the destruction of Jerusalem (wishing to know whether it would take place at once, or not till the *parousia*), and Jesus in reply to the question gave them a complete exposition of the *τέλος*, the destruction of Jerusalem and the *parousia*; or whether the disciples had already expressly mentioned these different objects when making the inquiry. To us, indeed, the report given by Matthew was so far of importance, that it put us upon the road to a correct understanding of the reply; but the Evangelists, who understood this perfectly already, were not likely to reflect upon the utility of giving an exact account of the question put by the disciples.

In the reply itself they all agree; and Mark and Luke both clearly show that they fully apprehended the meaning of the address. When Mark (ver. 10) introduces the word “first,” there is nothing else to which we can imagine the word to apply, than to the *τέλος* (“the end”) mentioned in ver. 7.—The change of subject in ver. 14, where the destruction of Jerusalem is spoken of, is so far indicated, that the expression *ὅταν ἴδῃτε κ.τ.λ.* is introduced by a *δὲ* to show the antithesis to what precedes. The less the distinctness with which Mark alludes to the absolute “end,” the judgment of the world, the greater is that with which he pictures the circumstances and conflicts which were close at hand;¹ and the more simply, therefore, could he pass at once from these conflicts, which he depicts in vers. 11–13, and which actually commenced immediately after the death of Jesus, to the destruction which awaited Jerusalem.—Vers. 23, 24, correspond entirely to Matthew; also ver. 30.

Luke passes over to the destruction of Jerusalem in the same way

¹ The Evangelists, we must remember, did not write for critics. The chief thing with them was the *practical need*. Thus Mark omits the question, *when* the end of the world would take place, and touches but lightly upon the answer given to it (ver. 10); whilst he lays all stress upon the conflicts which would arise, and the manner in which it was right for disciples to behave.

as Mark. In vers. 8-19 he has made no allusion to the τέλος, or the *time* of the τέλος; but merely relates what Jesus said with reference to the conflicts and sufferings that would immediately begin,—conflicts and sufferings which were not to be taken as signs of the end (ver. 9). From these sufferings he then passes at once in ver. 20 to the destruction of Jerusalem, as one of the remaining conflicts. But although he has made no reference thus far to the τέλος, there is by no means wanting, even in his case, the distinct statement that the *second advent* would *not* coincide with the fall of the temple. For, whilst Matthew, who represents these conflicts as continuing from the time of Jesus till the end (vers. 4-14), says distinctly in vers. 23-28 that they will continue after the destruction of Jerusalem, and in this way denies that the destruction of the temple and the *second advent* will coincide, Luke makes the same denial in another but equally obvious manner; for, after having described these conflicts (vers. 8-19) as about to commence, and not with reference to their *terminus ad quem*, he says in ver. 24 that “Jerusalem will be trodden down of the Gentiles until the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled.”¹

§ 92.

THE TIME OF THE LAST SUPPER.

We devote a special section to the question as to the *time* of the last paschal meal. The position in which the question stands is this: The Synoptists appear to describe the meal at which Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper as a paschal meal, occurring in the evening following the 14th Nisan (the evening, therefore, with which, according to Jewish reckoning, the 15th Nisan began); whereas John represents the Jews as not eating their Passover till the evening after the death of Christ.²

¹ On this eschatological discourse, and the other eschatological passages of the New Testament, see my dissertation adversus erroneam non nullorum opinionem, etc., Erlangen 1842.

² [The reader may consult with advantage Greswell's Dissertation (vol. iii., Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels) on the point discussed in this chapter. He endeavours to show that the proper beginning of any feast-day was reckoned from the night preceding; and that the 14th Nisan, though not, strictly speaking, a part of the feast, was popularly regarded as such, and was usually spoken of as the first day of unleavened bread (from the putting away of leaven). He adverts to the fact, that Josephus speaks of the feast as lasting eight days. Ant. II. xv. 1: “We keep a feast for eight days, which is called the feast of unleavened bread.” Greswell, on the ground of the usage in the New Testament and Josephus, lays down the rule, that when the phrase τὸ πάσχα is not distinctly opposed to the

The chronological order of these few days is as follows :—

A. All four Evangelists agree, that the *resurrection of Jesus* took place on the Sunday (the day after the weekly Sabbath : *μὴ τῶν σαββάτων*, John xx. 1; Luke xxiv. 1; *ὁψὲ σαββάτων*, Matt. xxviii. 1; *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*, Mark xvi. 1). Also, that Jesus lay in the grave *one day* (Luke xxiii. 45, 46; Matt. xxvii. 61, 62, cf. xxviii. 1; Mark xv. 46, 47, xvi. 1, 2, cf. xv. 42), namely, during the Sabbath; and that the day of His crucifixion was the day before the Sabbath (Mark xv. 42). *They all place the same events, therefore, on the same days of the week: Thursday*, the last meal; *Friday*, the death of Jesus; *the Sabbath*, His rest in the grave; *Sunday*, the resurrection.

B. On the other hand, the Synoptists and John do not agree respectively, as to the relation between the Jewish days of the month and these events; in other words, between the days of the feast and the days of the week. The *Synoptists* say, that it was on the “first day of the feast of unleavened bread” (*πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων*, Matt. xxvi. 17); or “the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover” (Mark xiv. 12); or “the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed” (Luke xxii. 7); and therefore, in the afternoon of the 14th Nisan, that Jesus told His disciples to make ready the Passover; and that it was in the evening before the 15th that He ate it with them. John, on the contrary (chap. xiii. 1), says, that the last supper took place “*before* the feast of the Passover;” and relates in chap. xviii. 28, that on the day of Jesus’ death the Jews would not go into the prætorium, “that they might not be defiled, but might eat the Passover;” according to which account, therefore, the Jewish Passover was not eaten till the evening after the death of Jesus, and His last supper took place in the evening following the 13th Nisan, His death in the afternoon of the 14th. Moreover, in chap. xix. 31, he calls the day on which Jesus died the *παρασκευή*, the day of preparation for the 15th of Nisan, the first feast-day; leading in like manner to the conclusion, that the death of Jesus took place on the 14th.—The differences will appear more clearly in the following table :—

phrase τὰ ἄζυμα, they are each inclusive of the other, and the complex ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα is absolutely equivalent to the complex ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων, so that the feast was considered begun when the leaven was removed.—ED.]

| | | Synoptists. | John. |
|-----------|------------------------|---|--|
| Thursday. | The last supper. | 14th Nisan. Day of preparation and Jewish paschal meal. | 13th Nisan. |
| Friday. | The death of Jesus. | 15th Nisan. First Sabbath of the feast. | 14th Nisan. Day of preparation and paschal meal. |
| Sabbath. | Rest in the sepulchre. | 16th Nisan. | 15th Nisan. First Sabbath of the feast. |
| Sunday. | Resurrection. | 17th Nisan. | 16th Nisan. |

Various plans have been proposed for reconciling the difference.

I. *Hengstenberg* (Ev. Kirchenzeitung, 1838), *Tholuck* on John xiii. 1, and *Wieseler* (chron. *Synopse*, p. 333 sqq.), with whom I also agreed for a long time, have endeavoured so to explain the expressions employed by John as to *reduce his chronology to that of the Synoptists*. But the arguments which were carried out with such dazzling brilliancy, by *Wieseler* especially, have been refuted with such thoroughness by *Bleek* (pp. 107–156), that no false shame shall prevent me from confessing openly and honourably my return to my original admission of the actual difference in the two accounts.

a. In John xiii. 1, *Wieseler* refers the words *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς* to ἀγαπήσας, which makes the passage quite unmeaning: “Jesus, having loved His disciples before the feast of Passover, continued to love them afterwards also.”—The opinion which I advocated was, that ver. 1 was an *anakolouthon*. I supposed that John had it in his mind to write, “before the feast of the Passover, He told them to prepare a meal; and the meal being ended,” etc.; but that the introduction of so long a parenthesis led him to omit the completion of the first leading clause. I admit, however, that it is much more natural to refer *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς* to ἐγείρεται in ver. 4, and to take εἰς τέλος ἡγάπησεν αὐτοὺς alone as a parenthesis. But this, of course, leaves the fact in full force, that the last supper took place before *the feast of the Passover*, and therefore did not coincide with the paschal meal of the Jews.

b. In John xviii. 28, *Wieseler* explains the phrase *πασχα φαγεῖν* as meaning to *keep the Passover* (in which case, the reference would not be to the special meal at which the paschal lamb was eaten on the eve of the 15th Nisan). He cites 2 Chron. xxx. 22, where it is stated that “they did eat the feast (המועד) for seven days.” But the reading is uncertain in this passage, as the LXX. apparently read ויכלו instead of ויאכלו; moreover *אכל המועד* is not equivalent to *אכל הפסח*. The

latter expression we also find in 2 Chron. xxx., where it denotes the actual eating of the paschal lamb (ver. 18). All that can be inferred from Deut. xvi. 2, Luke ii. 41, xxii. 1, and Acts xii. 4, is that *πάσχα* was used in the broader sense, to denote the whole of the eight days' feast; but not that *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* could have any other meaning than to eat the paschal lamb. (See Deut. xvi. 5-7.) In the same way the Synoptists (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12, 14; Luke xxii. 8, 11, 15) and Josephus (Ant. 14, 2, 1; 17, 9, 3; Wars of the Jews, 2, 1, 3) never apply the expression *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* to anything else than the paschal meal in the strict sense of the word, so that no unbiassed person would have thought of anything else when reading John xviii. 28 (*vid.* Bleek, 109-112).

A further argument employed by Wieseler is, that according to Maimonides it only defiled till sunset to enter the house of a heathen; so that if *πάσχα φαγεῖν* in John xviii. 28 referred to the eating of the paschal meal, which was kept in the evening commencing the 15th Nisan, there would have been no necessity to avoid entering the house of a heathen. The eating of the paschal lamb, therefore, cannot have been intended.—But apart from the question, whether so mild a law existed so early as the time of Christ, and did not rather owe its origin to the closer intercourse between Jews and Gentiles at a later period, to have entered the house of a Gentile would certainly have rendered a Jew unclean, so as to disqualify him for the *slaughter of the lambs in the temple*, which occurred towards the close of the afternoon.

c. In chap. xix. 31, Wieseler and others understand by the *παρασκευή*, not the day of preparation which preceded the first *festal* Sabbath, but the day before the *weekly* Sabbath. Now, undoubtedly *παρασκευή* might denote the day of preparation for the weekly Sabbath, and at a later period in the Byzantine Church actually acquired the meaning of *Friday*; but it is evident from Josephus (Ant. 16, 6, 2) that this was not its proper signification, and was merely acquired from its relation to the following day, when mentioned in connection with it. (Josephus says, "It seemed good to me [Augustus] that the Jews be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath day, nor on the day of preparation" [*παρασκευη*].)—But it would have been very unnatural to describe the 15th Nisan (the first Sabbath of the feast) simply as a "Friday," and to say nothing of its proper dignity as the *first festal Sabbath*. The word *παρασκευή* certainly has not the meaning of Friday in the other passages of the New Testament in which it occurs. Who would think, for example, of rendering John xix. 42, "There laid they Jesus, because of the Jews' Friday, for the sepulchre

was nigh at hand"? So also in Luke xxiii. 54, and Mark xv. 42. In every case the stress is laid, not upon the particular day of the week, but upon its relation to the day of rest which followed. And thus, in John xix. 31, the intention of the Evangelist is certainly not to record the fact, that it was on Friday that the Lord was taken down from the cross; but in accordance with his custom throughout, of tracing a parallel between the sufferings of Christ and the feast of the Passover (*vid.* chap. xi. 55, xii. 1 and 12, xiii. 1), he calls the reader's attention here to the fact, that the crucifixion of the Lord coincided with the offering and slaughter of the paschal lamb on the preparation eve of the 15th Nisan, and His rest in the grave with the great *double Sabbath* (for, according to the correct interpretation of John's account, the weekly Sabbath fell this year upon the same day as the first Sabbath of the Passover: *vid.* John xix. 31, ἡ γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ σαββάτου).—The meaning of this passage cannot be mistaken therefore. John really places the last supper on the eve of the 14th, and His death upon the 14th of the month.

d. To this has now to be added John xiii. 29: "Some thought that Jesus had said, Buy those things that we have need of against the feast." The thought could never have entered the disciples' minds, that Jesus wished something else to be purchased for the feast, if (with the sunset which closed the 14th Nisan) the first Sabbath of the feast had already begun. For it was forbidden by the law either to work, to buy, or to sell after that time; and there were some who even regarded it as wrong to transact business during the day-time of the 14th (Mischnah, tract. Pesach, 4, 1, 5). And, lastly, there would be no meaning in John xix. 38-42, if the day of the crucifixion (the *παρασκευή*) had been a sabbatical feast-day.

II. Others have endeavoured to reconcile the Synoptists with John; viz., *Apolinarius*, *Mileto*, and *Clemens Alex.* among ancient writers; and among modern theologians, *Movers* and *Krafft*.—They all lay stress upon the fact, that the Jews reckoned the day (of the month) from sunset. Thus when we read in Luke xxii. 7, "Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed," this means, "the 14th Nisan arrived," equivalent to "the 13th was drawing to an end." So that it was in the afternoon of the *thirteenth* of Nisan that Jesus gave directions for His last supper to be prepared; consequently, it was in the evening after the 13th (the evening with which the 14th began), just where John places it therefore, that Jesus partook of the last supper.—Matthew and Mark are explained in the same way. We will confine ourselves for the present to *Luke*. It cannot certainly be denied that the words ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων may be ren-

dered "the 14th Nisan *was approaching*," just as well as "the 14th Nisan *had arrived*." But the objection to this mode of reconciling the differences arises from the distinctness with which Luke represents this last supper as a *ritual paschal meal*, which could not be celebrated in the evening after the 13th Nisan (*vid.* ver. 8, "Go and prepare us the Passover;" ver. 13, "They went and found as He had said unto them; and they made ready the Passover;" and ver. 14, "When the hour was come, He sat down, and the twelve Apostles with Him," by which, as the context clearly shows, *the hour appointed by the ritual for the Passover* itself must be intended.

b. When we turn to Matthew and Mark, it is altogether impossible to think of the evening referred to as being that which followed the 13th Nisan. In Matt. xxvi. 17, and Mark xiv. 12, the expression employed is not, "Then came the first day" (ἦλθε δὲ ἡ πρώτη κ.τ.λ.), but, "on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread (τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁζύμων), the disciples came to Jesus;" or, as Mark has it, "on the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover (ὅτε τὸ πάσχα ἔθονον), His disciples said unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Passover?" Now, even if the relative clause (ὅτε κ.τ.λ.) be taken, not as dependent upon λέγουσιν (indicating the precise time when the disciples said this), but as connected with ἡμέρα (a mere remark in passing, that *on that day* the lambs were slain), there is still no possibility left of assigning the conversation between Jesus and the disciples, in the course of which He directed them to prepare the Passover, to the evening which followed the 13th Nisan. For, according to Matt. ver. 20, and Mark ver. 17 ("Now when the even was come"), it took place before the evening began. If therefore we assume, according to John's account, that the *supper* took place (ὀψίας γενομένης) in the evening after the 13th, *i.e.*, the evening with which the 14th began, this conversation occurred in the afternoon of the 13th, before the commencement of the first day of unleavened bread (a conclusion at variance with Matt. xxvi. 17 and Mark xiv. 12). Or if we suppose that in Matt. ver. 17, and the parallel passages, the afternoon of the 14th Nisan is referred to, the meal which commenced "when the even was come" took place in the evening with which the 15th began (which is at variance with John). On either hypothesis the discrepancy between John and the Synoptists remains.—If we admit, then, that there is this difference, two questions arise: Which is the correct account? and how are we to explain the origin of the difference between the two?

III. *Which is the correct account?*—*a.* In the first edition of this work, I have pointed to the possibility that both might be correct.

The last supper of Jesus might have been held an evening before the paschal supper of the Jews, and yet have been itself a paschal meal, provided, for example, the enormous number of persons attending the feast¹ rendered it necessary that the eating of the lamb should be distributed over two evenings—the Galileans eating it on the evening following the 13th Nisan, the inhabitants of Judah the evening after. It is, in fact, hardly conceivable that the space in the fore-courts of the temple (estimated at 30,000 square cubits) was sufficient to allow of 256,500 lambs being slaughtered in less than five hours.² At the same time, I confess that there is too great a dearth of distinct traces of any such division of the paschal meal. And the expression *πρώτη τῶν ἁζύμων* (Matt. xxvi. 17, etc.) would by no means suit the 13th Nisan, to which it would then have been necessary to apply it.

b. Others are inclined to give the preference to the account of the Synoptists. Even *Wieseler*, to favour his hypothesis, has adduced arguments against the unprejudiced interpretation of the passages in John, which would also be arguments against the account which John has given. But these arguments have not much force. The leading one is based upon an astronomical chart of Wurm, according to which the 15th Nisan fell upon a Friday in the year u.c. 783 (in Wieseler's opinion, the year in which Jesus died). But Wieseler argues in a circle, and proves that Jesus died in the year 783 from the fact that in that year the 15th Nisan must have fallen upon a Friday. Beside this, the whole chart is uncertain.

c. The strongest evidence is decidedly in favour of the account given by John. There is, first of all, the improbability of an execution taking place on the first Sabbath of the feast. For the Jews were not even allowed to carry arms on the Sabbath (Mishnah, tr. Schabb. 6, 4); and it is hardly conceivable, therefore, that the Sanhedrim should have sent an armed force against Jesus, immediately after the holy paschal meal, and when the great Sabbath of the feast had just began. Moreover, it was forbidden to hold a court of justice on the Sabbath (Mishnah, tr. Bezah 5, 2; tr. Schabb. 1, 2; Gemar. Sanh. fol. 35, 1; Lightfoot, ii. p. 384); and for that reason the Sanhedrim never met on the Sabbath in the stone judgment-hall (לְשֵׁבֶת הַמִּשְׁפָּט), but in a building of the Court of the Women, which Maimonides calls the school-house.—The haste with which the Sanhedrim was called together in

¹ According to *Josephus* (Wars of the Jews, 6, 9, 3), a census was taken by order of *Cestius*, and the result showed that there were 256,500 (not visitors, as Bleek supposes, but) lambs slaughtered for the Passover.

² *Josephus* says, three hours. According to tract. Pesach 5, 3, it was not allowable to slay any of the lambs before noon.

the night is easily explained, if it was the night before the day of preparation (at the close of the 13th Nisan) : they were anxious to get the trial and execution over before the festal Sabbath commenced, *i.e.*, before the slaughter of the lambs was over.—The concession made by Augustus, granting them immunity from certain legal obligations on the Sabbath and the evening before, is a proof how great was the repugnance of the Jews to perform judicial acts upon the Sabbath. And in Acts xii. 3 we read that it was the intention of Herod Agrippa to wait till after the feast (*μετὰ πάσχα*, by which, as the context shows, the *whole* feast is intended, including the Mazzoth, as in Luke ii. 41, xxii. 1), before he put Peter upon his trial, and pronounced sentence upon him.—The passage in *Mishnah*, *tr. Sanh.* 10, 3, which states that great criminals were to be brought to Jerusalem to be executed there ברגל (on one of the chief festivals), in the sight of all the people, does not prove that such an execution could have taken place on a feast-day which was sabbatical in its character. The intention could have been fulfilled quite as well upon the days of preparation.

These arguments are still further strengthened by the circumstance, that even according to the tradition of the Talmud (*tr. Sanh.* fol. 43, 1) it was in the afternoon of the 14th Nisan that Jesus died. And there are two passages in the writings of Paul which lead to the same conclusion ; viz., 1 Cor. xi. 23, where the night in which Jesus was betrayed is not described as the night of the Passover ; and 1 Cor. v. 7, where Jesus is called the Passover slain for us, in perfect harmony with the typical character which pervades the whole of John's account of the sufferings of Christ.

The strongest argument in favour of the correctness of the account as given by John is to be found in the fact, that although the Synop- tists intentionally represent the last supper as a paschal meal, there are casual notices in their account which indicate that it actually occurred the evening before the paschal meal of the Jews. (1.) In Luke xxiii. 56 it is stated that the Galilean women, on their return from the burial of Jesus, prepared spices, and *rested the following day, because it was a Sabbath*. Is it not obviously taken for granted here, that the day on which Jesus was crucified was *not* a Sabbath ?—(2.) The Synop- tists describe the day on which Jesus died as *παρασκευή* and *προσάββατον*, just as John does (*vid.* Matt. xxvii. 62 ; Mark xv. 42 ; Luke xxiii. 54) ; and not one of them gives the slightest intimation that it was sabbatical in its character.—(3.) Early in the evening of the day on which Jesus died, Joseph of Arimathea purchased linen for His burial (Mark xv. 42–46 ; Matt. xxvii. 57–60) ; and in the morning of the same day Simon of Cyrene was coming home from his

field (Mark xv. 21 ; Luke xxiii. 26).—(4.) The report of the Synoptists as to the manner in which, and the time when, Jesus gave the command to the disciples to prepare a room and the meal, leads, as it stands, to a result which cannot well be conceived. It is inconceivable that, considering the enormous number of strangers in Jerusalem, any one should delay looking out for quarters till the 14th Nisan. The practice was to do this on the 13th, the so-called *προετοιμασία*.—On all these grounds the conclusion is established, that it was in the evening after the 13th Nisan that the last supper took place.

IV. But if this was not a paschal meal, how are we to explain the mode in which it is represented by the Synoptists?—In a very simple way. (1.) Although it was not actually a ritual paschal meal, *in a certain sense* it took the place of one. I cannot indeed imagine (as Weitzel ventures to assume) that Jesus, who was still under the law, and even submitted of His own accord to the payment of the temple tax, Matt. xvii. 24, 25, would so use His plenipotentiary authority as to set aside a precept of the Mosaic law, and, without any precedent, to eat the paschal lamb in the evening following the 13th of the month. It is far better to adopt another of Weitzel's suggestions, that the last supper was not so much an anticipation, as an *abrogation* of the paschal meal. But the best and most natural supposition is, that this last supper, so far as its ritual signification was concerned, was not a paschal meal, and only took the place of it to the disciples themselves, inasmuch as they would no more be permitted to celebrate the latter by the side of their Master; and that the *Lord's Supper*, which was instituted in connection with the former, was given to them by Christ Himself as a substitute (and more than an equivalent) for the paschal meal.

But even if the parting supper of the Lord received the character of a kind of paschal meal, namely, a *Christian* paschal meal, partly from the subjective recollections and feelings of the disciples, and partly from its objective nature as a compensation for the paschal meal which was no longer celebrated; we can perfectly understand how writers, who (like the author of the Greek version of Matthew, or like Mark and Luke) were not eye-witnesses, might come to the conclusion, that this last meal of Jesus was really a Jewish Passover. This is still more easily explained, when we bear in mind that the Easter Communion of the Christian Church was called from the very beginning by the name of *πᾶσχα*. The Synoptists, therefore, did actually hear of a *πᾶσχα*, which Jesus celebrated in the night in which He was betrayed. This might easily give rise to slight changes in the written or oral reports which they received, or slight inaccuracies

in the expressions they employed, from which the entire difference arose.

We have only to imagine, in the place of the definite expression, *τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων* (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12; Luke xxii. 7), one more general (like that which Luke also employs), "When the first day of unleavened bread *drew near* (*συμπληρούσης*), or "*was at hand*" (*ἐνισταμένης*), and in the place of the indefinite *ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης* (Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv. 17) and *ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα* (Luke xxii. 14), a more precise expression, such as, "the same evening;" and every difference between John and the Synoptists vanishes, and an explanation is found, without any difficulty, of the way in which the accounts as given by the Synoptists arose.

1. Every difference between John and the Synoptists vanishes. In the sources used by the latter, the whole occurrence would appear as follows, in perfect harmony with John: On the 13th Nisan the disciples asked Jesus where He wished to eat the Passover (on the following evening). He gave them the sign which is mentioned in Matt. ver. 18, etc., and directed them to address the landlord with the mysterious words, "*ὁ καιρὸς μου ἐγγύς ἐστι*,"—"My time is short, I will eat the Passover at thy house with My disciples." (Jesus knew that He should not eat the ritual Passover at his house. But for the present, the *disciples* were to remain in the opinion that this would be the case. It was not to be till the evening, when the Lord's Supper was instituted, that they were to learn how close at hand His death really was.)—The disciples made the preparation in the appointed house. But the very same evening, as they were sitting at table (probably in that house), Jesus told them that He would most gladly have eaten this Passover (the Passover of the following day) with them, but that He should no more eat it with them here below (Luke xxii. 15, 16). That very night He would be taken prisoner.

2. From such an original source the account given by the Synoptists might be derived by a slight misunderstanding. That they have faithfully transmitted the particular details of the history of the passion, is proved by the fact that traces of the correct chronology, as given in John, are also to be found in them, and also by the passages just cited, Luke xxii. 15; Matt. xxvi. 18. But that their whole attention was directed to something altogether different from outward chronology, or the comparison between the days of the passion and the Jewish feast-days, namely, to the sufferings of their Lord Himself, is proved by the circumstance, that they did not perceive the want of agreement in some of the facts which they mention: such, for example, as that Jesus was crucified on the first day of the feast, and yet on the very

same day Simon was returning from the field, Joseph purchased linen, and the women prepared spices.—But if it was already a custom in the Christian Church to designate the Lord's Supper as the *Christian* Passover, and the Apostles, from their subjective point of view, spoke of the last supper of Jesus as His last Passover, it is very easy to understand how writers at second hand should tacitly assume that this last supper was actually a ritual paschal meal.

Melito, *Apolinarius*, and others, like *Movers*, *Krafft*, etc., thought they had discovered the possibility of reducing the synoptical account to that of John, by taking *πρώτη ἀζύμων* to mean the afternoon of the 13th Nisan. But this is forced. The Synoptists evidently show that they were mistaken as to the chronological relation in which the days of Christ's passion stood to the days of the Jewish feast. But the manner in which the genesis of this misunderstanding (which does not at all affect the religious aspect of the history of the Saviour's sufferings) can be traced, really strengthens the proofs of the credibility of the Gospel history, both as a whole, and also in the details.—Even John was led to correct any such misapprehension, by means of his exact statements as to time, not by any chronological interest of a scientific character, but more especially by the typical relation of the person of Christ to the paschal lamb, which was revealed to Him by the Holy Spirit.¹

¹ Wieseler, in support of his view (to reduce John's account to the synoptical one), appeals to the fact that in 783 u.c. the 15th Nisan would fall on a Friday, and lays great stress on this point in his *Chron. d. Apostol. Zeitalters*. But he proves that 783 was the year of our Saviour's death from the fact, that on that year the 15th Nisan fell on a Friday. And, apart from the illogical reasoning, the fact does not stand as he represents it. For, as the 1st Nisan was fixed, not by the *astronomical new moon*, but by the optical appearance of the crescent, which is later than the other by from *two to three days*, it is always problematical on what day of the week the 15th Nisan fell, even granting the year of our Lord's death was the year 30. Suppose the new moon happened in the year 30 ær. Dion. on the evening of 22d March at 8 o'clock, the crescent might become visible for the first time on the evening of the 24th, in which case the 1st Nisan (and consequently the 15th) would fall on a Saturday. Wieseler admits that on the year 31 ær. Dion. the moon's phase might be *three days* later than the real new moon. Why not also in the year 30? But we have seen elsewhere—§ 31—that on other grounds it is established that Christ died in the year 33. In this year, the 15th Nisan, on the supposition that the moon's phase became visible two days after the astronomical new moon, fell on a Saturday, so that our conclusions, above stated, receive from thence a new confirmation.

§ 93.

THE LORD'S SUPPER.

MATT. XXVI. 17-35; MARK XIV. 12-31; LUKE XXII. 7-39;
JOHN XIII.-XVII.

Some days before the commencement of the feast of Passover, the diabolical feelings of Judas towards his Lord and Master had grown into a positive possession by Satan. He went to the members of the Sanhedrim, and agreed that if they would pay him thirty pieces of silver, he would, on the first favourable opportunity, inform them when and where they might arrest Jesus without the least disturbance. —When the 13th Nisan arrived, the Lord instructed Peter and John to go and make preparations for the Passover (for the following evening—the evening of the 14th Nisan). For what the Lord foresaw was still to be concealed from them; although in the words, “My time is short,” Jesus did let a hint fall that He should not survive the feast. In reply to the question, *where* they should prepare it, He directed them to go into the city; where a man would meet them with a pitcher of water. Him they were to follow, and to say to the master of the house into which the man entered, “The Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with My disciples?” He would then show them a large upper room. They went, and found everything as Jesus had said.

Now when they were about to sit down to the daily meal (in the evening of the 13th Nisan), there arose a dispute among the disciples, none of whom would perform the part of host, and undertake the service of washing the feet. Whilst each one thought himself the first and chief, Jesus, who knew that the Father had given *everything* into His hands, and that He was the Son of God, but who also knew that He was ready to die, rose up in silence, and began to gird Himself, and to wash His disciples’ feet. When Peter’s turn came, He felt ashamed, and would not suffer it. But Jesus, who not only performed an act of humility in so doing, but also with still deeper significance thereby invited the disciples as guests to His table, told him that he did not yet understand the full meaning of this act. And as Peter still refused, Jesus said to him, “If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me.” Immediately, to testify his love, and show of how great importance he felt it to be to have part with Jesus, Peter exclaimed, “Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.” Jesus replied, “He whose feet I wash, is altogether clean.

Ye are clean, *but not all.*" Thus He sought gently and sparingly, but still with words of deep meaning, to touch the conscience of the traitor. He then sat down, and told them that he who would be the greatest must prove it by humility (John xiii. 13-17; Luke xxii. 25-28). He then once more alluded to His betrayer (John xiii. 18), and reminded them, in a most significant manner, that he who received Him received the *Father*, and that twelve thrones were assigned to the faithful disciples as judges of the tribes of Israel.

The meal then commenced. "I had earnestly desired," said the Lord, "to eat this (the morrow's) Passover with you, before I suffered; for I shall no more eat it with you, till it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God" (Luke xxii. 14 sqq.). While they were eating, He said, "Verily, verily, one of you will betray Me." The time had now come for Judas to make his final decision. The meekness of Jesus, coupled with His omniscience, could not fail to disturb his mind, and remind him of the Saviour's divinity. It rested with him, whether he would break away from his satanic hatred towards Jesus, or still retain it. At these words, there arose in the minds of the disciples, who doubtless felt their weakness, though not one of them was conscious of such wickedness, the anxious inquiry, "Surely it is not I?" At length Peter, who was the most affected by such uncertainty, made a sign to the disciple who was lying against Jesus' bosom to ask who it was. Jesus then answered plainly, "It is he to whom I hand the sop," and handed it to Judas. In proud defiance, Judas had the face to deny it, and say, "Rabbi, it cannot be I?" But Jesus said, "Thou art the man." Satan then entered with the whole force of his malice into the heart of Judas. He was not possessed like the demoniacs, but had given himself up with free will and full consciousness to be the instrument of Satan to destroy Christ. Jesus said, "What thou doest, do quickly." Judas then rose up and went out. The disciples, who had no correct idea of the extent of his treachery, thought that, as he kept the purse, Jesus had told him to make some purchases for the feast. And carnal Israel *was* undoubtedly preparing, in him its representative, a sacrifice for the feast.

When Judas had gone, Jesus said, "The hour is now come for the Son of man to be glorified, and for God to be glorified in Him." He then took bread, and having blessed it by offering thanks, broke it and divided it among the disciples, saying, "This is My body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of Me." After this He took the cup, and gave it to His disciples, saying, "This is the *new* covenant in My blood, which is shed for you. I will drink no more the fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in the kingdom of

My Father" (which is now to be founded by My death: cf. Matt. xxvi. 29 with John xiii. 33).

For the new covenant, Jesus gave the new commandment of *love* (John xiii. 34, 35). Peter then asked Him where He was going, for he would follow Him anywhere. But Jesus warned Him against Satan's temptation, comforting him at the same time with the assurance, that He had prayed for him, that his faith might not fail. And when Peter again declared that he was ready to follow Him even to death, He told him that before the cock crew (twice), he would deny Him thrice (Matt. xxvi. 31 sqq.; Matt. xiv. 27 sqq.; Luke xxiii. 31 sqq.; John xiii. 36 sqq.).—He then said to them all: Hitherto they had needed neither purses nor shoes, for He had provided for them; but now they would have to provide for themselves, and he who had no sword should buy one, for times of danger were at hand. But when the disciples, thinking of worldly strife and conflict, said there were two swords there, He replied, with a mournful smile, "It is enough."—He then told them, with words of consolation, not to be troubled, for He was going to the Father; and proceeded to aid the weak perception of Thomas, Philip, and Judas (Lebbæus) by saying that He would not leave them orphans, but send them a comforter, the Spirit of truth. After blessing them with His peace, He said, "I should still have much to say to you, but ye cannot bear it now. However, that the world may see that I love the Father, come, let us go hence."

Jesus then took the road that led to the scene of His sufferings. They went out to the Kedron. As they went along the gloomy way, the Lord commenced that explanatory discourse on the meaning of the Holy Supper which we find in John xv., telling them that He was the vine, on which the branches hung, from which they received their sap and life, on which and in which they must remain, and bring forth fruit, and suffer. He then enlarged upon the necessity for these sufferings (John xvi.), and the necessity also for His own sufferings, that the Comforter might come and commence His *ἐλεγχίς*, His work of purifying the world. For He would accuse the world of *its own sins*, in not believing on Christ; of *His righteousness* (which He had manifested in His obedience even to death), and of *judgment* (that through Christ's death the power of the wicked one was a broken power).

They had now reached the Mount of Olives, where Jesus lifted up His eyes towards heaven, and offered the prayer of the high-priesthood of the New Testament (John xvii.).

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1. We shall look first at *the order of the different occurrences which*

took place during the meal. The preliminary question, whether John (chaps. xiii.—xv.) makes any allusion to the last supper, we may regard as settled in the affirmative; and, as we have seen, the words *δείπνου γενομένου* do not create any difficulty.

Before passing to the various incidents, let us briefly answer the question, *whether it is conceivable that John should have passed over so important an event as the institution of the Lord's Supper?*—Strauss describes the difference between the Synoptists and John in the following (as he thinks) humorous way: "According to the Synoptists, Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper at this last meal, whereas John represents Him as engaged with the disciples in foot-washing." He then proposes this dilemma: "Either John intended *merely to supplement* the account given by the Synoptists, or it was not his intention to *supplement*." If the former be the case, whilst it is certainly possible to explain his reason for omitting the Lord's Supper, it is impossible to understand why he should have repeated the account of the miraculous feeding, which the Synoptists had given already. If the latter, it is incomprehensible that he should have omitted so important an event; and all the more so, if we consider that the difference in John's account of the time at which the last supper took place, furnished him with an opportunity of expressly correcting the Synoptists; and that it was of the highest importance to John, whose purpose it was to set forth Jesus as the Christ, to record a scene in which Jesus appeared as the founder of the New Covenant. From all this *Strauss* concludes, that Jesus may not actually have instituted the Lord's Supper as a special rite, but the rite may have arisen casually, and the writer of the fourth Gospel may have known nothing of a tradition which traced its origin to Jesus Himself.

For our own part, we take the very opposite course. What *Strauss* declares, as the result of his examination, to be doubtful, we assume, as the starting point of ours, to be historically incontrovertible. Not from the Acts alone, but from 1 Cor. xi., and the unanimous testimony of the early Church, the universal spread of the rite of the Lord's Supper is demonstrated with impregnable certainty. And in the whole sphere of criticism there is no absurdity more uncritical than the idea, that a rite which universally prevailed, should have grown up accidentally and gradually, especially a rite of such marked peculiarity. The rite presupposes an act of institution; and its universal spread, a general acquaintance with the history of that institution. Now, if it is historically certain that John was acquainted with the institution of the Lord's Supper, there was no necessity for him to repeat what everybody knew so well. It would have been superfluous, even if he

had not proposed to supplement the Synoptists. *Strauss's* dilemma is simply another proof of his superficiality. Who would think of maintaining, that when John wrote his Gospel, his sole purpose was to supplement? His real purpose, as *Strauss* himself admits, was to set forth Jesus as the Christ, the *Son of God*, the Word made flesh. To this end, it was evidently of greater importance to communicate the discourses which the Synoptists had not preserved (chaps. xiv.-xvii.), than to repeat once more what had been related four times already, and was known to all his readers.—There was a necessity for him to repeat the account of the feeding, since it was this which furnished the occasion for the discourse in chap. vi. But he needed only to hint at the institution of the Lord's Supper, which led to the discourse in chap. xvi. In connection with the miraculous feeding, it was needful that John should state that it took place during a certain stay in Galilee, for this was not known to his readers from the Synoptists; whereas they all knew that the Lord's Supper was instituted in connection with the last meal. It is by no means difficult, therefore, to explain the omission. To the mind of John, the discourses of Christ, those holiest flames of heavenly love, were all in all. In them the whole deity of Christ, the entire glory of the only-begotten Son, shone forth. When relating them, he related not less, but more, than if he had described the institution of the Supper, namely, that which gave its worth to the Supper itself. The Synoptists exhibit the *pledge* of the fellowship of Christ with His followers in life and death: John, the very *essence* of that fellowship.

2. We now pass on to the leading question, in connection with the order in which the different incidents occurred; viz., whether the unmasking of the traitor took place *before* or *after* the Lord's Supper. In support of the latter, it cannot be pleaded, that Judas would not have ventured to absent himself before the paschal meal was ended; for, as we have already seen, it was not a paschal meal at all. And even if it had been, the paschal meal had no essential connection with the institution of the Lord's Supper; for the latter took place, at least so far as the second part was concerned, "after supper" (*μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι*, Luke xxii. 20); and as we cannot imagine that there was any long interval between the two parts, or that they were separated by irrelevant conversations, the first part must also have occurred quite at the close of the "supper." It is true that Judas could not have been present at the thanksgiving hymn (Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26); but that is no objection to the assumption that he went out before the Supper. Because, whether he went out before or after, he could not have been present at the hymn, as it was sung immediately before

they went out to Gethsemane. It certainly cannot be absolutely proved that Judas left before the institution of the Supper. For Matthew and Mark introduce both the unmasking of the traitor (with which John states that his departure was connected) and the Lord's Supper with the indefinite expression, *καὶ ἐσθιόντων, ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν*, which would be equally suitable whichever was the first of the two. The close connection in Luke xxii. 21, where the unmasking of Judas is attached by *πλὴν* to the institution of the Lord's Supper, seems to favour the conclusion that he left after the supper. But Luke is in the habit of connecting passages loosely, without regard to their order of sequence. The only passage which helps us to a decision is Luke xxii. 20, where the handing of the cup is introduced with the distinct statement that it occurred "*after supper.*" But it was evidently during the meal that the unmasking of Judas occurred; consequently, it must have been *before* the institution of the Lord's Supper. Moreover, the words contained in John xiii. 31, 32, form a peculiarly fitting introduction to the sacrament, which *Lücke* supposes them to be.

On the identity of the unmasking of the traitor, as recorded by the Synoptists and by John, there can be no dispute (in spite of *Strauss*, pp. 413-14). There are no material differences at all, but simply a variation in the form; the Synoptists saying, "the disciples asked," whilst John enters more into particulars, and says that the disciples first talked among themselves, and then Peter put the question through John to Jesus. The answer given by Jesus is the same, and accompanied by an open sign. The Synoptists then report the impudent answer which Judas gave, whilst John merely says that "Satan entered into him."¹ The Synoptists do not mention the fact that Judas "went out," but this is presupposed; for it is not referred to afterwards, and yet Judas made his appearance in Gethsemane accompanied by the soldiers, and apart from the rest of the disciples.

The *dispute* is introduced by Luke (chap. xxii. 24 sqq.) with the general expression *ἐγένετο δὲ καί*, and without mentioning the exact time at which it occurred. But internal reasons, and accordance with the words of Jesus in John xiii. 13 sqq., render it highly probable that it took place before the washing of the feet, and furnished the

¹ There is no necessity to suppose, with Kuinoel, that the answer was uttered in a low voice, or stammered out. He was, on the contrary, quite impudent enough to deny that he was the traitor before all the disciples. When Jesus said to him, "That thou doest, do quickly," and he went out, the disciples did not suppose that at that very moment the crime was about to be committed, the intention of which he had just denied. On the contrary, they might naturally suppose that Judas had not yet thought of anything so dreadful; but that Jesus had simply forewarned him of the depth to which he would afterwards fall.

immediate occasion for this, which would place it quite at the commencement of the meal.—The *warning to Peter* is appended by Matthew and Mark to the clause ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον, with the simple words τότε and καί. This is not at variance either with Luke, who relates the words of Jesus to Peter, and then says, “He went out,” or with John, who represents Jesus as leaving the room with the words recorded in chap. xiv. 31. The natural explanation is, that Jesus addressed to His disciples the words recorded in John xiii. 31–35 before the Supper, and closed the Supper with the hymn of praise; and that when they had all stood up, and were preparing to go, He commenced the conversation related in John xiii. 37–xiv. 31, during which (what so natural!) they all continued standing; and then, at the word of Jesus (chap. xiv. 31), they left the room.—It seems most natural to suppose that the prayer in chap. xvii. was offered on their arrival at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

3. The difficulties raised by *Gabler*—viz., why did not Jesus prepare for the Passover earlier, since the rooms were almost sure to be disposed of when the concourse of people was so great? and how was it possible that Jesus should send so late, and find so readily a room still unoccupied?¹—are difficulties only to those who can bring their minds to regard the whole occurrence as simply a *natural* one. But *Strauss* is quite right in saying that it was the intention of the Evangelists to describe a *miraculous* occurrence, a divine foreknowledge, and guidance of the heart.

4. The *treachery of Judas* evidently consisted of two parts. In the first place, he had to *agree* with the enemies of Jesus, that on a favourable opportunity he would give information where Jesus was to be found, on condition that he received such and such a reward (Matt. xxvi. 14; Mark xiv. 10; Luke xxii. 4, “he communed how he might betray Him unto them”); and secondly, when the opportunity offered, he had to *fulfil* this promise and actually betray Jesus (John xiii. 30, xviii. 2, 3, and the parallel passages).—*Strauss* cannot understand this, and therefore asks, “how Satan could enter into Judas then (John xiii. 27), seeing that his treachery was already complete, when he had come to terms with the enemies of Jesus.” But did it not still rest with Judas to decide whether he would not leave the promise unfulfilled, and so disappoint the enemies of Jesus, and practically refuse the promised price of sin? And was not the resolution to carry out the plot, to go away *then*, and *at that very time* to gratify his

¹ To provide quarters on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan would certainly have been surprising, and too late. But according to the correct chronology (§ 92), the sending of the disciples for that purpose occurred on the 13th.

desire—to say, “There He is in Gethsemane; take Him; I will lead you,”—to *do* what hitherto he had only *spoken of*,—a new resolution from the devil?

This is the proper place to speak of the *motives* which urged Judas to the performance of such a deed. The inward course which his depravity took, we have already described in § 85, in accordance with the Gospel narrative: *growing love to sin, and growing antipathy to Jesus*, whose presence alone was a constant punishment to a will that was constantly hardening; hence extreme wickedness in connection with the theoretically correct apprehension of the divinity of Jesus; and hence that satanic folly, in which rage and passion overcame even the greatest sagacity. Satan thought to destroy Jesus and His kingdom in the germ by bringing Him to the cross, but actually destroyed himself and his own kingdom by that very means; and the insane folly of Judas towards the Lord was of the same kind. In this way, as we have seen, all the different notices of Judas which we find in the Gospels can be psychologically explained. Modern criticism is too weak and sentimental to be able to grasp such a character: as it is too cowardly itself to meet acknowledged truth with the simple defiance “*scio, sed nolo*,” and therefore hides itself behind artificially constructed ignorance and doubt, so is it unable to look this open defiance of Iscariot in the face. Hence it has resorted to such inventions as these. *Schmidt* imagines that he betrayed Jesus in the hope that He would set Himself at liberty by a miracle; *Paulus* and *Hase*, that he would accomplish the same end by means of a tumult. But what a low comedian nature he would have possessed, if he had expected to lead his holy Master through a danger of this kind, as though he were embarking capital in a remunerative speculation! Such a supposition does not make Judas a better man; but instead of a man with a proud satanic mind, we get nothing but a contemptible schemer, such as it is inconceivable that Jesus should have chosen as one of His disciples. (In § 85, we have shown how Jesus might be led to select such a Judas as the Gospels describe.) And if this had been the case, why should not Jesus have saved him from despair and ruin by simply saying, “I know thy intention; but thou art mistaken: I shall not work a miracle to save Myself”?—*Weisse* supposes that he betrayed Jesus because he could not wait patiently till Jesus had set up His own kingdom, and hoped to compel Jesus, by means of this betrayal, to declare Himself more speedily. But this also makes him no better. If such was his intention, why did Jesus speak to him in such severe and solemn terms, and not rather say to him, “Good friend, thou art planning a very clever stroke, but it will not help thee

at all; for I shall suffer Myself to be seized and put to death, rather than resort to the weapons of the world."

5. This is not the place to enter upon any inquiry into the doctrinal significance of the Lord's Supper. On this point I would refer the reader to my *Dogma vom heiligen Abendmahle*.¹ So much, however, may be said in passing, that the institution of the Supper as a historical event is proved by the fact, that it forms an essential point in the growth and main step in the progress of the Apostles in the knowledge of doctrine, without which the transition from that period when the disciples could not bear the thought of their Master's death, far less could understand the *necessity* of His atoning sufferings, to that period when they preached the Gospel of the atoning virtue of Christ's death, remains inconceivable. In the words with which the Lord instituted His Supper, He gave to His disciples for the first time a clear and solemn explanation of the *expiatory* character of His death. For the paschal lamb, which He could no more eat with His disciples, He offered Himself as the true Passover. The words, "This (bread) is my body, this cup is the new covenant in My blood," form a parallel to the Old Testament words in Exod. xii. 11. They declare, (1) that the place of the Old Testament פסח (exemption) is taken by the new covenant concluded in the death of Christ; and (2) that between the bread and wine and this vital covenant of the New Testament, concluded in the death of Christ and the person of Christ, there is a sacramental connection analogous to that which existed in the Old Testament between the paschal lamb and the exemption thereby secured.

6. *Strauss* brings in very clumsily the *discourses* in John xiv.-xvii. to establish a discrepancy. He says, "According to the account of the Synoptists, Jesus went out to the Mount of Olives *immediately* after the meal was ended; whereas John places a long series of parting addresses between the two, viz. chaps. xiv.-xvii." But apart from the misrepresentation (since John places the departure at chap. xiv. 31), the question suggests itself, whether the addresses did not form part of the meal, so far as they were delivered during the meal; and whether there is any place in which the Synoptists state that Jesus and His disciples walked to Gethsemane, speechless? If not, where is the discrepancy between the two expressions, "after the meal," and "after the parting address"?

¹ *The Doctrine of the Holy Supper.*

§ 94.

JESUS IN GETHSEMANE.

MATT. XXVI. 36-56 ; MARK XIV. 32-52 ; LUKE XXII. 39-53 ;
JOHN XVIII. 1-12.

When they reached the garden of Gethsemane, Jesus directed His disciples to sit down. But Peter and the two sons of Zebedee He took with Him into the midst of the garden. He then began to be sorrowful and to tremble. Since He, the Son of God, had taken upon Himself the form of true humanity, and since the divine nature (which in the form of eternity does indeed know sin, but only as a thing overcome (*geschlagene*), therefore without pain and without passivity towards sin) in Him had become capable of suffering, and had no greater suffering to endure than the sorrow of the Holy One because of sin, a sorrow which in the Saviour took the place of righteous indignation ; it necessarily followed, that now, when He was not only about to endure in His own person the sufferings of the body, and not only about to submit in the abstract to a suffering which to Him was absolutely strange as an atonement for human guilt, but when the expiatory death which He was about to die consisted in this, that the whole sin of the whole world (including both human and demoniacal powers) would vent itself upon Him in its concrete accumulation and culmination, Jesus should feel the natural shrinking of humanity from sorrows like these, in which it is impossible to distinguish and divide the pains of the body from those of the mind (for in every act which aggravated His physical suffering, He saw a new act of malice and of sin). At the same time, He was met once more, and more sharply than ever, by the same choice between obedience with sufferings, and disobedience with ease, as in the first temptation. The prince of the world had now directed against Jesus Himself that power which Jesus would not accept at his hands ; and He, the true Saviour, had no thought of evading the suffering. He prayed to the Father, that if it were possible, the cup might pass from Him ; but yet, that the Father's will might be done. In this anguish of soul, the sympathy of His disciples would have relieved and comforted Him. But when He came to them, He found, that after so much excitement, they had fallen asleep. And He said to them, but especially to Peter, "What ! could ye not watch with Me one hour ?" Thus deprived of all consolation, He went again, and trembled in His agony. Then came an angel, whom the Father had sent, and

strengthened Him. And now, not only convinced of the necessity of suffering, but thoroughly prepared for it, He prayed: "Father, since nothing else is possible than that I should drink this cup, Thy will be done." Again He went and found His disciples sleeping. He then went away the third time, and fortified Himself with the same prayer. After this He went to the disciples and aroused them, for the traitor was at hand.—And, behold, Judas, who had directed the company to stay quietly in the background, came up and embraced Jesus, as though about to give Him a friendly salutation. This was the sign that he had given to the company: by this they were to recognise Jesus, and so run no risk of seizing the wrong man, and letting the one they were seeking escape. Jesus then said, "Judas, wherefore art thou come? Betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" In the meantime, the crowd, consisting of elders, a troop of Roman soldiers, and a disorderly mob of men with arms, came near to lay hold of Jesus. "Whom seek ye?" said He; thus displaying in the most open way the voluntary character of His death, in contrast with the miserable cowardice by which the treachery of Judas had been characterized. "Jesus of Nazareth," was the reply. A ray of His omnipotence then struck the whole crowd to the earth. Again He asked whom they sought, and placed Himself in their hands, telling them to let the disciples go. But when Peter saw his Master seized and bound, he was unable any longer to control his feelings, and beginning to strike about with a sword, he cut off the right ear of a servant of the high priest. But Jesus said, "Put up thy sword into its sheath. All they that draw the sword, shall perish by the sword. I must drink this cup. If I would, I could pray the Father for ten legions of angels. But how would the Scriptures be fulfilled?" He then healed Malchus' ear. And turning to the chief priests and elders, who had just come up, He reproached them with having come secretly against Him as against a thief, whereas He had always taught freely and openly in the temple.—But the disciples, seeing Jesus bound, and being afraid lest they should also be seized, hastily took to flight. One of them, in fact, who had nothing on but a shirt, in readiness for the night's rest, left his shirt in the hands of those who tried to seize him, and fled away naked.

1. The difference in the accounts of the Synoptists and John has been deemed important, in connection with the question as to the *possibility and meaning of Christ's mental conflict*. Strauss cannot imagine why John should have made no allusion to the agony in the garden; and will not allow of the reply, that his readers were already

well acquainted with it from the synoptical Gospels, because the differences between the Synoptists were such, that there was all the more reason for John to furnish the necessary reconciliation. We simply appeal to the sound sense of all plain readers, whether the fact that Luke is silent as to one circumstance, and Matthew and Mark as to two, are to be regarded as discrepancies; and also to the fact, that at a time when the Gospels were not yet torn to pieces by the claws of negative criticism, there could be no inducement for John to engage in any such occupation.

The most important objection is, that the attitude of Jesus in Gethsemane is irreconcilable with that displayed in the addresses reported by John. In John, "Jesus speaks as having already risen superior to suffering, with a divine calmness, cheerful in the consciousness of its impregnable strength. How then could this calm so quickly give place to the most violent agitation?" In John He had "closed His account with the Father; here He opens the account again."

But the apparent discord is easily understood by any one who contemplates this agony in its relation to the whole person and work of Christ. *Strauss* proposes this alternative: Either Jesus trembled with ordinary fear and anguish at the prospect of the bodily sufferings which awaited Him; or these sufferings must be regarded as possessing an abstract, vicarious character; or they must be explained by a separation of the two natures. The latter, of course, he thinks untenable. He who has given to the world his so-called dogmatics, does not really know what a dogma is. A dogma is in reality something purely negative,—a definite bulwark against some definite error, couched in the form of finite notions. Thus the deity of Christ was asserted in opposition to Ebionitism, His humanity in opposition to Docetism; and thus it was also taught that the two were not separate, and yet that the one did not pass into the other, but that the essential characteristics of both were preserved. How this was to be conceived, was not discussed then, and could not be discussed. That is the task of our time. This dogma of the Church, like every other dogma, is merely a finite reflection of one particular aspect of eternal truth, a reflection of eternal being on the limited plane of the human understanding. And however erroneous it would be to regard these human reflections, embodied in Church creeds which contain particular truths in opposition to particular errors, as the positive and absolute declaration of the whole truth; it is equally erroneous on the part of *Strauss* to assume that this is the design of Church doctrine, and to take these reflected images, which have their truth only as seen in the

light of the whole, and then (in their reality) are perfectly true (though not the whole truth), and to dissect them one by one into mere filaments of human folly.

The appearance of a divine being in the form of humanity necessarily involved these results: (1) That the opposition of the Deity to sin came forth from the repose of eternal victory, and assumed the concrete form of temporal *sorrow* on account of concrete sin; and (2) that the human nature brought with it the constant demand for a *choice* between two possibilities. Both of these assumed peculiar prominence at particular periods in the life of Jesus, when the darkness (*σκοτία*) encountered Him with more than usual power. Hence, in the anticipation of the treachery of Judas and its consequences, His *sorrow on account of sin* reached such a height as to cause the most intense suffering.¹ His agony in Gethsemane, therefore, was not dread of His sufferings, but was actually *part of those sufferings*. And just because at that moment, and on that spot, the sufferings themselves began in all their force, and these sufferings could even then have been terminated, though only through sin, the choice was presented to the mind of Jesus, to submit, or to resist them, and hence the sufferings brought *conflict* also.—Thus, as we have said above, the suffering in the garden was neither a cowardly fear of bodily pain, nor a transcendental outward load of foreign guilt, but the concrete experience of the concentrated force of the sin of a world. And it is also easy to understand how this suffering commenced at that *particular moment* (the betrayal just about to take place), and put an end to the feeling that had previously pervaded the mind.

2. The bloody sweat we cannot agree with *Grotius* and *Olshausen* in explaining in this way, that the drops of sweat, from their size and weight, could only be compared to drops of blood. For, in the first place, when perspiration is intense, it always runs down in such drops as these, and therefore there could have been no reason for making such a comparison here. Moreover, Luke does not say that the sweat fell down as drops of blood would fall, but that His sweat was like drops of blood falling to the ground. *Strauss* objects here, that such a sweat only occurs as an extreme rarity, and is a “symptom of certain diseases.” The latter is the case with the instances recorded by *Aristotle* (de hist. animal. 3, 19, de partibus animal. 3, 5), *Theophrast* (de Sudoribus), *Thuanus* (hist. sui temp. lib. 10), *Marcellus*

¹ In the greatest inward suffering that we can know, viz., remorse, which is also sorrow on account of sin, there is always mingled at least a minimum of SATISFACTION IN SIN. But the sorrow of Jesus on account of sin was *unmitigated pain*.

Donatus (de med. hist. mirab. i. 1, 17 and 2), *Wedelius* (exerc. medico-philolog. 3, 2, p. 9), and *Bartholinus* (hypomn. de cruce Christi 4). *Maldonatus*, on the other hand, saw an instance of it in Paris, in the case of a perfectly robust and healthy man (Comment. on Matthew). At any rate, we might ask, whether the circumstances in which Jesus was placed at the time are not to be reckoned among the "great rarities;" whether this, the most severe agony of body and soul through which any son of man was ever called to pass, was not such as to prevent any man from saying that it could not have occurred. *Wedelius* (p. 10) cites instances in which not sweat, but tears of blood—something perfectly analogous, therefore—have been produced *præ aegritudine animæ summa*.

3. John is said to differ from the Synoptists, inasmuch as, in his description of the people who composed the crowd, he mentions, along with the servants of the high priests and Pharisees, a band (*σπεῖρα*), and, ver. 12, an officer (*χιλίαρχος*); whereas the Synoptists make no special allusion to this detachment of *Roman* soldiers.—But it was understood almost as a matter of course; partly because the whole procedure was preparatory to a formal, judicial charge; partly because the Sanhedrim felt such great dread of a popular commotion, which might easily have arisen while they were leading Jesus into the city.—The greatest difficulty is caused by the fact, that in Luke xxii. 52 the chiefs of the priesthood are also said to have been present. In this statement, both *Strauss* and *Schleiermacher* suppose the Evangelist to have been in "error." But might not Luke have intended to *combine* in these words, in a perfectly simple manner, what Jesus said in Matt. xxvi. 55, Mark xiv. 48, 49, to the crowd, and the similar words which He afterwards addressed to the high priests (John xviii. 20, 21)? Against this, the words *παραγενομένους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ κ.τ.λ.* (Luke xxii. 52) may very justly be urged. But these words just serve the purpose of putting us upon the right track. It is evident that there is no further allusion here to the *ὄχλος* mentioned in ver. 47. We could not explain the verse as meaning, "Jesus said to *those* high priests, captains of the temple, and elders, who were already described (in ver. 47) as having come;" for, in this case, *παραγενομένους* would be altogether superfluous. The persons referred to in ver. 52 had *just arrived*: "Jesus said to the chief priests, etc., who had (just) come." What is more probable than that these men, who were so eager for the issue, should be somewhere near?

The *kiss of Judas*, mentioned by the Synoptists, cannot be harmonized with the account given by John (xviii. 1 sqq.) in the way proposed by *Paulus*; viz., that Jesus first made Himself known; then

the soldiers fell down; and, eventually, Judas gave the Lord a superfluous kiss. On the contrary, it seems a simple matter of course to suppose, that till Judas had given the kiss, the soldiers kept at a distance, and remained concealed. Judas had evidently chosen this form of salutation as the sign by which to make known the person of Jesus to the soldiers, that no suspicion might be aroused, or opportunity afforded for escape. Not till after the kiss had been given, and Jesus had spoken to Judas, did the soldiers come forward.—But “why did Jesus declare in so special a manner who He was, when He had already been pointed out by the kiss?” (*Strauss.*) We reply, simply because Jesus would show to the crowd, to His disciples, and to Judas, that He *had the power* to protect Himself, and laid down His life of *His own accord*.

§ 95.

TRIAL IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

MATT. XXVI. 57–XXVII. 10; MARK XIV. 53–XV. 1;

LUKE XXII. 54–71; JOHN XVIII. 13–27.

Jesus was led bound into the palace of the high priest; and while Caiaphas was taking the necessary steps to convene a meeting of the Sanhedrim, He was taken into the apartments of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas. Peter and John were the only disciples who felt constrained to follow the mournful procession; and even they followed afar off. John was known at the palace, and obtained admission for himself and his companion. The maid who had opened the door to them, said to Peter, who had gone up to the fire in the meantime to warm himself, “Thou also art (like John) a disciple of this man?” “No,” was the curt reply of the confused disciple.—In the hall some servants and soldiers stood round a fire; for the night was cold. Peter went and took his place in the very midst of them, and warmed himself.—In the meantime, Annas was engaged in questioning Jesus privately about His teaching. But Jesus referred him to the fact, that He had always spoken openly; and there was no reason, therefore, why he should now question Him as to His teaching, as though there were some secrecy about it. One of the servants then struck Him upon the cheek, for presuming to talk in this way to the high priest. But Jesus said to him, “If I have spoken wrongly, tell Me what I have said that is false; but if My words were true, why dost thou strike Me?”—After these preliminary proceedings (John xviii. 12–25), Annas sent Jesus away to Caiaphas’ house, where He was obliged

to wait in an outer hall till towards morning, when the Sanhedrim assembled, and where in the meantime He was exposed to the ridicule and sport of the soldiers and officials of the court (Luke xxii. 63-65). —But Peter was standing in the hall by the fire. And at one time, when he left the fire and returned to the porch (Mark xiv. 68), the same maid (Mark) began again to express her opinion to her fellow-servants, that he must be one of the disciples of Jesus; and they agreed with her, and addressed a second question to Peter. But Peter denied again, and swore that he did not know Jesus. He had already attracted attention, however; and several others came round, and began to whisper to one another. They said they could tell by his speech that he was a Galilean; and a relative of Malchus declared that he had seen him in Gethsemane. Peter now began to be alarmed. He swore, and even declared with curses, that he did not know the man. This loud asseveration produced a momentary silence. And then the cock crew. Peter was terrified. All that he had done flashed at once upon his mind. His guilty conscience led him to look anxiously around. And there, close by, stood Jesus Himself, looking sorrowfully upon His disciple. And Peter went out and wept bitterly. —Towards morning the Sanhedrim had assembled, and the Lord was led before them for judicial examination. In a hurried manner they had collected together a number of persons who had declared themselves ready to bring charges against Jesus. But however they might distort the utterances of Jesus, none of them could be twisted into a capital crime. The only one which was at all plausible, was the old saying of Jesus, “Destroy this temple, and I will build it up again in three days.” This they so perverted as to make Jesus say that *He* would pull the temple down (whereas it was they who were even at that moment doing it; *vide* pp. 217-8). The appeal of the high priest, that He should defend Himself against these accusations, He answered with silence. The high priest then proceeded to put the last decisive question, whether Jesus declared Himself to be the Messiah, the Son of the living God. He put this question *on oath*. And Jesus answered “Yes.” But, He then proceeded to say (Luke xxii. 68), they did not believe on Him. Thus far He had been brought low; but from this, the deepest point in His humiliation, as from a turning point in His career, He should soon appear to them in another form. Till now He had presented Himself before them as a Redeemer; henceforth He should sit as Judge at the right hand of God, and as Judge would one day return. With a theatrical display of his indignation, the high priest then rent his clothes, and exclaimed, “What need have we of further witness? you have now heard His blasphemy for your-

selves; what think ye?" And they unanimously declared Him *guilty*. Jesus was then led out again, and once more exposed to the insults of the servants (Matt. xxvi. 67, 68; Mark xiv. 65). The Sanhedrim then held a private consultation (Matt. xxvii. 1; Mark xv. 1). They still, no doubt, possessed the right, according to Pilate's own admission (John xviii. 31, xix. 6), and according to the analogy of such passages as Acts vi., vii., and xxiv. 6, to execute a sentence of death pronounced in relation to *spiritual* crimes, without the consent of the Roman authorities. But in the existing state of popular feeling (Mark xi. 18), they would not venture, upon their own responsibility, to take the odious step of putting Jesus to death. They therefore resolved to say nothing about the sentence of death which they themselves had pronounced, but to send Him before Pilate's *secular* tribunal, and there to bring against Him, as a *κακοποιός*, a *civil* offender, a new, *political* charge.¹—When Judas saw Jesus condemned to death, and led away to Pilate, it aroused all the serpents in his conscience. He could not bear the sight. Satanic pleasure was followed by satanic remorse. He carried the pieces of money to the chief priests, and cried out, "I have betrayed innocent blood." "What is that to us?" they replied; "that is thine own affair." He then threw the money into the temple, and hanged himself. But the hypocritical priests looked upon the money as unclean, and bought with it the potter's field as a burial-place for strangers. This was *their* way of cleansing the temple.

1. *Examination before Annas*.—Even *Strauss* admits that we may easily understand why the Synoptists have left this unnoticed. It was not a judicial examination; but Jesus was taken for a time to the apartments of Annas, because the Sanhedrim had not yet assembled, and Annas undoubtedly took some pleasure in holding a preliminary conversation with Jesus, probably for the purpose of eliciting some expressions which might afterwards be used against Him.—*Strauss* finds it more difficult to explain why John should have passed over the important hearing before Caiaphas. But does he not actually describe this as the grand judicial examination? In ver. 13 he says that Jesus was led away to Annas *first*, who was father-in-law of the acting high priest. Does that look as if he intended to represent Annas as the real judge? John then relates that Annas, having failed to accomplish his purpose, sent Jesus to the acting high priest. Does that look as if the hearing before Annas was the judicial and

¹ In this restricted sense we must understand the words in ver. 31, *ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα*. As a *κακοποιός*, which they now charged Him with being, they had no right to judge Him.

principal examination? He then states that Jesus was led away from Caiaphas to the prætorium. Does that look as if the resolution to hand Jesus over to the governor as a rebel, was formed in Annas' house? The whole omission, therefore, reduces itself to this: John does not repeat the points connected with the principal spiritual hearing, which had already been related by the Synoptists. But the fact, that the hearing before Caiaphas was the main one in an *official* sense, is clearly contained in his account.

2. *The hearing before Caiaphas.*—Matthew and Mark, after having mentioned that Jesus was led to Caiaphas, pass on to describe the particulars of His trial (Matt. xxvi. 59; Mark xiv. 14); yet they nowhere state that the sitting of the Sanhedrim followed immediately upon His arrival. But just as they pass over the hearing before Annas, so do they also pass over the fact narrated by Luke (xxii. 63–66), that Jesus was kept waiting till day-break in the midst of rude attendants, until the Sanhedrim, which consisted of 71 members, could be gathered together from all parts of the city. *Strauss*, with his usual acuteness, discovers that, according to Matthew and Mark, the Sanhedrim was already assembled when Jesus arrived, in which he naturally finds a discrepancy when compared with Luke.

But it seems Luke even contradicts himself, as he makes the high priests and elders be present at the capture of Jesus (xxii. 52), and then represents these same persons as not assembling till towards morning (ver. 66). The persons who met the *σπείρα* in impatient expectation (ver. 52) were, according to Luke's plain words, the two high priests, the overseers of the temple, and several elders. But in ver. 66 it is the *πρεσβυτέριον τοῦ λαοῦ*, the collective Sanhedrim, that is spoken of.

Passing on to the *examination* itself, *Strauss* finds a marvellous discrepancy in the fact, that Matthew and Mark both say that it was Caiaphas who asked Jesus whether He was the Messiah; whereas Luke states that the question was put by the Sanhedrim. A and B contradict one another; that is to say, because A says that the question was asked by the bench, and B that it was put by the judge!—The only other point of importance here is Matt. xxvi. 64. By several the expression *ἀπ' ἄρτι* is supposed to indicate a speedy *parousia*. But this is quite illogical. When two consecutive events are mentioned, the first of which, from its very nature, must be a long-continued one, if the *terminus a quo* of the first be given, it follows as a matter of course that this cannot be also the *terminus a quo* of the second. If a son says to his father, "From this time forth you will see that I will apply myself and gain a prize," this does not imply that at the very

time of speaking he will carry off the prize. But the expression, "from this time forth," simply belongs to the promised application. This is as clear as daylight. And so, when the Lord says, "From this time forth you will see Me sitting at the right hand of God, and returning to judgment," all that is implied is, that the sitting at the right hand of God will commence at once; and nothing is stated as to how long that will continue, or when the second event, the return, will take place. Jesus simply intends to indicate the point of his deepest humiliation as the *turning point* between His redeeming work and that of judgment, and to declare that at the very period when they thought to destroy Him, His true glory would begin.

3. *Mockery of Christ*.—As we have not to regard this as consisting of one single act alone, but as a series of acts of wanton insult and cruelty, in which the servants indulged all the time that the victim was left in their hands, there is no discrepancy between Luke's account, in which the treatment to which Jesus was exposed *before* the trial is described, and that of Matthew and Mark, which relates to the treatment received by Him during the private deliberation *after* the trial, when Jesus was obliged to wait outside again.—Strauss finds another discrepancy in the fact, that "John places the ill-treatment of Jesus in the presence of Annas, whereas Luke assigns it to a period before the hearing;"¹ so that the one stroke upon the face, given by a servant in the presence of the high priest, is set down as identical with the many various insults which Jesus received in the outer hall, in order that on one page we may be told that there is a discrepancy in the time, and on the next that there is no resemblance in the acts described. Now, when two accounts are identical as regards both time and place, but differ in form and substance, or when they are absolutely the same in form and substance, but differ as regards the time, in either case there is a discrepancy. But when two things happened at different times, and were also different in their nature, there is no discrepancy whatever: they are simply different events, and the reproach of folly falls back upon those who, nevertheless, declare them identical. For example: P and G differ in their descriptions of a church. P says it is in Strasbourg, and has a tower finished; G says it is in Cologne, and has two towers unfinished. Is it not sufficiently obvious that they refer to two different churches?—In Matt. xxvi. 67 (τότε ἤρξαντο), Strauss says that it is evidently the members of the Sanhedrim themselves who begin to ill-treat Jesus, and this is inconceivable.—But in Greek the third person plural is used indefinitely, like the German *man* (the French *on*).

¹ He forgets that the hearing mentioned in Luke is that before Caiaphas.

4. *Peter's denial*.—The denials (the last two, at any rate) took place, even according to John's account, after Jesus had been led away from Annas, and therefore, in all probability, during the time when Jesus was kept waiting in the court-yard itself, or in an outer hall.¹ The fact that Matthew and Mark mention all these denials *after* they have finished the account of the trial, presents no difficulty whatever. They not only say nothing about the denial itself having taken place afterwards, but, on the contrary, they evidently represent what they are about to narrate as having occurred in the meantime (Matt. xxvi. 69; Mark xiv. 66).—Nor could any one seriously find any difficulty in the fact, that the Synoptists omit to mention that Peter entered the palace accompanied by John.—Just as little importance attaches to the circumstance, that Mark mentions the crowing of a cock after the first denial. As it is evident from ver. 69 sqq. that this warning was not noticed, and produced no effect, we can easily understand why the other Evangelists should pass it over altogether. On the other hand, it is impossible to imagine the slightest motive which any one could have for inventing it.

John is also said to disagree with himself. For in ver. 18 he represents Peter as standing in the court-yard before Annas' house, and warming himself by the fire; and after having stated in ver. 24 that Jesus was led away to Caiaphas, he adds, ἦν δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος ἐστὼς καὶ θερμαίνόμενος. Now it cannot be supposed that John intends to say that Peter remained in the palace of Annas, even after Jesus had been led away to a different one. The standing and warming, in ver. 25, must therefore be understood as occurring in that of Caiaphas. And yet John does not say that there was a fire here also, but writes as if it was the same fire.—And why not? What if Annas lived in the same palace with his daughter and his son-in-law, as *Euthymius* supposed? John cannot have been so thoughtless as to forget, in ver. 25, what place he had assigned to the fire in ver. 18. But just because he had no reason to fear that any reader would charge him with such carelessness, having already mentioned the close relationship between the two high priests in ver. 13, he could very well write as he has; and did not need to state particularly that Annas and Caiaphas lived in the same palace, since a comparison of vers. 18 and 25 would show this clearly enough. That they did live in the same palace, is rendered all the more probable by the fact, that this

¹ Possibly in the same πορτύλιον into which Peter went (Mark 68). It may have been the fact of his following Jesus which led the maid to repeat her question.

would explain why Jesus should be led first to Annas, who really had no voice in the matter.¹

There are also said to be discrepancies in the account of the different denials. Let us look at them singly. According to the unanimous testimony of all the Evangelists, the *first* was occasioned by the words of a maid—"Thou wast also one of His disciples;" and the answer given was simply "No, I know not what you mean;" or, "No, I know Him not" (Luke). The only appearance of discrepancy is in the fact, that in *John*, Peter is represented as having just entered, and in the *Synoptists*, as already seated at the fire. But this appearance vanishes as soon as we picture the circumstances to our minds. He was not stopped at the door with the question, as though his passport was demanded; but the "damsel that kept the door" opened to the two disciples, and while they were going towards the fire it occurred to her that Peter also was probably one of the disciples of Jesus; so, after having closed the door, she went up to him near the fire, and asked him. He then turned away from her and went boldly among the rest.—The *second time*, a long while after, there were several, according to John, who spoke to Peter, either successively or all together. Luke says, quite indefinitely, that it was some one else (ἕτερος). Matthew says it was another maid. But Mark mentions particularly,² that when Peter left the interior of the court-yard, and went into the *πρoαύλιον* (by the outer door), the first maid (who, according to John, was actually the doorkeeper) remarked, not to Peter himself, but to *others*, that the man was certainly a disciple of Jesus. This will perfectly explain the accounts given by the three other Evangelists. The maid who addressed *Peter himself* was a different one (Matthew). And several more of those to whom the doorkeeper spoke echoed her

¹ The assumption of *Schleiermacher*, *Olshausen*, *Baur*, and *Bleek*, that John intended to represent the last two denials as having also taken place in the palace of Annas (in which case, instead of disagreeing with himself, he would contradict the Synoptists), is perfectly untenable. Why should not John, if this were the case, have placed the last two denials immediately after ver. 18? Moreover, the incidents mentioned in vers. 25–27 are placed in such a way between the two facts, of Jesus being led to Caiaphas and afterwards to Pilate, that the impression naturally produced, is evidently that John is describing something which occurred between these two points of time. It has been objected to my explanation, that John could not have spoken of Jesus as being sent (ἀπέστειλεν) by Annas to Caiaphas if they had lived in the same palace. But let us suppose a man to be taken from the office of the sheriff to that of the mayor, because an inquiry properly belonged to the latter; would it be wrong to say "the sheriff sent him to the mayor," because the offices were under the same roof?

² If the Gospel of Mark is genuine, and was actually written under the influence of Peter, this will furnish the best explanation of his exactness *here*.

words (John, *εἶπον*).—The *third time*, shortly afterwards (Matthew and Mark), viz., about an hour after, the *bystanders* (Matthew and Mark), led on by a different person from the one who had asked the question the second time (Luke), observed that Peter betrayed himself as a disciple of Jesus by his Galilean accent; and then a relative of Malchus (John) followed with the unwelcome declaration that he had seen the man in the garden.—Thus we see that the whole resolves itself into three denials. Strauss confounds the different questions, addressed to Peter at the same time by several persons, with his replies. The questions varied, though divisible into three groups; and the Evangelists naturally fixed their attention, one upon this inquiry, another upon that. But the denials still remain not more and not less than three.

5. *Death of Judas*.—In two points Matthew is said to contradict the account of Peter in the Acts of the Apostles. (1.) In Matthew, Judas hangs himself; in the Acts, falls headlong and bursts asunder. (2.) In Matthew, the priests buy the potter's field with the thirty pieces of money, which he has thrown away, and the field is henceforth called the field of blood; in the Acts it is said, "Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst." Let us begin with the second discrepancy. If it were a *historical* account that we found in Acts 1. 16 sqq., we should be obliged to admit the reality of the discrepancy. But it is a *speech*, in which we may very well expect to find oratorical and general expressions; and the question arises, therefore: Supposing that the field was purchased in the way described by Matthew, was there anything to prevent Peter from saying, by way of oratorical antithesis, the man for whom an *inheritance* (*κληρον*) was appointed among the Apostles, received instead thereof nothing but the potter's field (which was bought with his money, as a burial-place for himself, a stranger (*ξένος*) in Jerusalem); that was his inheritance? Till this question is answered in the negative, and a good reason assigned for the reply, we shall content ourselves with this solution.—Against the supposition that "Judas hanged himself, but that the rope broke, and he fell forward upon his face (*πρηνής*) and burst," no other objection has been found, than the improbability of two writers thus dividing between them the two halves of an account. But every one must admit, that when Matthew had mentioned the fact of his hanging himself, there was no necessity for him to describe the whole of the attendant circumstances. It would have been different with Peter, *if he had been a historian*. In that case it would have been undoubtedly inexplicable, that he should have omitted to state the real cause of

Judas falling headlong. But when, in speaking, he was merely alluding in a casual way to an occurrence with which his hearers were well acquainted already, was there anything so very improbable in the fact that he should merely refer to the shocking termination of the whole affair?

§ 96.

TRIAL IN THE CIVIL COURT.

MATT. XXVII. 11-31; MARK XV. 1-20; LUKE XXIII. 1-25;
JOHN XVIII. 28-XIX. 16.

The members of the Sanhedrim led Jesus to the prætorium, but did not go in, lest (pure men as they were) they should defile themselves. Pilate, however, condescended to come out to them; and having probably already received some information of the affair, he asked, with an expression of suspicion and irony, what kind of charge they had to bring against the man. At this they were somewhat annoyed, and replied, that if He were not a malefactor, they would not have brought Him there. They then adduced their main charge, that He had declared Himself to be the King of the Jews, and therefore was a rebel against Cæsar. Pilate, who could not fail to perceive the absurdity of a charge based upon this claim to royalty,¹ told them to punish Him according to their own laws. But they reminded him that they had no right to inflict the punishment of death (for civil offences); indicating at once their ultimate object and serious meaning.—Pilate was now obliged to look into the charge. He went into the prætorium, called Jesus in, and asked Him whether He really declared Himself to be the King of the Jews. Jesus asked him in return, whether he himself, in his place as governor, had seen anything that proved Him to be a rebel, or whether he had simply been told so by others. Pilate told Him, that the members of the Sanhedrim had delivered Him up; and, adding that he had no need to trouble himself about the internal disputes of the Jews among themselves, called upon Jesus Himself to inform him what evil He had done. Jesus replied, "My kingdom is not of this world," and pointed to His ready submission when taken prisoner. Pilate asked again, whether He had assumed the title of king. "Yes," Jesus replied, "I am a king (cf. Matt. xxvii. 11, etc.), but My kingdom consists in My bearing witness to the truth." "Truth!" said Pilate, "what is that?" (that is a very

¹ The person of Jesus and the nature of His ministry could not possibly be unknown to Pilate.

innocent kind of government.) He then went out and said to the Jews, "*I find no fault in Him.*"

The members of the Sanhedrim then suggested a number of other questions, which Jesus did not think it worth while to answer (Matt. xxvii. 12 sqq.; Mark xv. 4, 5). As they spoke among other things of Galilee, as a place in which Jesus had also stirred up the people (Luke xxiii. 5 sqq.), Pilate availed himself of the opportunity, and also of the information that Jesus was a Galilean, to get rid altogether of this unpleasant and questionable matter, and hand it over to *Herod Antipas* the tetrarch, who was then in Jerusalem. Herod, without entering upon any investigation, was simply glad that he had at length a good opportunity of seeing the man of whom he had heard so much, and asked Him all kinds of irrelevant questions, in the hope that he might induce Him to perform some miracle; but Jesus left the questions unanswered. Herod was enraged at this, but had all the less desire in consequence to meddle with the trial; and therefore sent Jesus back to Pilate, having first given vent in some measure to his rage by heaping insults upon Him (Luke xxiii. 11, 12).

Pilate again assured the Jews that he found the charge of rebellion altogether unfounded (Luke xxiii. 13); and having been thoroughly alarmed by a dream of his wife's (Matt. xxvii. 19), proposed to scourge Jesus and let Him go. A special opportunity presented itself for this, viz., the custom of releasing to the people one prisoner at every feast. By the side of Jesus he placed a well-known murderer, named Barabbas. But the populace, urged on by the priests, asked for Barabbas, and loudly demanded that Jesus should be crucified. Pilate then washed his hands (Matt. xxvii. 24), and declared that he was innocent of the blood of this righteous man. (He might persuade himself of this, on the ground that if he should set Jesus free, the Jews would condemn Him to death, on their own authority, for some spiritual crime.) But the people all exclaimed that they would be responsible, and take the guilt of His blood upon themselves and their children. Pilate now set Barabbas free, and ordered Jesus to be scourged (John xix. 1). The soldiers then plaited a crown of thorns, and pressed it upon His head, clothed Him in a purple cloak, put a reed in His hand for a sceptre, spat upon Him, struck Him, and heaped derision upon such a King of the Jews. This circumstance also the governor, who was full of fear, thought that he might be able to turn to some account. He took Him out; and in the hope of exciting their pity, and showing them the folly of accusing the patient sufferer before them of rebellion, said, "Behold the man!" But the Sanhedrists and their servants cried out, "Crucify Him, crucify Him!" Pilate replied, with

anger and scorn, "Take ye Him, and crucify Him : I find no fault in Him." The Jews, now seeing clearly that nothing could be made of the *political* charge, brought forward the *religious* accusation that had originally been taken up in the Sanhedrim, namely, that by calling Himself the Son of God, Jesus had broken one of their laws, the penalty of which was death. And they now vehemently demanded of Pilate that he would enforce and execute this valid law of theirs; though, as we have already shown, this was properly their own prerogative. But Pilate would not blindly accept their statement. He determined to inquire for himself into this charge also ; and taking Jesus into the prætorium again, asked Him what was His origin ; that is to say, whether He really was a Son of God. But it was out of place and illegal for a heathen to pronounce upon questions connected with divine revelation ; the Sanhedrim was the only proper forum for such an inquiry. Jesus, therefore, having neither desire nor reason for prejudicing the rights of the covenant nation as such, made no reply to this question of Pilate's ; but reminded him, when he complained of this silence, that as governor he possessed no further power than that which was conferred upon him by God through the Emperor (that he had no authority, therefore, to pronounce any sentence upon the present religious charge), and that for that very reason he was not so much in fault as the members of the only competent court, who had unjustly condemned Him.—Still more convinced than ever of the innocence of Jesus (seeing that He disdained to avail Himself of any other means of defence than those of strict justice), Pilate went out once more, and declared his intention of acquitting Him. The Jews now turned to their last resource, and exclaimed tumultuously, that if Pilate set Jesus at liberty, he was no friend to Cæsar. With a charge of rebellion thus brought against himself, but all the more enraged against the Jews, Pilate placed Jesus before them, and said in bitter scorn, "Behold your King !" It was six o'clock in the morning, the dawn of the day of preparation (the 14th Nisan), when the nation of God was called to look upon its King and Paschal Lamb. But they cried out again, "Crucify Him ; we have no king but Cæsar." Their King was then delivered up to the soldiers, who led Him away to be crucified.

1. *First Hearing*.—The Synoptists and John are said to contradict one another in reference to the locality. Matthew makes Jesus be led into the prætorium (ver. 27), and Pilate mount the *βῆμα*, as in John xix. 13, and "therefore probably thought of the transaction as taking place in the fore-court" (Strauss) ; whereas John transfers the hearing

proper into the house, and makes Pilate only come forth between times. But in the first place, if Strauss regards the mounting of the βήμα (Matt. ver. 19) before the liberation of Barabbas (vers. 20 sqq.), with that of John xix. 13, *after* the liberation of Barabbas (John xviii. 30), we can only regret it. Further, when he concludes from Matt. ver. 27 that, according to Matthew, Pilate was previously standing without, he is right. The exhibition of Jesus and Barabbas preceded that entrance, during which, of course, Pilate must have stood without, and *according to John*, did so stand without. But that Matthew imagined the hearing recorded in ver. 11 also took place without, cannot reasonably be inferred from ver. 27. Matt., Mark, and Luke give no place for that principal hearing, and therefore don't contradict John. John relates with great speciality the first hearing (xviii. 28-38), whilst the Synop- tists summarily state that Jesus admitted the leading charge, that He called Himself a king (so also John ver. 37), and answered the other charge (John ver. 38) with silence. With Strauss this *summary* style of narrative is a contradiction to John's detail. In his opinion, all must relate summarily or all specifically.

2. *Sending to Herod*, and exhibition of Barabbas.—We have already answered the question why Jesus was silent in the presence of Herod. Strauss cannot imagine why Matthew, Mark, and particularly John, should have omitted this, more especially as John mentions the interview with Annas. But the latter had not been noticed by either of the Evangelists, and John may therefore have intended to supplement them; a reason which did not exist in the former case, as Luke had already mentioned the fact.—But it is very absurd, in any case, to look for special reasons why one should have omitted this and another that. How many other circumstances may there have been, which no one has recorded at all?—There is something remarkable in the logic of Strauss in relation to the *dream of Pilate's wife*. This dream, he says, is evidently introduced as the result of the interposition of a higher power. But what could be its end? Either “to hinder the death of Jesus,”—in which case the devil must have produced it, to prevent the reconciliation of the world,—or “to warn Pilate;” but that could only have heightened his guilt. *Hæc fabula docet*: we must never warn a man against sin; for if he sins notwithstanding, his guilt will be increased.—On the intention of the devil to hinder the death of Jesus, *vid.* John xiii. 27.—His logic is quite as peculiar in relation to the *washing of the hands*. In Deut. xxi. 6, 7, he says, the custom occurs of attesting one's innocence by washing the hands. It was a Jewish custom, therefore. *Ergo*, it was specifically Jewish; that is to say, it was peculiar to the Jews, and not to be met with anywhere

besides. Consequently, if Pilate performed this act, he adopted a foreign custom.* But one would only do this in cases where the fact, to be demonstrated was one of extraordinary importance. But it could not be a matter of such importance to Pilate to prove his innocence in connection with the crucifixion of Jesus. Hence he could not have conformed to this foreign custom ; and, consequently, cannot have washed his hands.—In this sorites, unfortunately, we must oppose at the outset that member of it which draws from the passage in Deuteronomy the conclusion, that washing the hands as a symbol of innocence was *exclusively a Jewish custom*. The *vis conclusionis* it is difficult to see ; and so far as the fact itself is concerned, Strauss appears to have forgotten that even the Romans had *labra* in front of their temples, in which they washed their hands on entering as a symbol of purification (*vid.* Livy 37, 3 ; *Ewald*, emblem. Sac. t. ii. p. 39 ; cf. *Homer*, Od. ii. 34). Moreover, Gentiles as well as Jews were accustomed to speak of a murderous crime as “defiling the hands :” *vid.* the first book of *Herodian*, where a murderer is called ἀνὴρ μὴ καθαρὸς τὰς χεῖρας ; *Seneca*, Herc. Fur. Act. 5 : “Nullum mare, nulla flumina dextram abluere posse scelere sanguineque contaminatam ;” *Euripides*, Orest. ἀγνὸς γὰρ εἰμι χεῖρας. We also find the two combined, namely, washing the hands as a sign of purity, or of purification from the guilt of blood. Thus *Triclinius*, in Sophocles Ajax, says, ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὅτε φόνον ἀνθρώπου ἢ ἄλλας σφαγὰς ἐποιοῦν, ὕδατι ἀπονίπτειν τὰς χεῖρας εἰς κάθαρσιν. *Ovid* also says (*fast.* ii. 45), “Ah, nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis Flumineæ tolli posse putatis aqua ;” and *Seneca*, “nate manantes prius Manus cruenda cæde et hostili expia.” From these, and numerous other passages, it is evident, as *Wolf* proved long ago, that the symbol of washing, particularly of washing the hands, was a very common one throughout antiquity.—But, granting that Pilate had first learned it from the Jews (among whom, according to Deut. xxi. 6, 7, it was employed in judicial cases), is it correct to say that it is “only in matters of extraordinary importance that a man would cast himself upon a foreign custom” ?—The “cast” was not a very great one ; and as Pilate was extremely annoyed, it really was a matter of extraordinary importance to him. He did not want to make long speeches to the Jews. And even if it had really been in Judæa that he saw this symbol for the first time, why should he not resort to it, to express most forcibly by an act which the Jews were sure to understand, what he could not express in words otherwise than he had already done ? Besides, it was not so much his intention to attest his own innocence, as to place the guilt of the Jews before their eyes.

3. *Scourging, etc.*—In ver. 16, Luke states that before Barabbas had been brought out to the people, Pilate proposed to scourge Jesus and then set Him free. The scourging, which actually took place after the release of Barabbas, is omitted by him, and also by Matthew and Mark. The *παιδεύειν* referred to by Luke, is evidently as different from that mentioned in John xix. 1, as the blow upon the cheek in the presence of Annas from the ill-treatment before the Sanhedrim. —The *sixth hour* (John xix. 14) is not mid-day, as *De Wette* thinks, who explains it according to the Jewish mode of reckoning.¹ But we have already seen (p. 210, note; and p. 226, note 2) that we obtain more satisfactory results, if we suppose that John adopted the Roman method of computation. The readers of the Gospel in the capital of the Roman province of proconsular Asia would be sure to be familiar with this method. And I can find no difficulties in the way of such a conclusion; certainly not in the fact, that this would place the condemnation of Jesus at too early an hour, as *De Wette* supposes. For when Jesus had been arrested about midnight, the Sanhedrim was sure to meet as early as possible, in order to guard against any interruption on the part of the people. This may have taken place at four o'clock; and from four till six would furnish ample time for the stormy scenes described in Matt. xxvi. 59–xxvii. 31.

§ 97.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

MATT. XXVII. 32–56; MARK XV. 20–41; LUKE XXIII. 26–49;
JOHN XIX. 17–37.

On the road to the place of execution, which was called Golgotha, the skull-place, the soldiers laid hold of a man named *Simon*, a Cyrenian by birth, and compelled him to go behind Jesus, and help Him to bear the cross. A crowd of people followed, including many women. The love which was felt towards Jesus by a considerable portion of the people here first expressed itself again. The women bewailed and lamented Him. But Jesus bade them weep not for Him,

¹ Many orthodox theologians have taken the same view. But the sixth hour (Luke xxiii. 44), in which the darkness occurred, when Jesus therefore had already been hanging for some time upon the cross, cannot possibly have been the same hour as that in which Jesus was condemned to death by Pilate (John xix. 14). However quickly the execution may have followed the sentence, it cannot possibly have followed so quickly, that the latter appeared to John to be pronounced about noon, whereas at noon Jesus had already been suspended for some time upon the cross.

but for themselves, and their own nation, which was bringing down judgment upon itself; pointing them in this way to the proper feelings with which to regard His death—not merely with sentimental pity for His sufferings, but with self-examination, with a consciousness of their own guilt, and a consequent desire for reconciliation in Him.—When they arrived at the spot, they offered Christ a bitter draught to deaden His sensibility;¹ but He declined to drink it. They then nailed Him to the cross, and placed Him between two malefactors.² This was about nine o'clock in the morning (Mark xxv.). His clothes the soldiers divided; and for His under garment they cast lots.³ Above the cross Pilate had placed this inscription: “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews;” and, notwithstanding the importunity of the Sanhedrists, who were extremely offended, refused to alter it.⁴

As they were driving the nails through His hands and feet, Jesus offered the prayer, “Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.” He was then lifted up upon the cross. In the crowd around the cross, all those who loved Him had naturally gathered near; among others, *His mother, Mary of Cleopas* (ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ), the mother of James and Joses, *Mary Magdalene*, and *Salome* the mother of the sons of Zebedee;⁵ and *John* also stood by them. When Jesus saw His mother and the disciple whom He loved standing so near, He said to Mary, “Behold, this is thy son,” and to John, “Behold, this is thy mother.” (From that hour John took Mary to his own home.⁶)—But the great mass of those who stood by, especially the Sanhedrists, made sport of the crucified Son of God, who could not help Himself.⁷ The soldiers also mocked Him, bringing some of their wine mixed with vinegar to the foot of the cross, and offering to give Him some to quench His thirst if He would come down and drink it.⁸ One of the two malefactors even, with his own death and the judgment upon a wicked life before his eyes, was wicked enough to taunt Him. But different thoughts arose within the other's heart. He had heard of the life and works of Jesus; and as he now beheld His quiet endurance and divine dignity, and contrasted the solemn earnestness of His dying love with the wicked deeds of mockery and murder, he *felt* and *believed in* that which could not be demonstrated to the minds of the

¹ Matt. xxvii. 34; Mark xv. 23.

² John xix. 18; Matt. xxvii. 38; Mark xv. 27; Luke xxiii. 33.

³ John xix. 23, 24, cf. Matt. xxvii. 35; Mark xv. 24; Luke xxiii. 34.

⁴ John xix. 20 sqq., cf. Matt. xxvii. 37; Mark xv. 26; Luke xxiii. 38.

⁵ Luke xxiii. 34.

⁶ John xix. 26, 27.

⁷ Matt. xxvii. 39–43; Mark xv. 29–32; Luke xxiii. 35.

⁸ Luke xxiii. 36, 37.

scoffers, the *divinity of Christ*. With deep contrition and self-knowledge, he reproved his fellow-criminal, that though suffering the same fate, he did not fear God. "We indeed justly," he said; "for we receive the due reward of our deeds; but this man hath done nothing amiss." He then turned to Jesus in the deep anguish of his own sufferings, and *believing* now what he had already heard of Him, he prayed with a confidence inspired by death, "Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy glory." But Jesus replied, "*To-day* thou shalt be with Me in Paradise."¹—From mid-day till three o'clock there was darkness over the whole land. And Jesus hung in silence upon the cross. But at three o'clock He was heard to cry with deepest anguish, "My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" The bystanders then ridiculed Him, thinking He had called Elias.² Jesus knew that His atoning sufferings were now complete, and sighing, said, "I thirst."³ Upon which, one of the crowd, with a scoff upon his lips,⁴ but with some humanity in his heart, ran and filled a sponge with the cooling drink belonging to the soldiers, and placing it upon a hyssop-pole, reached it up to Jesus. When He had tasted it, He said, "It is finished;"⁵ and then cried with a loud voice, "Father, into Thy hands I commend My spirit." Having said this, He bowed His head, and died.⁶

At that hour⁷ the veil, which guarded the entrance to the mercy-seat in the Holy of Holies, was rent in two from the top to the bottom; the earth trembled; graves opened; and the Old Testament saints appeared to many in Jerusalem in the days of Christ's resurrection.⁸ When the heathen centurion perceived the earthquake and the departure of Jesus, immediately after so loud and clear a cry, he exclaimed, "Truly, this man was a Son of God."⁹

As the Jews did not wish the bodies to remain hanging upon the cross after the double Sabbath had begun, they begged Pilate to allow them to accelerate death by *crurisfractio*, that they might be able to bury them. The soldiers then came and broke the legs of the two thieves. But when they came to Jesus and found Him already dead, they contented themselves with piercing Him in the side, from which blood and water flowed out; so that the soldiers, after such a wound, were certain of the death of Christ. The fact that the typical com-

¹ Luke xxiii. 39-43.

² Matt. xxvii. 45, 46; Mark xv. 33, 34, cf. Luke xxiii. 45.

³ John xix. 28.

⁴ Mark xv. 36, cf. Matt. xxvii. 48, 49.

⁵ John xix. 30.

⁶ Matt. xxvii. 50; Mark xv. 37; Luke xxiii. 46.

⁷ Luke xxiii. 45; Matt. xxvii. 51; Mark xv. 38. ⁸ Matt. xxvii. 51 sqq.

⁹ Matt. xxvii. 54; Mark xv. 37; Luke xxiii. 47.

mand, not to break a bone of the paschal lamb, was here fulfilled in Christ, is attested by John, who was an eye-witness of the whole.

1. *The road to Golgotha.*—According to Strauss's opinion, Matthew and Mark state that Jesus did not carry His cross at all, whereas John represents Him as carrying it alone the whole of the way. But the former is not correct. When Matthew says, "As they *came out*, they found a man" (ἐξερχόμενοι δὲ εἶπον), this certainly implies that Jesus carried the cross to the gate of the city. The same inference may be drawn from Mark, who says that Simon was returning from the field. Even according to Matthew and Mark, therefore, it remains perfectly true that, like all who were condemned to be crucified, Jesus bore His own cross. John mentions this fact alone, and does not refer to the circumstance that Simon was compelled to help Him. The Synoptists all notice this; and Luke expressly states, that Simon did not carry the cross alone, but went behind Jesus and assisted Him to carry it. There is not the slightest discrepancy therefore.

2. *The crucifixion.*—The historical grounds for the nailing of the feet, which *Paulus* calls in question, are so strong, that even *Strauss* is obliged to admit them. He contents himself, therefore, with ferreting out a discrepancy between Luke xxiii. 49, "and all His acquaintance and the women stood afar off," and Matt. xxvii. 55, "and many women were there beholding afar off." But Matthew and Mark certainly did not intend to say that there was not a single male disciple present.—There is not much more force in the objection, that, according to the Synoptists, all the clothes were divided by lot, and according to John, the *χιτών* only. For the former do not state expressly that *all* the clothes were so distributed, but simply mention in a general way the act of casting lots: διαμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον; which we may either render, in which (process of division) they had recourse to lots, or understand as meaning, that when they had rent the upper garment in pieces, they cast lots for each piece. But it is most natural to suppose that the Synoptists intended to record the simple fact, that the clothes were divided, and that the lot was employed.

With reference to the women mentioned in John xix. 25, I see but little force in *Wieseler's* hypothesis, that the sister of the mother of Jesus was no other than the mother of the two sons of Zebedee, mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 56.¹

¹ His arguments are these:—(1.) If, as Matthew states, the mother of John was present, why should she have been just the one that John omitted to mention? (2.) He has really mentioned her, if we either follow the *Peshito*, *Pers.*, *Æth.* and

3. *Occurrences during the crucifixion.*—So far as the vinegar is concerned, Strauss cannot imagine why Matthew should apply the term *χολή* to the myrrh, which was mixed with the wine given to Jesus before the crucifixion (Mark xv. 23) to produce stupefaction. He thinks that Matthew must have invented the *χολή* for the purpose of transferring to Jesus *post festum* the prophecy in Ps. lxix. 22. But in that very passage it is the word *יַיִן* which is rendered *χολή*, and also in Deut. xxix. 18 and Lam. iii. 15.—A distinction is very properly made between (1) the *myrrh* offered in order to stupefy; (2) the tantalizing offer of the *posca* in Luke xxiv. 36; and (3) the offer of the *posca* immediately before the death of Jesus. But Strauss cannot resist the temptation to divide the last into three discordant accounts. According to Matthew, for example, the offer appears to have been made with a good intention, and only “the rest” are said to have mocked. According to Mark, the man who offered Jesus the drink also joined in the mocking. But does this warrant the conclusion that, according to Matthew, “there was a difference in the intention with which the drink was offered?” In any case, it must have been

Cod. Colb., and insert “*and*,” so as to read “his mother’s sister,” and “Mary the wife of Cleophas;” or if we suppose the women to be arranged in *pairs*, like the disciples in the catalogue of the Apostles (Luke vi.). (3.) It is altogether improbable that two sisters should have borne the same name, *Mary*, as would be the case if the ordinary explanation of the passage were correct.—I cannot agree with *Wieseler* in the opinion, that this hypothesis is needful to explain the affectionate bearing of the Lord towards His cousins, for His affection can be very easily explained apart from nepotism. There is still less force in his notion, that Jesus would hardly have commended His mother to the care of John if the latter had not been her nephew. Such a reminder of an ordinary obligation would not have been of sufficient moment for John to record it. In fact, the very circumstance of his having mentioned it as a mark of Christ’s spontaneous love, a precious legacy left to him by the Lord, is a proof that the wife of Zebedee *cannot* have been the aunt of Jesus. The account in John i. 35 sqq. is also perfectly irreconcilable with a previous relationship between Jesus and John. This hypothesis is quite as unwarranted as it is unsuitable. The argument drawn from the Peshito and one codex has no weight, in opposition to the unanimous testimony of all the other codices. The proposal to read the names in pairs is forced, and receives no support from the catalogue of Apostles, where the number of pairs is larger, and they are obviously so arranged. Here, on the contrary, the thought would never naturally suggest itself to a reader’s mind. And this hypothesis is perfectly unnecessary. The reasons which are given as compelling such a conclusion are by no means cogent. The fact that John omits to mention his own mother, is easily explained on such an occasion, when another mother is given to him by the Lord.—The difficulty, that two sisters could not have had the same name, is easily removed, for *ἀδελφὴ* may mean *sister-in-law*; and *Hegesippus* and *Clemens Alex.* actually state that Cleophas and Joseph were brothers, so that their wives were *ἀδελφαί* in the wider sense.

a feeling of sympathy which dictated the offer of drink to quench His thirst. Again, the offer of drink in John xix. 29 is said to have followed a totally different cry. But it may very well be imagined that, between the cry, "Eli, Eli," etc. (Matt. ver. 46), and the offer of drink (ver. 48), the other cry, "I thirst," may have intervened; and that the ridicule excited by the first cry may have continued so long, that when the drink was offered it was still going on. In fact, the cry, "I thirst," may have followed, with an interval of but a few seconds, the cry "Eli, Eli!" And even in Matthew's account there is a glimmer of the fact, that Jesus must in some way have made known His thirst. For we cannot understand how the simple cry, "Eli, Eli," etc., should have induced a soldier to run in such haste (*εὐθέως*) to fetch the *posca*.—We find here what we meet with in all accounts of complicated events which have no proper course, but form a conglomerate of single circumstances, each of which is interesting in itself: as (*e.g.*) the expressions and movements of any ordinary person dying.

But, according to Strauss, John represents Jesus as exclaiming "I thirst," merely in order that all things, and in particular Ps. xxii. 25, might be fulfilled; and as no one "suffering the pains of death would occupy himself with such typological play," this notice is regarded as an invention of the biographer. Therefore *εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντα τετέλεσται*, which manifestly forms the ground, not of ver. 28,¹ but of ver. 30, is said to mean, "With the intention that all might be fulfilled!" and that Jesus *really* thirsted, is held to be impossible!²

4. The plural "thieves" (Matt. xxvii. 44; Mark xv. 32) may be explained in this way, that Matthew and Mark place the genus of the malefactors in a perfectly general way by the side of that of the "chief priests" and "those that passed by;" their simple intention being to describe the different classes of persons from whose scoffs Christ had to suffer. It is not at variance, therefore, with the special account given by Luke.—To the question, whether the thief could have used the expression, "when Thou comest in Thy kingdom"? we reply, undoubtedly he could, if he had heard anything of Christ and His teaching (Matt. xxiv.). He had just been apprehended in Jeru-

¹ We must consider ver. 28 (latter clause) and ver. 29 as parenthetical and suspending the sense: "As Jesus knew that all was fulfilled (— — He exclaimed, I thirst. When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar —) He said, It is finished." The *εἰδὼς*, etc., could not be inserted between *ὅτι οὖν ἔλαβε* and *εἶπε*, because the Evangelist wished to express that the one followed immediately after the other.

² Strauss tries to show that all the occurrences on the cross are inventions designed to make Christ's sufferings correspond to the 22d Psalm and Isaiah liii. His dogmatics compel him to do this; but it is only a *dogmatic* necessity, as the history is in itself consistent and harmonious.

saalem, and might easily have heard either the discourse itself or some account of it, which had lain dormant, and probably ridiculed in his mind, until suffering and the anguish of death, combined with the aspect of Christ, led him to turn to this despised salvation.

A psychological explanation is equally possible of the words, "*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani.*" It is true indeed, that if we abide by the abstract notions of *nature* and *person*, and seek our explanation in a separation of the two natures in Christ, or of two persons in the Trinity, we cannot fail to discover that such a thoroughly abstract explanation of the most concrete and vital occurrence in the history of the world is in the highest degree unsuitable. In reality, there was unquestionably here an inward trembling of God within Himself. His essence is love. The love of God, inasmuch as God is in His very nature undisturbed, eternal, is the conscious willing and contemplation of His own being. Here the being of God evokes eternally within itself the three eternal persons. Love supposes the most complete distinction, that of *another person* (for all *things* differ in qualities; but two *persons* differ without a qualitative difference, not primarily through their mode or place of existence, but through the mere fact of existence; and it is from this first difference that all qualitative diversity springs, so that the latter consists not of properties, as is the case with things, but of personal character). But this most intense difference is abolished by love, and that completely, since the divine persons are not merely *equal*, but *one*, not *ὁμοῖοι* but *ἐν* and *εἰς Θεός*.—The same love, which leads in God in a *blessed* way to the primary, calm antithesis of distinct personality, manifests itself as *compassionate*, and even *suffering love*, in relation to the other, secondary antithesis, which has its foundation not in God, nor in His will and essence, but in the freedom of choice possessed by the created person, man,—to the antithesis, that is, of *good and evil*. God, appearing in time, and in a temporal form, as true man, is now *παθητός*. His suffering consists in His experience of that which is absolutely opposed to His will, viz., sin. His will to endure this absolute pain proceeds from the essence of divine love, which (in direct contrast to the negation of love, viz., selfishness or sin) assumes the form of love to that which is *most estranged*—love to *sinners*. Now it is clear that this second form of love, love to those whose very aspect and essence are altogether at variance with the essence of love, excludes the enjoyment of the first, viz., the enjoyment of a *blessed* love to that which is in *perfect conformity*. A moment must come, when Christ should put forth this second form of love (love's highest manifestation,—a love which, from very love, gives itself up to hatred, and first proves by so doing what thorough love it is);—a moment,

we repeat, must come, when Christ should manifest His suffering love in *absolute* grief on account of sin, which He neither loved nor desired. At that moment, when it was His will only to feel this grief on account of what was absolutely opposed to His will, He could not, withdrawing Himself from His sufferings, merge Himself in the Father and in His essence, which was in absolute harmony with His own will, and be perfectly blessed in Him. But from the very nature of eternal love, and therefore of the Father Himself, it followed that when this love manifested itself in a temporal form, from very love it necessarily tore itself away from the enjoyment of eternal love, that by so unparalleled a deed it might first truly appear as *absolute* love, springing up in *time*, and in *humanity*, a fountain of *eternal* love.—This is the meaning of that word of words.

5. The *spear-thrust*.—*Strauss* adduces much medical learning here. According to a conversation with “a distinguished anatomist,” whose name he does not mention, it is quite certain, (1) that an hour after death no blood will flow from an incision, and (2) that in the corpse itself *serum* and blood do not separate, “as in a vessel after bleeding.” We might feel disposed, therefore, to come to the same conclusion as *Weisse*, that John is relating a *miracle*. This conclusion he maintains on two grounds. The first argument is, that the significant clause (ver. 35), “And he that saw it beareth witness,” etc., cannot possibly have been designed, merely to convince the reader of the certainty of Christ’s *death*. It is true the soldier made the incision for the purpose of seeing whether Jesus was dead, and if not, of putting Him to death. But John did not describe the whole occurrence for the purpose of convincing his readers that Jesus really died. For no one doubted that then. Nor can it have been directed against Docetism; for they who could regard the whole life of Jesus, His sweat in Gethsemane, His bleeding on the cross, etc., as mere appearance, would easily persuade themselves that the flowing out of blood and water was also in appearance only. So far *Weisse’s* argument is perfectly correct. But when he draws the further conclusion, that the design of ver. 35 can be no other than to point to the flowing of the blood and water as a *perfectly incredible miracle*, which needs to be supported by well-established testimony, this is quite at variance with the general manner of the Gospels, in which we find no such asseverations, even in such cases as the raising of Lazarus.—*Weisse* therefore adds a second argument. He regards 1 John v. 6 as containing an evident allusion to this passage, and supposes that in the effects produced John saw a miraculous connection with the two sacraments, and therefore so strongly asserted their reality.—But (1) the passage in

the Epistle may be explained quite as well on the supposition that it alludes to the *sacraments alone*, as to the passage before us *and* the sacraments. (2) To regard the effects of the incision with the spear as typifying the sacraments, would be a specimen of fanciful mysticism altogether at variance with the usual character of the writings of John. If John had really wished to give peculiar prominence to such a thought, he would have accomplished his purpose much more fully by the *exhortation*, "He that readeth, let him give heed," than by a *declaration* that the occurrence really took place.

The assurance in ver. 35 evidently refers, not to the single incident that blood and water flowed from Jesus' side, but to the whole account in vers. 32-34. This is obvious from ver. 36. The purpose of John is to adduce the evidence of his own eyesight, that the two prophecies contained in the precept, that not a bone of the paschal lamb should be broken, and the prediction that the Messiah would be pierced by His enemies, had been actually fulfilled; and not merely that when the wound was inflicted there flowed out blood and water. This is mentioned as being the circumstance which convinced the soldier that Jesus was already dead.¹

"It was no miracle, therefore; it took place naturally; was an ordinary phenomenon; and yet *Strauss* assures us, on the testimony of this nameless anatomist, that such a thing was impossible" (*Baur*, p. 165).—We shall neither follow *Bartholinus* (de lat. Chr. apert.), who speaks of the water which there is in the thorax; nor *Beda*, *Weiga*, and others, who refer to the water in the pericardium. The former explanation is destitute of physiological truth, and the latter has been overthrown by *Wedelius* (exerc. dec. 3, exer. 1, p. 4): "*Non ex pericardio fluxit solum; non enim fluxerit inde, nisi aqua, quæ paucula inest.*" *Wedelius* himself fully agrees with *Strauss's* anatomist in both the leading points, when, taking for granted that it was a *miracle*, he proceeds to say, "*non e cavitate thoracis . . . quasi illuc colligi debuissent humores vitales, ubi nonnisi extraordinarie in statu morbofo fit quædam congestio.*" Still further, he regards the secretion of serum and blood as *contra naturæ ordinem*; and says, *cessat in demortuis impetus seu impulsus* (the circulation which causes the blood to flow).—We are amazed, however, that any importance should be attached to the argument, that *in a corpse* the serum and blood would not separate: as if the separation could not have taken place *before the death of Jesus*. We are equally astonished that both *Wedelius* and *Strauss*

¹ At the same time, it is certainly possible, that as early as the end of the first century the reality of the death of Jesus may have been called in question; and therefore, that John may have had a practical end in view when noticing the fact.

should bring forward the objection, that it is only when the body is diseased that the separation occurs: as if the body of one who was dying on the cross could possibly be in a healthy condition. *Strauss* also mentions dropsy as the only disease in which water is separated, and nervous fever and suffocation as the only cases in which the blood remains in a fluid state. Let us see whether this is true.

(1.) *Suggillation* and *extravasation* frequently occur, when a violent extension of the muscles has taken place. *Vid. Siebenhaar*, encyklop. Hdb. Art. *Blutunterlaufung*: "Extraordinary tension of the body, stretching of the muscles, and dislocation, frequently produce a rupture of the smaller vessels, and cause the blood to pass into the cellular tissue."

(2.) In cases in which suggillation and extravasation have been produced by violence, it is by no means rare for the blood to remain fluid, and even thin, after death has occurred. *Vid. Siebenhaar ut sup.*: "If you open a suggillated place even in a corpse, you constantly find the blood in the cellular tissue (in some instances, in a liquid state)." Extravasation of liquid blood was found by *Stoll* in the pericardium: in this case, it is true, it was after a fever; but it proves, at any rate, that extravasations sometimes remain fluid in the pericardium after death. According to *Siebenhaar*, the lungs of persons hanged are often filled with blood in a very fluid state; but no stress can be laid upon this, since it admits of a very easy explanation as a consequence of strangulation, whereas it would not be so conceivable in the case of persons crucified; though even with reference to persons hanged, physicians are by no means certain that suffocation is the cause of death.—The statement, however, that the blood may remain in the body in a liquid state, is placed beyond all doubt by the fact, that according to *Schumacher's* and *Christison's* investigations, "several hours after death" suggillations could be produced by mechanical pressure or blows. In general, *Siebenhaar* admits, that injuries inflicted upon a corpse may produce a "passive flow of blood from the larger vessels," but not such as would be signs of any vital reaction.

(3.) Lastly, *Siebenhaar* says, with regard to suggillations in general, "The suggillated place will change its colour in the course of time, as the blood becomes decomposed; part being absorbed, and part resolved as a dead foreign body according to chemical and physiological laws."

From the analogy, then, of the evidence adduced by *Siebenhaar* and others, we may maintain the following as indisputable propositions: 1. As extravasations are formed in the case of a violent exten-

sion of the muscles, they would pre-eminently occur in the case of persons crucified. 2. As a separation of the blood, partly chemical and partly organic, is possible during life in extravasations and suggillations, it was also possible in the case of persons crucified; and we cannot tell but that the unnatural situation, the injuries received, and the peculiar condition into which the body would be brought, may not have caused a very large secretion of watery fluids. 3. As everything sustains the possibility of the blood remaining in a passively fluid state some hours after death, particularly in suggillations, it cannot be denied that it may have been equally possible in the case of persons crucified.

The spear might pierce through several vessels. It might open suggillated places, where the serum and blood were separated, and from which the former alone flowed out; and, on penetrating farther, might open parts in which the blood was fluid still.—There is no necessity, therefore, to resort to any harsh explanation of John xix. 35.¹

§ 98.

BURIAL OF JESUS.

MATT. XXVII. 57-66; MARK XV. 42-47; LUKE XXIII. 50-55;
JOHN XIX. 38-42.

In the evening, Joseph of Arimathea, a rich councillor, who had been a secret disciple of Jesus, and had also openly opposed His condemnation in the Sanhedrim, came to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. Pilate was astonished that death had taken place so soon; but having ascertained for certain that this was the case, he granted Joseph's request. Joseph then proceeded to bury the Lord; but as the time for commencing the celebration of the weekly Sabbath,²

¹ [A different view from that given in the text, in reference to the blood and water, has been propounded by Dr Stroud, in a work entitled *Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, London 1847. Stroud's view is, that Christ died of a broken heart; in which case blood would escape into the pericardium, and there be separated into red-clot and watery serum: whence it would escape through the wound made by the spear. The reader will find an exposition of this view in Dr Hanna's *Last Day of our Lord's Passion*, Edinburgh 1862; with medical testimonies in support of it appended.—ED.]

² The posterity of the first Adam had now brought the development of its sin to the point of absolute bankruptcy. It had laid its Saviour beneath the ground. The Sabbath was absolutely broken and desecrated. Instead of man resting in God, the Son of God rested in death. Ruin was inevitable, had not the great act of the *new creation* ensued—the rising of the first fruit, of the *καὶ ἡ πρώτη*, from death and the grave, by which the “first day of the week” was sanctified as the

which coincided with the first day of the Passover, was drawing near, he resolved to make use of his own newly constructed sepulchre, which was close at hand. Nicodemus also came to the burial; and brought, as an expression of his great love to the Lord, a hundred pounds' weight of a mixture of myrrh and aloes, with which they embalmed the body of Jesus. Mary Magdalene and the other Galilean women went to see where Jesus was buried, as they also purposed to show their love by the purchase of myrrh and spices; and, after sitting for some time before the grave pensive and observant, they went away to carry out their intention. On the Sabbath the Sanhedrists remembered the words which Jesus had more than once addressed to His disciples (Matt. xvi. 21, xvii. 22, etc.), and which had also reached their ears, that He would rise again in three days. They therefore petitioned Pilate for a watch, and for the stone to be sealed, lest the disciples should steal the body, and say that He had risen. As such an event would have frustrated all their attempts to destroy the work and party of Jesus, and have rendered His death entirely vain, Pilate could not refuse to grant their request.

1. The fact, that Pilate was astonished that Jesus should have died so soon (Mark xv. 44), no more warrants the conclusion that persons crucified were always three days in dying than the passage in Petronius (Sat. 111). No one can deny that the inflammation of the wounds, fever, and the loss of blood, which would vary in different individuals, might cause death to take place in a few hours. Moreover, in the case of Christ, the intensity of His inward sufferings may justly be regarded as certain to accelerate the consumption of the vital energy and the spontaneous exhaustion of life. This is something very different, however, from the assumption, attributed to us by Strauss, of an external miracle, in which God put a sudden termination to the life of Jesus.—If a longer period of suffering was the more usual, Pilate would be sure to express astonishment, especially

first day of a *new æon*—a new creative era.—The commemoration, every seven days, of this Sabbath which God has restored, rests, precisely in the same manner as the commemoration in the Old Testament of the first Sabbath of the creation, upon the week of seven days and the Fourth Commandment—upon that commandment which enjoins, that after every six days devoted to earthly toil, a day shall be devoted to the heavenly call. It was a subordinate and unessential question, whether the series should be reckoned from the Sabbath of the first creation, or from the restored Sabbath of the new creation, the day of Christ's resurrection. Both would be within the meaning of the Fourth Commandment. Yet the transference of the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday was not arbitrary, but founded, as we have already shown, upon a creative act of God.

as the possibility of a feigned death, and of a plan to take the crucified person down alive, would be so likely to suggest itself to his mind.

2. In the account of the *embalming*, the Gospels are said to teem with discrepancies. In the first place, the hundred pounds of aloes and myrrh were excessive; though even Strauss is willing to content himself with the explanation, that this large quantity was “a natural expression of the esteem felt for Jesus.”—Then Luke xxiii. 55, 56, is said to be at variance with Mark xvi. 1. Mark says, that the women bought the spices *διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου*; and as he then notices the precise time of their visit to the grave (*πρὸ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων*), the former expression cannot be set aside as being merely a general one, referring to *ἔρχονται* and not to *ἡγόρασαν*. The fact remains, that according to Mark, they bought the spices on Saturday evening.—Luke, on the other hand (according to Strauss), says, that after their return from the sepulchre (on Friday evening), they prepared the spices, and *then* rested on the Sabbath. But, unfortunately, I can find no “*then*” in my New Testament. Instead of this, I find simply *μὲν* (*καὶ τὸ μὲν σάββατον*), which necessitates the following rendering: “They returned, and provided spices and myrrh: they rested, indeed, on the Sabbath, according to the commandment; but on the first day of the week, very early, they came to the sepulchre with the spices which they had prepared.” *ὑποστρέψασαι* does not fix the time of *ἡτολίμασαν*, but is simply the ordinary participial construction linking together two consecutive acts. There is nothing in the construction to show that the sequence was immediate. Luke then proceeds, not to describe the exact order in which everything was done (a notary would feel it necessary to do this), but to state, that even if they had already prepared spices for embalming Jesus, they did not allow this to lead them to break the Sabbath. This is all that he says. Whether they had time to purchase the spices on Friday evening, or did not purchase them till Saturday evening, he does not state. He merely says that they did not allow this occupation to prevent them from keeping the Sabbath. He then shows that their love and zeal were so great, that although they kept the Sabbath, as soon as they possibly could do so, namely, very early on the Sunday morning, they came to the sepulchre with their spices prepared. But this does not show, whether they prepared the spices on Friday, or not till Saturday evening.—There is no discrepancy whatever, therefore. Luke does not put down the events, like a notary, in their exact order; but first notices the intention, then anticipates a possible objection, and after that describes the execution.

But even supposing (what we by no means admit) that Luke did state that an *ἐτοιμάζειν* took place on the Friday evening, it would still be conceivable, that the short time which intervened between the burial of Jesus and six o'clock (it can hardly have been more than an hour) was not sufficient for procuring all the spices, and that the preparations were not completed till Saturday evening. One writer might very well state, in that case, that "immediately after their return they prepared spices," giving prominence to their *zeal* and *haste*; and another, with equal correctness, that "on the Saturday evening they purchased spices, and on the Sunday morning proceeded to embalm the body of Jesus with them," the purchase having been completed on the Saturday evening; and the latter writer wishing to lay stress upon the fact, that as soon as the spices were ready, they proceeded to the embalming. But Strauss won't even grant this possibility. He says, that according to John the burial had already taken place *rite*; ¹ to what purpose, then, a second embalming? He further says, what an enormous quantity of spices was used, if the hundred pounds contributed by Nicodemus did not suffice; and, *therefore*, the women brought more on the evening before the Sabbath, and even this was too little!—As if, when flowers were to be strewn on the grave of a dear departed friend, any one would now ask the question, how many were required, so that there might be just enough? If a friend sent, unexpectedly, a bunch of flowers, would the mourner, glad to save his money, say, Now there are sufficient flowers, I do not need to buy any more? Such are Strauss's ideas of Christ's disciples!

3. The *grave*, according to *Strauss*, is represented by John, not as being the property of Joseph, but as being selected simply because the garden was close at hand; whereas the Synoptists state that the grave was chosen because it belonged to Joseph.—But at the very outset we would call attention to the difficulty caused by a statement without further explanation, to the effect that Jesus was laid in a sepulchre simply because it was near. Would not the question suggest itself to the mind of every reader, whether it would have been possible to take possession in such a way as this of the best sepulchre in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of burying a man just taken from the cross? The mere fact, therefore, that John gives *no explanation*, but writes as if all that he said would naturally be understood, is a sufficient indication that in this, as in so many other instances, he takes for

¹ So he explains *καθὼς ἔθος ἐστὶ*, etc., John xix. 40. But John's object is not to distinguish the entombment as an ordinary regular one from an extraordinary, but to explain that the winding of the body in linen clothes with spices was according to the Jewish mode of embalming (in opposition to Egyptian and other modes).

granted that the other Evangelists are already known, and contents himself with supplementing their account.

But can the statement, that Jesus was buried in this sepulchre because it was near, be regarded as supplementing the synoptical account, that Joseph gave up his own sepulchre for the purpose? The two accounts are perfectly reconcilable. In the first instance, the rich councillor, who was well-disposed towards Jesus, and wished to do something to compensate for the fearful injustice perpetrated by his colleagues, simply intended to show respect to the crucified Rabbi by an honourable burial (in the ordinary burial-place). He had obtained permission; but so much time had been spent, and it was now so late, so near to six o'clock, that there did not seem to be sufficient time left to carry the body to the valley of Hinnom or that of Kedron. He then thought of his own newly constructed tomb; and did not take long to reflect, but cheerfully resolved to bury Jesus in his own councillor's tomb. This circumstance is added by John, and is in perfect harmony with the synoptical account.

CHAPTER X.

THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION OF JESUS.

§ 99.

THE RESURRECTION MORNING.

MATT. XXVIII. 1-15; MARK XVI. 1-11; LUKE XXIV. 1-12; JOHN XX. 1-18.

THE day after the Sabbath, very early in the morning, before it was light, Mary Magdalene went to the sepulchre. When she reached it, she found the stone which had closed the mouth moved away. For an angel had descended from heaven, and had rolled away the stone; the guards having fallen to the ground in terror, and afterwards fled into the city. Seeing the grave open and empty, Mary hurried back to the city to Peter, and told him what she had seen. In the meantime Mary (of James), Joanna, Salome, and the other women, set out by the morning twilight to embalm the Lord, their only concern being, who should roll away the heavy stone. But, behold, the grave was open; and, on looking in, they saw a young man in shining raiment sitting there, who said, "Fear not, I know that ye seek Jesus

the crucified. He is not here; He is risen, as He said. See here the place where He lay: and go tell His disciples; behold, He will go before you to Galilee; there ye shall see Him." Full of joy and terror, they went away; but had not confidence enough to tell any one of their incredible adventure, which seemed to them like a miraculous dream. Peter and John had set out in the meantime, and Mary Magdalene followed them. As they approached the grave, from love and curiosity, John began to run more quickly; then stooping forward into the grave, he saw the linen clothes and napkin, and remained fixed upon the spot in amazement and uncertainty. When Peter came up, he went quite into the sepulchre, and noticed the orderly manner in which the linen clothes and napkin were arranged. John then went in, and took notice of this also. The disciples now returned home. But Mary Magdalene continued standing there in front of the grave, and, in the depth of grief that her Master had not been allowed to rest even in the grave, she began to weep. But in stooping forward into the tomb, she saw two angels in white clothes, one at the head and one at the foot, where the body of Jesus had lain. The angels said to her, "Woman, why weepest thou?" She replied, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him." Upon this she turned away, that she might weep on undisturbed. But as she did so, again there stood before her a Man, who asked her, "Why weepest thou? For whom art thou looking?" Vexed at being disturbed again, she looked upon the ground, and thinking it was the gardener, she said hastily, "Sir, if thou hast taken Him away, tell me where thou hast laid Him." Jesus said to her, "Mary!" She then turned, looked at Him, and exclaimed, "Rabboni!" Jesus said to her, "Hold Me not; I have not yet ascended. But tell My brethren that I ascend to My Father, who is also your Father, to My God, who is your God also." Mary returned, and told it to the brethren. But when the disciples heard Mary relate all this, and even heard it confirmed by the other women, they would not believe it.—In the meantime, some of the guards had gone to the high priests, and told them how an angel had descended, and they had fallen down, and on coming to their senses had found the grave empty. The high priests then consulted with the elders, and instructed the soldiers to say that they had fallen asleep, and the disciples in the meantime had stolen the body. They promised to set the matter right with Pilate, and gave them money to spread the report.

1. Assuming that the history happened as here related, let us inquire whether we can conceive and explain the manner in which each

of the Evangelists has related it. It is, of course, perfectly natural, and not at all a matter of surprise, that every one of the numerous incidents in this rather complicated account has not been recorded by all the Evangelists. The first visit of Mary Magdalene, for example, and the visit of Peter and John, did not lead to any particular result. No Evangelist could, of course, entirely overlook the occurrences of the morning; but in comparison with the appearance of Jesus to the twelve disciples in the evening, when they were all assembled together, and when they were really *convinced*, these accounts of the women, by which the disciples were not persuaded, could only be regarded as a prelude and preparation.

Matthew gives the following very simple account:—In his own peculiar way, he classes together the visit of Mary Magdalene and that of the other women; but expressly mentions Mary's name. Along with her he merely notices "the other Mary;" so that the first impression necessarily produced by his words would be, that these two went out alone. But is his account "therefore *erroneous*"?—No doubt, in a court of law, when inquiry is made as to the number of accomplices in a crime, no one ought to be omitted. But *Matthew*, who was neither a prosecutor nor a notary, might think that there would be no special interest or importance attached to an enumeration of all the persons present. In all his accounts he invariably fixes his attention upon the main point, and, passing cursorily over the subordinate incidents, adduces this point briefly and without elaboration as a single fact, helping to establish the great purpose of his work; and so here, having mentioned the names of two women, he did not think it necessary to mention all. Enough that his readers knew that there were women at the grave, and that this and that occurred to them; two well-known and credible persons were named, and this yielded all the confirmation required.—He then proceeds to mention the objective fact of the resurrection, and relates very briefly, 1. what the angel said to the women, 2. what Christ Himself said. To the fact, that Mary Magdalene went out by herself, not once only, but twice, and that the Lord spoke to her the second time, he makes no allusion. But, just as he states quite generally that the angel addressed the women, when Mary was not present, so here (ver. 9) he says, that "Christ appeared to *them*; *they* embraced His knees; *they* related all;" though Mary of James, Salome, and Joanna, were not there at the time. The words, and the fact of the resurrection itself, were the only things of importance in his estimation, and not the way in which each person had first been made acquainted with the fact.

Mark pictures how the women went "very early" to the sepulchre,

“at the rising of the sun;” how anxious they were about the stone; and how they found the grave open, went in, saw the angels, and were astonished. He then relates the words of the angel; then how they went home, and none of them had courage enough to be the first to tell so incredible a tale.—From this it *seems*, as if Mark thought that Mary Magdalene was with the others. For, like Matthew, he classes what happened to her alone along with the adventures of the rest. But whilst Matthew gives no hint of a distinction, Mark gives a very plain one. In connection with the appearance of the angel, he still associates Mary with the rest, and makes no allusion to her going to the grave alone. But he does not say (as Matthew does, vers. 9, 10) that Christ appeared to “the women;” on the contrary, he says, “they fled, neither said they anything to any man. . . . And Jesus appeared first to Mary Magdalene; and she went and told.”

Luke speaks in a general way of the Galilean women, and gives not only a general account, but even a shorter one than Matthew. In ver. 10 he repeats the names once more, and mentions Mary Magdalene among them; but, like Matthew, he says nothing about her having gone out by herself. He merely states afterwards, that Peter and John went to the grave on account of what had been reported by “the women,” without saying what the report was, or which of the women had brought it.

Thus the whole may be explained from the simple circumstance, that the occurrences connected with the special visit of Mary did not appear to the Synoptists of sufficient importance, in relation to their purpose, to be singled out from the rest. They therefore related first of all what happened to the other women. Matthew and Mark also notice briefly the fact, that even in the morning Jesus appeared. And as it was Mary Magdalene who was honoured with this appearance, her name could not be passed over, and was therefore placed by the side of the others.

But is such a combination probable?—It occurs every day, and precisely in those cases when one relates anything in an unbiassed manner to unbiassed persons. For example: A friend of mine is at the point of death. I am just returning from a journey. On my way, I am met in succession by different friends: one tells me of his illness, two others inform me of his death, and a fourth gives me a ring which he has bequeathed to me. I hasten to the house, and find there a most mournful scene. On my return, I write to an acquaintance, and, with the scene at the house most vivid in my mind, I write briefly of the rest, that on my way home I met four friends, who told me of his death, and handed me the ring. Of what importance would it be to

the reader of the letter to know whether the friends all came together, or one after another; which came first, and which brought me the ring, at what point I met the first, and when I saw the last?—In the same way, it mattered little to the readers of the synoptical Gospels to know whether the women all went together to the grave, or whether one went before the rest; whether they all saw the Lord, or only one of them: it was quite enough to know that the Lord had risen.

It was John alone, whose loving heart could not let fall the smallest of his Saviour's words, who felt constrained, with the child-like spirit of personal affection, to note down every incident connected with this morning's history. What happened to the other women there was no necessity for him to repeat; but of what occurred to Mary Magdalene, and also of what happened to himself and Peter, he recorded the minutest particulars.

2. Thus all the apparent difficulties are resolved from one universal, psychological point of view. Hitherto apologists have generally started with the assumption, that each particular Evangelist, even if he did not record every particular, wrote with such exactness that every one of the incidents mentioned must have happened precisely in the manner described. For example, when Matthew says (ver. 9), "Jesus appeared to *them*," they never thought of it as a possible thing, that Matthew may have classed together in one brief resumé all that happened to Mary Magdalene, and all that occurred to the other women, and having once made use of an indefinite plural, may have continued to employ it in connection with things in which Mary alone was concerned. On the contrary, they concluded that another appearance must have taken place besides the one to Mary Magdalene. They had not the courage to assume that the Evangelist wrote with as much *freedom* as we suppose. Single verses, and even single words, therefore, were brought forward to be twisted, compressed, and forced into agreement with one another. When Mark says, for example, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν εἶπον, this is explained as meaning, "they went along in silence, until they began to speak;" and this is a specimen of all the rest.

But from our point of view all discrepancies fall away of themselves, and there is no necessity to trouble ourselves with each particular one.—One portion of the discrepancies stands or falls with the main question, whether the Synoptists did or did not mix up the incidents in which Mary Magdalene alone was concerned, with those which happened to the other women. If they did, the objective occurrence described in John xx. 1 sqq. was by no means identical with the appearance of the angel to the women (Matt. xxviii. 1-8, etc.), and there is no room for the objections founded upon discrepancies in

the two accounts.—The difference in the synoptical account of the angelic appearances may be explained in this way. They all link together the appearances to Mary and that to the other women; but Matthew and Mark select that which occurred to the larger number, and therefore mention only *one* angel. Luke, on the other hand, relates what happened to Mary Magdalene, to whom *two* angels appeared. In the same way, Luke gives the *ὄρθρον*, as being the time in which the *first* visit to the sepulchre took place; Matthew gives the sunrise, the time at which the larger number set out. Thus two objections fall to the ground. In the same way we may remove the difficulty caused by the fact, that, according to Matthew, the angel sat *before* the tomb, and addressed the women when sitting there; whilst, according to Mark and Luke, he was seated *in* the tomb. Here, as everywhere else, Matthew is not concerned to picture the circumstances minutely. He describes what happened, according to the confession of the guard: an angel came down from the sky, threw the stone on one side, sat down upon it, and waited there as though keeping watch till the risen Saviour had come out of the grave (this was not seen by the guards, who were lying on the ground as if dead). He then proceeds to state that the angel addressed the women in the words contained in vers. 5, 6. Whether he was still seated upon the stone, or had now entered the sepulchre, appeared to Matthew a matter of indifference; and he has actually connected the words of the angel so closely with the previous account, that to those who have not carefully studied Matthew and the other Gospels, it certainly does appear as if the angel was still seated in front of the grave.—According to Luke (ver. 12), again, it looks just as if Peter and John did not set out till all the women had returned (therefore after Mary Magdalene had seen the Lord); whereas, according to John, they went immediately after the return of Mary from her first visit to the sepulchre, before the Lord had appeared to her. And *Strauss*, while admitting that it must be the same fact which is referred to in both instances, makes all the more of the discrepancy with regard to the time. But the whole may be easily explained, when we consider that Luke, having once combined into one account the visit of Mary and that of the other women, could not state which particular report it was that led the disciples to go to the sepulchre. In any case, Luke has not mentioned any appearance of Christ in vers. 1–11, and therefore, even according to his account, Peter and John went out before an appearance had taken place.

Another discrepancy pointed out is, that according to Mark, the women “do not say anything to any man,” whereas Matthew states,

that "they ran to bring His disciples word." We have already seen that Matthew continues, throughout, to associate Mary Magdalene with the other women. He says, with regard to the women as a whole, "the angel commanded *them*;" again he says, "Christ appeared to *them*;" and again, "*they* brought word." Mark, on the other hand, who has also combined the two as far as ver. 8, makes a distinction after that. Having mentioned the command given by the angel, he states expressly, that the woman did not tell anything, but that Mary Magdalene, to whom the Lord had appeared (as he here states by the way, without entering into particulars), went and told the disciples.—How perfectly natural this is! The women had heard the command, and knew very well what they had seen. But when they returned to the city, and entered the abode of the disciples, and saw anguish on account of their Master's death still depicted on their faces, what they had just seen appeared so like a dream in contrast with the actual reality, that not one of them had the heart to make a commencement. Disobedient, indeed, they had no wish to be; but they put off from one moment to another what they found it so hard to tell, and what harmonized so little with the lamentations that were heard all round. In the meantime, the woman who had actually clasped the feet of the Lord came in. She was not silent: to her mind, what she had seen was anything but a dream (John xx. 18). When a beginning had thus been made, no doubt the other women were able also to report what they had seen; for we are not to understand from Mark that they would have kept silence for ever, but simply that they had not the courage to make any disclosure. When once Mary Magdalene had returned with her account, they were doubtless ready (as stated in Luke xxiv. 10) to add their confirmation.

3. Of *internal difficulties*, very few remain. The "constant running to and fro of the women and the disciples, the appearance, disappearance, and reappearance of the angels, and the purposeless repetition of the appearances of Jesus," of which Strauss speaks, reduce themselves to a very simple account: first, Mary Magdalene goes out; then, while she is returning to fetch Peter and John, the other women go out and see *one angel*; they return, and Mary Magdalene then goes again, and also the two disciples; she sees *two angels*; and after that, the Lord Himself appears to her.¹

The only question that remains is, why the angel who opened the sepulchre should have been invisible when Mary Magdalene first came,

¹ This also does away with the question, why Jesus should repeat the command already given by the angel, to go into Galilee. Jesus gives the command to Mary Magdalene; the angel had given it to the other women.

should then have appeared to the other women, and then again have been invisible to the two disciples, and finally have appeared to Mary Magdalene accompanied by another angel. To answer this question is no doubt an impossibility to those who either do not believe in angels at all, or explain their appearance as a "guard of honour" formed of "heavenly attendants"—in other words, a "*pageant*,"—or regard the appearance and disappearance of an angel as an extremely laborious undertaking, which could only be resorted to in cases of the greatest necessity. For our part, however, we regard appearance and disappearance as dependent entirely upon the will of the angels themselves, and therefore as *very easy*. And we also observe, that the angels do not appear for their own sakes, but simply and obviously for the sake of men. Christ Himself could have left the sepulchre without moving away the stone (cf. John xx. 19); or the Son of God, when awakened from the sleep of death, could have rolled away the stone by the power of His own will; but in either case, the guards might have attributed the result to a natural earthquake. In order, therefore, that they might know and bear witness to the Sanhedrim, *who* opened the sepulchre, an angel came down in sight of them all.—Mary Magdalene then came to the sepulchre. For the present, it was the will of the Lord that she should not see anything. She is first of all to fetch other disciples as witnesses.—In the meantime the other women arrive. They are not to see Christ Himself; it is all the more important, therefore, that they should learn in another way the reason why the tomb is empty, that they may prepare the disciples, and confirm the testimony which Mary Magdalene alone will be able to bear. When they enter the sepulchre, an angel appears to them there, and speaks to them.—They return; and now Peter and John arrive. But these disciples are not yet to see anything. Their faith is to be tried,¹ to be drawn out slowly, first by the simple aspect of the carefully arranged *ὁθόνια*, and then by the account of Mary Magdalene (ver. 18). To them no angel appears.—Shortly afterwards Mary Magda-

¹ Ἐπίστευσεν (John, ver. 8) naturally applies to the object of *ἰδεῖν*, the orderly arrangement of the linen clothes, though *De Wette* so confidently asserts the contrary. How could John, who had hitherto pictured Mary and the two disciples as being in the deepest trouble and perplexity, describe so great a change as their sudden conviction that "Christ must have risen from the dead," so frigidly and dryly, by the simple word *ἐπίστευσεν*? And if these disciples were so convinced, how could Mary, who followed them, have remained so deeply sunk in grief, as she is described as being in vers. 11 sqq.? And if this had been the case, would not John have pointed out the contrast, and said, "but Mary did not believe"? The words evidently mean nothing more than this: "Then went in the other disciple, and saw and was convinced."

lene sees two angels, who ask her why she is weeping. In this way her thoughts are first aroused, and thus step by step she is drawn from the depths of her grief.

4. The conduct of the high priests with reference to the watch is said to be full of impossibilities. But on the supposition that the events related in Matt. xxviii. 2-5 took place as described, I really do not see how the high priests could well act otherwise. Let us look, however, at *Strauss's* shrewd objections: 1. "If this really took place, why do not the Apostles refer to it (in their Epistles) as the most convincing proof of the resurrection?" Just because they stood in need of no such proof. The resurrection of Christ was, for the most part, unquestioned: when doubts were started, the Apostles appealed most naturally to what they themselves had seen, not to what the Sanhedrim had heard from a few soldiers. The Corinthians, no doubt, regarded Paul and the other Apostles as honourable men, and trusted to their word. 2. "Why did not the Apostles appeal to this when they stood before the Sanhedrim?" Here, again, there could have been no necessity for such an appeal, so long as the Sanhedrim did not venture to deny their assertion that Christ was risen (Acts iv. 10). But the Sanhedrim made no such denial—"they could say nothing against it" (ver. 14). Nor do we find from Acts ii. and v. that any one denied the resurrection. We turn the tables, therefore, and say, "Because the Sanhedrim was ready to do anything except to deny the reality of the resurrection, the account in Matt. xxviii. 11 sqq. must be true. 3. "The fact that the women expected to be able to embalm Jesus, is an evident proof that they knew nothing about a watch." This is quite correct. On the Sunday morning in question, the women cannot have known anything about the watch. But it does not follow from this, that the whole Church of Christ must for ever remain in ignorance of the fact. 4. "It is improbable that the soldiers would consent to tell such a lie, seeing that they could expect nothing but punishment, and could not possibly know of what avail the mediation of the Sanhedrim would be." But they could easily be silent for half an hour, till their impunity was insured. 5. "The high priests would not be likely to believe the soldiers, but would conclude that they had really slept." But what if one soldier told one member of the Sanhedrim, and another the same story to another, and their alarm was plainly depicted upon their faces? Moreover, there was the guilty conscience of the high priests. In any case, we have a *positive historical proof* that the members of the Sanhedrim did believe it, in the simple fact that otherwise they would have charged the disciples of Jesus with breaking the official seal, and have

followed up the prosecution with all their might; and there is not the slightest trace of anything of the kind. 6. "Is it likely that the whole Sanhedrim, at a regular meeting, should unite in giving their official sanction to a lie?" Is it likely that the whole Sanhedrim, at a regular meeting, should unite in a judicial murder (Matt. xxvi. 57 sqq.)? Besides, there is nothing about a *regular* meeting of the Sanhedrim. According to Matt. xxviii. 12, the high priests consulted privately with the elders. Men like Nicodemus, we may be sure, were not summoned. The marvel is, what pious and conscientious men the members of the Sanhedrim become in the hands of Dr *Strauss*. The whole of Christendom, that multitude of quiet, humble men, may have devised and adhered tenaciously to a barefaced lie; but the murderers of Jesus were incapable of persuading these soldiers to propagate a trifling untruth, which their own conduct had rendered necessary!

§ 100.

SUNDAY EVENING; AND THE SUNDAY FOLLOWING.

MARK XVI. 12-18; LUKE XXIV. 13-49; JOHN XX. 19-29.

In the afternoon two disciples were walking to Emmaus, and talking by the way of what had taken place. Jesus joined them; but their eyes were holden, so that they did not recognise Him. To the question, what made them sad, one of them, named Cleopas, replied by asking whether He had heard nothing about Jesus, whose death had overthrown all their hopes of the redemption of Israel. Some women, indeed, had said something about an appearance of angels, and that Jesus was alive; some disciples, too, had gone to the sepulchre, but they had not seen Him. Jesus then began to explain to them out of the prophets, that it was necessary for the Messiah to suffer and to rise again. Full of joyful hope, their hearts now burned within them; and full of love to the unknown companion, when they reached Emmaus, and He was about to go forward, they invited Him in, and urged Him to stay, as it was getting dark. Jesus entered and sat down to their meal; and as He was breaking the bread, and giving thanks, they saw that it was the Lord Himself. But He vanished out of their sight. Upon this, they set off immediately, and ran back to Jerusalem; and finding ten of the disciples assembled with a few other believers, told them what had occurred. The latter anticipated them, however, by exclaiming, "The Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared to Simon." While they were thus met with mingled feelings of joy, doubt (Mark, ver. 13), and expectation, and with the

doors closed for fear of the Jews, Jesus suddenly stood in the midst of them, and said, "Peace be with you." As they stood round alarmed, yet with feelings of delight, and unable to trust their eyes, Jesus told them to look at the marks of the nails in His hands and feet, and convince themselves that it was really He. They could hardly believe it for joy. But He asked them whether they had anything to eat; and when they brought some fish and honey, He ate with them. He then said, "As the Father hath sent Me, the Son, so send I you." And He breathed upon them, as if to impart His spirit, the Holy Spirit, and gave them authority, in the strength of this communication of the Spirit, to remit and retain sins.—Thomas was not with them at the time. And when the others related what had occurred, he refused to believe until he had put his hands into the mark of the wounds. The disciples waited in Jerusalem till the feast was over, before obeying the command given to the women, that they were to go into Galilee. The Sunday after the feast (the day following the Sabbath with which the feast terminated) they were assembled together once more, and Thomas with them,—and this time also with closed doors. Jesus again suddenly appeared in the midst of them with the same salutation. He then said to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold My hands; and place thy hand in My side; and be not incredulous, but believing." Thomas exclaimed with adoration, "My Lord and my God." But Jesus said to him, "Now thou hast seen, thou believest: blessed are they that see not, and yet believe."

1. Again a variety of difficulties and objections are pointed out. In the first place, it is said to be incomprehensible why the angel and Christ Himself should command the women to go to Galilee, where they would see the Lord, when He was about to appear the very same evening. But the command given to the women did not apply to the eleven alone: the words, "there *ye* shall see Me," applied to the women along with all the brethren of Christ. To the eleven undoubtedly Christ did appear first of all in Jerusalem. But to the whole body of believers He appeared first in Galilee; so that the announcement, that He would appear to them all in Galilee, did not preclude earlier appearances to particular individuals. It was not the intention of Jesus and the angel to give the women a programme of the order in which all the appearances to be anticipated would occur (in that case He would certainly not have omitted those at Jerusalem), but simply a command not to *remain* in Jerusalem, which they might easily have been led to think they ought to do, as Christ first showed Himself to

them there, but to return quietly to their home when the feast was over, as they had done before; for Jesus Himself would go before them into Galilee. The command, therefore, most naturally referred to the time when the feast was over. It was intended to guard them against the delusion, that they ought to remain in Jerusalem, from an idea that Christ would continue in the neighbourhood of the city, and there set up His kingdom by means of earthly power. The objection, that, according to Matthew and Mark, the disciples are commanded to go to Galilee, and yet, according to Matthew, Luke, and John, they met in Jerusalem in the evening, and according to John, met there again a week afterwards, falls at once to the ground. For it would be understood as a matter of course, that they should remain in Jerusalem, and keep the whole feast according to the law; and there was nothing in the words of the angel to interfere with their doing so.

2. There is no difficulty in the separate incidents. A discrepancy has been pointed out, it is true, in the fact that Mark says, the reason why the disciples from Emmaus did not recognise Jesus was because *ἐφανερώθη ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ*, whereas the reason given by Luke is, that "their eyes were holden." It is evident, however, that Mark is not describing the *cause* of their not recognising Him, but the *non-recognition itself*. "Jesus appeared to them in an unusual form," is a brief way of stating, that although He was the same person, He appeared to them to be some one else. Whether the immediate cause lay in Jesus or in themselves, he does not intend to explain, summing up as he does the entire account in a single verse.

On the nature of the *glorified body of Christ*, Strauss has written a really revolting paragraph, the particular thoughts of which, if we can call them thoughts at all, we need not attempt to dissect. We shall confine ourselves simply to the positive task of exhibiting the scriptural doctrine of glorified corporeality. By sin, the dominion of the soul over the body was shaken, and the latter was exposed to gradual dissolution from the influences of the macrocosmical nature. The function of life henceforth was bound down to an arithmetical line, in the ultimate development of which there occurs a *minus-point*—a point in which the power of restitution is inferior to that of consumption,—and that point is death. But what does the Scripture teach with regard to the *glorified body of Christ*? In the first place, we read, that the risen Saviour appeared *suddenly*, without having come in the ordinary way (John xx. 14 and 19; Luke xxiv. 36); and from this we might be tempted to conclude, that His glorified body was nothing more than a passing visibility of the soul; that the soul possessed the power to clothe itself with matter whenever and wherever it

pleased, and then again to lay it aside. But this does away at once with the continuous subsistence of the glorified body. According to this idea, Christ would be ordinarily without a material body, and would merely invest Himself with a material body whenever He returned.—But this idea (which is in perfect harmony with ubiquity) is overthrown by Luke xxiv. 39; for were it correct, Christ would be ordinarily without flesh and bone, and ought therefore to have said, “A spirit cannot *assume* flesh and bone.”¹ Moreover, in the Scriptures the risen body of Christ is regarded as identical with the body that was buried. The latter did not remain in the grave and waste away, while the soul invested itself with a new and immaterial body; but the grave was *empty*, and the body that was buried changed into the glorified body (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52). And this change consists, according to 1 Cor. xv. 53 and 2 Cor. v. 2 and 4, not in putting off, or in separation from matter, but in *clothing over* (*ἐνδύσασθαι, ἐπενδύσασθαι*) the naturally perishable matter (“this corruptible,” 1 Cor. xv. 53) with new and more exalted power, with incorruption and immortality. Hence the glorified body of Christ was really a material organism, “flesh and bone,” possessing its own perpetual, organic, bodily life. It could be felt (Matt. xxviii. 9; John xx. 27), and could assimilate material food (Luke xxiv. 43; John xxi. 5 sq.). Whilst, therefore, a spectral appearance presupposes a subjective susceptibility, and could not otherwise be seen, the glorified body of Christ, instead of requiring a spiritual *rapport* as the condition of visibility, became visible to the eye of Mary, of the disciples from Emmaus, and of the other disciples, as an objective body, before their subjective inward vision was awakened, or they were able to recognise Him (John xx. 14, 15; Luke xxiv. 16; John xxi. 4 and 7).

This biblical doctrine, therefore, is in perfect harmony with the general notion of a body. Every (living) body is an interaction of soul and matter. The material part is unquestionably the variable element in the body. In the course of years it is entirely renewed. The psychical, moulding *power*, that which rules and subjugates the material part—in other words, the soul itself—remains essentially the

¹ In 1 Cor. xv. 44, the term *πνευματικόν* does not denote the *material* of the glorified body, any more than *ψυχικόν* the material of the body not yet glorified. From ver. 45 it is evident that the thought of the Apostle is rather the following: The result of the creation of Adam was the existence of a psychical life, which was afterwards to shape and develop itself into a spiritual life; the result of the perfection of Christ is the perfect spiritual life. In other words, therefore, the unglorified body (such as Adam possessed before the fall, and Christ before His exaltation) is one adapted to this state of development; the glorified body, one fully adapted to the state of perfection.

same, maintaining the sameness of the spiritual stamp, of form, and features, amid all the chemical changes to which the material part may be exposed. But although it is this power alone which is essential and permanent in connection with the body, it is still *not* the body. The body itself is the matter (*qua* organized) which is controlled and brought into a state of organization by this power. The body is matter wrung from the macrocosm of nature, which, by the very fact of having a soul within it, has become a *microcosm*, a *unity*, and therefore a superior nature, and which, by being thus maintained in a higher unity (*animari*), is preserved from falling back into the condition of mere matter, and is perpetuated as a fountain constantly moving (not mechanically, but organically) within itself. But the body, while thus opposed to the macrocosmical nature as an independent unity, still bears a certain relation to it; for it is from it that it is continually completed and renewed. Now the difference between a glorified and an unglorified body is this, that in the unglorified the dominion secured by this power over matter is only partial and relative, so that the body-moulding power not only requires matter in general, but the co-operation of the macrocosmic nature in the assimilation of matter (*e.g.*, food, drink, and various elementary influences), and therefore is dependent upon nature for the formation of the body; whereas in the glorified body, the moulding power is able to rule with absolute sovereignty the matter which it requires, to transform it at will, and to guard it against all the external influences of nature. In the one case, therefore, the microcosmic corporeality is dependent upon the macrocosmic (and, consequently, there is but an imperfect subjection of the former to the soul). In the other, the macrocosmic nature is dependent upon the microcosmic corporeality, and the latter is completely subject to the soul. With such absolute supremacy over the macrocosmic matter, the soul moves itself and its body wherever it will, without being obliged to pass through media with a proportionate loss of power. The body needs no food, but has the power to assimilate it. There is no contradiction, therefore, in its partaking of food, and passing through a fastened door.

§ 101.

TWO APPEARANCES IN GALILEE.

JOHN XXI.; MATT. XXVIII. 16-20; 1 COR. XV. 6.

As soon as the feast of Passover was ended, the disciples returned to their Galilean home, there to await the promised appearance

of Christ to them all (Matt. xxviii. 7). On one occasion, Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, James, John, and two other disciples had spent the night in a vain attempt at fishing. Towards morning, they looked from the ship to the nearest point of the shore, and saw Jesus standing there, but did not recognise Him. Jesus called to them, and asked whether they had anything to eat; and, on their replying in the negative, told them to throw the net on the other side of the ship. They did so, and could not haul it in for the quantity of fish. John then remembered the previous incident of the same kind of which he had been an eye-witness, and said to Peter, "It is the Lord." As soon as the thought was suggested to Peter, in the ardour of his love he threw himself into the sea, and swam to the shore. The other disciples came slowly up with the ship, and the net still hanging from its side; and having drawn the latter to shore without its being broken, though there were 153 large fish within it, at the command of Jesus they prepared a meal. They had all by this time recognised the Lord. After the meal, Jesus asked the one who had boasted that if all denied Him he never would, whether he loved Him more than the rest. Peter said, "Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee." Jesus then told Peter, whom He had once designated a fisher of men, and whom after his denial He now again accepted as His disciple, to feed His lambs. And as Peter had denied Him three times, Jesus asked the question three times, and three times reinstated him in the pastoral office. Jesus also foretold that the time would come when he would once more be placed in that position in which he would have to choose between confession and denial. Hitherto he had taken the way his own will prompted; but he would one day stretch out his hands, and another would gird and lead him, in a way not pleasant to the flesh. Thus He predicted his crucifixion, and added, "Follow thou Me." Peter then inquired anxiously what would be the fate of John. But the Lord bade him consider above all his own salvation. "Supposing that (ἐάν) I would that he should remain until I come,¹ what would that matter to thee? Follow *thou* Me!"—After this, the disciples (along with five hundred believers) assembled on a particular mountain, on a day fixed by Jesus when He was by the lake. There He

¹ John survived the coming of Jesus. The judgment of the world might *justly* have followed immediately upon the judgment on Jerusalem. But *in mercy* the Lord substituted His coming to John in the Apocalypse for His return in the sight of all the world; promising to the Church and to the world a longer respite of 1260 days (half of 365 weeks), and then, after the 3½ days' victory of Antichrist, His final return.—It is possible, however, and to my mind probable, that the coming of Christ is here simply placed in contrast with a violent death ("He shall remain till I come to call him away"). *Vid.* § 123.

appeared to them; and they fell down and worshipped Him. But some still doubted, and would not trust their own eyes. Jesus then came nearer to them, and said, "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and teach them to observe all that I have commanded you." And He gave them power to work miracles (Mark xvi. 18), and said, "Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

1. The question, whether the occurrence described in Matt. xxviii. 16 sqq., where Matthew mentions "the eleven" alone, is the same as that referred to by Paul in 1 Cor. xv., when Jesus appears to five hundred disciples, we must answer in the affirmative. That Matthew omits to mention the 500, is easily understood when we consider his style of writing. In this, as in every other case, he merely brings out the point of chief importance. His purpose is to show how Jesus, having been rejected by Israel according to the flesh, manifested Himself after His resurrection as the founder of a spiritual βασιλεία comprehending all nations, and therefore as both Son of David and King. Keeping this point alone in view, he passes over the two appearances to the twelve in Jerusalem, which do not bear upon it; and simply refers, as we have seen, in a brief and summary manner to the appearance to the women, because this was indispensable, first, as establishing the fact that Jesus had risen and not remained in the grave, and secondly, as explaining how it was that the disciples went into Galilee. And here again he mentions merely the eleven, because they were peculiarly concerned in the establishment of the kingdom. At the same time, even in Matthew himself, indications are not wanting that there were others present beside the eleven. Apart from the expression, "but some doubted," which we could hardly imagine possible of any of the eleven after the intervening occurrences described by John, Mark, and Luke;¹ Matthew records the promise to the women, "Ye (quite generally, all the brethren of Christ and the women besides) shall see Him;" and it cannot have been his intention to make it appear that this promise remained unfulfilled, or was fulfilled in the case of the eleven only.—We may even find a very distinct intimation that Jesus had appeared in other ways between vers. 9, 10, and vers. 16, 17. In ver. 16 he says, the disciples assembled upon a mountain, "where Jesus had appointed them." But

¹ At the same time, it will be understood that the expression ἐδίστασαν does not refer to any doubt as to the fact of Christ's resurrection, but simply to a doubt whether it was really Christ Himself that they saw.

in vers. 7 and 9 there are no such special directions; there is simply a command to return into Galilee, and not to remain in Jerusalem. Now, from the very nature of the case, it is evident, and must have been so to the readers of Matthew, even without any special explanation, that the disciples scattered about in Galilee could neither arrive of their own accord at the conclusion, that on a particular day, and in a particular place, they were all to meet together, and there, without any special instruction or revelation, to look for Christ to appear, nor yet betake themselves at once to any such place, and there continue waiting for days, and perhaps for weeks. It is very evident, therefore, from Matthew himself, that Jesus (from whom, according to ver. 16, they had received the command) must have appeared to them since their return to Galilee.

Now in John xxi. such an appearance is actually described, and said to have been the *third* appearance of Jesus to the disciples. The one mentioned in chap. xx. 19 is evidently regarded as the first, and that in ver. 26 as the second. The third, therefore, at the Lake of Tiberias must necessarily have occurred before the one described in Matt. xxviii. 16 sqq. And it must have been there, by the side of the lake, that Jesus directed the disciples to assemble, with all the believers, at a particular spot on a certain day, when the promise given in Matt. xxviii. 7 and 9 would be fulfilled.

Thus admirably do the different accounts fit into one another. What are we to say, then, to Strauss's assertion, that the appearance mentioned in Matt. xxviii. 16 sqq. must necessarily have occurred before that described in John xxi., because the disciples assembled on the mountain in accordance with the command given in Matt. xxviii. 9, and not in obedience to one given at a later period? But where do we find any command in Matt. xxviii. 9 that the disciples were to assemble on a particular mountain? The relation between the incidents described by the Evangelists, and the two passages, Luke xxiv. 44 sqq. and Mark xvi. 15 sqq., we shall examine in the following section.

§ 102.

THE ASCENSION.

MARK XVI. 19, 20; LUKE XXIV. 50-53; ACTS I. 4-12.

Once more, on the occasion of another appearance (according to 1 Cor. xv., to James), the Lord had given His disciples instructions to go to Jerusalem (*συναλιζόμενος*, Acts i. 4). There He appeared to them for the last time; promised them that they should soon re-

ceive a message from the Father, namely, the baptism of the Spirit promised by John the Baptist; and told them on that account to remain in Jerusalem, for the preaching of the Gospel must begin there, and thence be spread abroad. Jesus then led the disciples over the Mount of Olives to Bethany. On the way the disciples asked Him whether He would now shortly set up His kingdom, the Messianic kingdom of Israel promised by the prophets. But Jesus replied, that it was not for them to know the time when the Father would display His power. For the present, they would receive the Holy Ghost, that they might preach the Gospel. He then stretched out His hands above them and blessed them. And as He blessed them, He was taken up before their eyes to heaven, until they lost Him in a cloud. They then fell down and worshipped, keeping their eyes still directed upwards; when, behold, two men in white raiment stood near them, and said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye here, looking up towards heaven? This Jesus, who has now ascended, will come again as visibly as ye have seen Him depart." They then returned to Jerusalem, praising God; and waited there for the Holy Ghost.

1. We have already seen (§ 19, 20) that one leading thought runs throughout the Gospel of Luke and his Acts of the Apostles, viz., the spread of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles. That Luke, when he wrote the Gospel, intended to add a second part, is evident from the general expression, *πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ὑμῶν πραγμάτων* (Luke i. 1). Hence it was in perfect accordance with his plan; that he closed the Gospel with the ascension, and only communicated in relation to it what was objectively of importance, namely, that Jesus commanded His disciples to preach the Gospel to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. As Luke adopts throughout the Gospel a material arrangement, classing together, with the expression *εἶπε δὲ, ἐγένετο δὲ*, things kindred in topic but distant in time (cf. Luke v. 33, and above, p. 257), without troubling himself about chronological sequence; so here (chap. xxiv. 44), with the phrase *εἶπε δὲ* he attaches to the appearance of Jesus on the evening of Easter Sunday, a *resumé* of all the things that Jesus said to His disciples after His resurrection (on several different occasions). Just as in Acts i. 3, he sums up the life of Christ after His resurrection in these words: "To whom also He showed Himself alive after His passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God;" so here he writes, "Then opened He their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it *behoved*

Christ to suffer," etc. Now when Luke proceeds after this with the words, "And He led them out," etc., who can imagine for a moment that he intended to represent the ascension to heaven as following immediately upon what he has described in ver. 43? When the two disciples reached Emmaus it was getting dark; then they returned to Jerusalem, and told the others what had occurred; and then Jesus appeared again. Could there possibly have been time after this for Jesus to explain the Scriptures to the disciples, and lead them out to Bethany? Certainly not; and whoever reads Luke with his eyes open, will never imagine for a moment that Luke thought of the ascension as taking place that evening. He evidently simply sums up here, in the briefest possible way, the substance of the words of the risen Saviour, along with the fact of His ascension; because he intends to give a fuller account of the latter in the second part. In Acts i. 1 sqq., he refers to the fact that he has already traced the history down to the day of Christ's ascension. He then adds that, after His resurrection, Jesus proved to the disciples that He had risen (ver. 3). The length of time—"forty days"—is introduced here by the way; being required to show the interval between the ascension and the feast of Pentecost. But there is no emphasis laid upon it (as though Luke intended to correct himself), the emphasis rests upon the description of the disciples' state of mind. In Luke xxiv. only so much is said about the ascension as is necessary to conclude the life of Jesus. But in Acts i. we have all that is required to explain the history of the Apostles. Hence the repeated allusion to the pouring out of the Holy Spirit (vers. 4, 5, and 8); the conversation in vers. 6 sqq., so important as showing the disciples' ideas at that time; and the mention of the different localities, *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and *the ends of the earth* (apparently indicating a previously prepared plan for the prosecution of their work; as indeed Jerusalem, Samaria, and Antioch are the three principal stations referred to in the Acts). What are we to think now, after all this, of Strauss's stout assertion, that Luke supposed the ascension to have occurred on that first, Easter Sunday; and therefore that he contradicts himself in Acts i. 3? "To remove the discrepancy," he says, "we must insert forty days between vers. 43 and 44." Nervous people may possibly be alarmed by such an idea: forty long days between two short verses! But there is no more ground for speaking about days lying between verses in this place than in any other. The real explanation, as we have said, is this: in vers. 44-49 we have not a description of one single scene, but a general summary of the instruction given by Christ after His resurrection.—But even Strauss himself cannot let it rest in this way, that the same

author perpetrated so gross a discrepancy as to place the ascension first on Easter Sunday, and then forty days later. How does he explain it, then? Luke, he thinks, may have obtained more correct information on many points in the interim between finishing the Gospel and commencing the Acts. But, supposing this was the case, what should Luke have done? Clearly, if he was an honourable man, he would have acknowledged his former error, and corrected it. At any rate, by some kind of antithesis he would have guarded against the perplexing suspicion, that he contradicted himself. But we find no trace of anything of the kind. In vers. 1, 2, he refers expressly to his former account. He says that he has there traced the history of Jesus down to the day on which Jesus gave commandments to the Apostles and then ascended to heaven. He writes, therefore, as if, even according to his first account, the ascension took place on a particular day. He then, without any special remark, mentions quite casually that Jesus was seen by His disciples for forty days. This certainly does not look like a correction, but rather indicates an evident consciousness of having written nothing different from before.

In Mark the matter is, if possible, still more striking. In two verses he describes how Jesus, after having spoken to His disciples, was taken up to heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God, and the disciples went out preaching the Gospel in the power of the Lord, and with signs following. One would hardly think it possible; but Strauss says it, and puts it in print, that Mark supposed the ascension to have taken place at that meal, in the house, and in that very room; “for ἀνακειμένοις κ.τ.λ. and ὁ μὲν Κύριος are immediately connected, and it is only in a forced way that either an interval or a change of place can be introduced.”¹ But the whole account hangs equally closely together; and if Mark meant that it was there that the ascension took place, he must also have meant that it was there that Jesus sat down at the right hand of God, and there that the disciples went forth preaching everywhere.—It is evident that in vers. 15–18, Mark

¹ *Weisse* (ii. 378) attempts to prove from passages of the N. T., and from Barnabas, that in the earliest ages of the Christian Church the ascension of Jesus was commonly supposed to have taken place immediately after the resurrection. The passages quoted are, Mark xiv. 62; 1 Pet. ii. 21; and Heb. i. 3, which contains nothing but the statement, that after Jesus had suffered, He was exalted to the right hand of God. Barnabas (c. 15, p. 48) says, that the Sunday was kept as that day of the week on which Christ arose, and on which, after He had manifested (Φανερωθείς) His resurrection, He ascended to heaven. But if this passage proves anything, it is merely that the forty days in Acts i. 8 were regarded as a round number, and the ascension was supposed to have occurred on the 43d day, which was a Sunday.

sums up all that Christ said to His disciples on different occasions after His resurrection.

2. *Internal discrepancies* in these last words are pointed out in no small number. In the first place, Jesus cannot have given His disciples instructions to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles; for their conduct in connection with Cornelius (Acts x. xi.) proves that they knew nothing of any such command. But this is not the case. The question with the Apostles was not, whether Gentiles were to be received into the Church at all; but whether this was to be allowed without circumcision. For their general opinions with reference to the Gentiles, see Acts viii. 26 sqq., xi. 20 sqq.

Another difficulty pointed out is, that according to John xx. 22, the disciples received the Holy Ghost from Jesus Himself; whereas, according to Luke's account, they did not receive it till after His ascension.—Now, assuming that the Holy Spirit was really communicated on the day of Pentecost in the manner described in Acts ii., two questions arise: *first*, whether this baptism with the Spirit precludes a previous communication such as John describes; and *secondly*, whether John could relate this first provisional communication, making no distinction between it and the subsequent one, without making it appear as though he was simply transposing the latter to an earlier period? Both questions are evidently to be answered in the affirmative. Even according to John himself, this breathing on the disciples cannot have had the same significance as the outpouring described in Acts ii. For, in the first place, according to his own account, the eleven were not all present on the occasion; on the contrary, even after this, we find one disciple still so weak as to question the resurrection of Jesus; and with regard to all the disciples, we find no marked change in their conduct after Jesus had breathed on them (cf. chap. xxi., especially vers. 20 sqq.). And even if we are not at liberty to render the word *λάβετε* (John xx. 22), “ye shall receive,” the fact still remains, that even as described by John, this act of Christ had not the force of an actual and complete equipment for the apostolic office (otherwise, how could one of the Apostles have been omitted?), but was undoubtedly *symbolical* in its nature. Jesus had told them (ver. 21), that, as the Father had sent Him, so sent He them; and had thereby confirmed and renewed their call to be Apostles. As He had already on one occasion promised them the guidance of the Spirit (Matt. x. 19), so now once more He assured them that *His Spirit* would be with them, as the *Father's Spirit* was with Him; and confirmed the assurance by this symbolical act. The continuity of the working of the Father in Christ, and of Christ in His people, required

to be thus sealed. It is also not to be doubted that the Holy Spirit, which had already drawn the disciples to Christ and to the Father, continued still to work in them with increasing power, promoting their *own* life of faith; but this by no means precluded the necessity for a further, charismatical endowment for their office, and for the work which they were called to perform upon *others*; the necessity, that is to say, for the *Spirit of Christ*, which they possessed, to commence its own peculiar work as the third person of the Godhead, in the establishment of the Church.

The second question is thus also to be answered in the affirmative. If the event described in Acts ii. really occurred, its peculiarity, viz., the communication of miraculous powers to the disciples, and the assurance and courage with which their faith was inspired, was sure to be so well known throughout the whole Church (cf. Acts ii. 9 sqq. and 41, viii. 16, etc.), that no reader of John could possibly fancy that the event related in Acts ii. was the same as that referred to in John xx. 22, and that John transposed it to a different time.

3. Before passing on to the ascension itself, we just notice briefly, how perfectly the account of the resurrection given in the Gospels agrees with the data contained in 1 Cor. xv. In opposition to those who denied the resurrection, Paul there appeals to the many witnesses thereof who were living still. Passing over Mary Magdalene, he mentions first *Peter* (cf. Luke xxiv. 35); then, he says, Christ was seen by *the twelve* (John xx. 19 and 26, xxi. sqq.: it is evident that Paul's intention is not to enumerate the different appearances, but the individuals and classes of persons to whom the Lord appeared in succession); then to as many as *five hundred* at once (Matt. xxviii. 16 sqq.); then to *James* (this appearance is not mentioned in the Gospels, but serves to explain the otherwise enigmatical *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts i. 3); and again to the *twelve*, on the occasion of His ascension. The appearances were as follow, therefore:—

- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Mary Magdalene, | in Jerusalem. | Easter Sunday. |
| 2. Peter, | id. | id. |
| 3. Disciples from Emmaus, | id. | id. |
| 4. Ten disciples, | id. | id. |
| 5. Eleven disciples, | id. | The following Sunday. |
| 6. Seven disciples, | Galilee. | No date assigned. |
| 7. Five hundred, | id. | id. |
| 8. James, | id. | id. |
| 9. Eleven, | Jerusalem. | Forty days after. |

4. The *ascension itself* is utterly repudiated by *Strauss*. With perfect sincerity he says, "We, who admit no resurrection (whose

faith is vain, therefore, and who are yet in their sins, 1 Cor. xv. 17), cannot believe in an ascension to heaven." Here, then, the inward ground of all scepticism is revealed by *Strauss*. Yet he makes it appear as though it was necessary and desirable to find arguments with which to cover over this unvarnished denial. These he seeks in the armoury of his own dogmatics, in the silence of Matthew and John, and the discrepancies in the different accounts of the ascension itself.

Let us look, first of all, at the doctrinal reasons. "A tangible body is not suited for a super-terrestrial abode." Earthly and corporeal are confounded here. Does *Strauss* suppose that all corporeality ceases with the limits of our atmosphere? Christ passed not into an ideal heaven, but into a *place* in the visible world, to a super-terrestrial but not super-corporeal place—a place which is described as the *throne of God*.—*Strauss* now comes forward with his second objection, that "God has no seat; and he who would come to God would but wander out of his way by soaring to the upper strata of the air." That God is a spirit, without body, space, or time, and invisible, was well known to the writers of both the Old and New Testaments. But they did not think of Him as a spirit having no centre, no *I*, and, like the living impulse in plants, carrying on unconsciously the world-development in which the bubbles of conscious subjects emerge and burst, but the morass out of which they rise is the abiding substance into which all returns,—in other words, as an unconscious being, who has his obscure existence in a complicated system of partly conscious, partly unconscious, finite, perishing phenomena. Their God is a Being, who throughout all time and space, with perfect freedom, eternally beholds and wills His own nature, and with that the world. In the necessary freedom of His thought and free necessity of His essence, God wills that this His essence should be manifested. By this He sees, and in this seeing creates the world, in which again *nature* exists for the sake of *finite subjects* (therefore of *history*), that in them the consciously moral essence of God may be revealed. It is *love* which gives rise to the highest antithesis, a foreign personality, not in order to bring it back again into identity, but to reconcile it through free, mutually conscious, mutually desired community of Being.—So the temporal and extended is not *the Vile*, not the *mere material* in which the spirit is to exercise itself,—the exercise being the only thing of value, which being gained, the material is to be again thrown away. The temporal, and extended, and visible is destined to be permanently in itself full of significance. The eternal essence of God has to appear in the world of time and space, and the latter has, in the course of its history, to be brought at last to this, that it shall be entirely

filled with the eternal essence.¹ And so far as nature, the corporeal side of the beings constituting the world, is concerned (in distinction from the subjects themselves, the souls), it is to attain the *acme* of its worth, *i.e.*, its perfect *beauty*, in the glorified human body. The incarnate Son of God has already exhibited, as the first fruit of His brethren, that filling of the creature with the eternal nature, which Adam ought to have attained, but failed to reach through his own transgression (free sin willed by a free personal being). Christ cannot therefore throw off His corporeality, and withdraw into the form of eternity; but the union of God and the creature in the Son of God, existing in the form of time and space, is permanent. Even in the Old Testament God revealed His will, that the world should become His kingdom; that His nature should be glorified in it. He *appeared* therefore to men, but only occasionally: He had not yet *become* Man. The medium of His self-manifestation was still only the abstract, dazzling light, the Shechinah. This was called the throne of God in the world, the point from which the government and glorification of the world proceeded.—Christ sat down upon the throne of God. There is a *place* in the visible world where He now lives in a glorified body, surrounded by the spirits of God, and whence His Church is ruled by Him.

Heaven does not bear the same relation to space as eternity to time, such, *viz.*, that it is “not outside the earth, nor over it, but encloses and pervades the earthly world, and sustains it as its vital foundation” (Schöberlein, *Grundlehren des Heils*).—Eternity, the form in which the triune God exists, qua ruler of the world, is as much the opposite of space as it is of time, and by no means of the latter alone, and, as opposed to space, does not in the least *require* the peculiar appellation “heaven.” Moreover, this term is not merely speculatively superfluous, but also exegetically incorrect. In the Scriptures, the word *οὐρανός* is never used to denote the removal of God, as the governor of the world, from the conditions of space, but is applied to a plurality of created spheres rising one above another, and at the same time distinct from the planetary sphere (Gen. i. 1). In Judg. v. 20, Neh. ix. 6, the word *שמים* denotes the sphere of the fixed stars shining in unchanging light; in Isa. lxvi. 1, Ps. ii. 4, ciii. 19, cxliii. 1, etc., the sphere of the angels who have continued holy, where the manifestation of God is not disturbed by sin (cf. Matt. vi. 10), and therefore where corporeality needs no transfiguration, but is transfigured already. (Schöberlein himself recognises this when he says,

¹ Hegelianism underlies the fatal contradiction, that in Hegel the whole development of the spirit shall have been completed, and nevertheless the world remain eternally. How wearisome the future must be then!

"God is everywhere; but where His ideas reach a pure and complete revelation, there is His throne, there heaven.") After the last judgment, this antithesis between earth and heaven will be removed, and the earth also become a place for the perfect manifestation of God (Rev. xxi. 1, 2-5, 10, 11, and 23). Till then, this distinction will continue as between two *local* spheres; and when Christ ascended to heaven, He did not pass from space into a sphere above it or opposed to it, but *de loco in locum*, as the first fruit of those who pass after death, not into Sheol, but into these "mansions" in heaven.

The silence of Matthew and John (which Strauss calls "an undeniable ignorance") is not of the slightest consequence. The former could the more naturally close, according to his plan, with the words, "I am with you always," since it could not have been unknown to any Christian at that time, that Christ was no longer with His people "in the flesh," but had ascended to heaven. For no one who heard Christ preached would fail to ask, "Does He live still? is He yet on earth? if not, where is He gone to?" And so John also could very well close with the words, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (for chap. xxi. is an appendix, even if John himself was the author), seeing that his readers already possessed a historical account of the ascension of Jesus. There was, therefore, no need to relate the ascension, as it, if anything, must have been known by oral tradition. Luke, in the continuation of his history as the history of the Apostles, had a special reason to notice this intervening link. Mark intended to close his Gospel with the fact that the Apostles went into all the world. He had also a double reason, therefore, for briefly mentioning the ascension to heaven.—The discrepancies alluded to have all the less importance, from the circumstance that they occur in the works of the same author. In the Gospel, Luke places the ascension at Bethany; in the Acts, at the Mount of Olives. We have already seen that Bethany must have stood at some distance from the eastern foot of the Mount of Olives. The latter, therefore, was between Bethany and Jerusalem. Now, if the ascension took place in Bethany itself, or close to it, the disciples, when they returned, must have come back from the Mount of Olives. All that Luke says is, that "they returned to Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet." And Bethany itself really belonged to the Mount of Olives and its environs.

Assuming, then, but this one point, *the possibility of the supernatural*, the Gospel history, as related to us by four different authors, is full of unity and harmony. For our part, we know that sin is an apostasy of the free, finite will, from that which is prescribed by law,

and that this apostasy necessarily interrupted the harmony of objective nature (the culminating point of which, viz., man, had become abnormal). Nature, as known to us, is *depraved*; and miracles consist in this, that God from eternity willed that at such and such predetermined times and places, the *original* order should be momentarily restored. The incarnation of Christ is the absolute miracle, and the centre of all the rest. It is *the* fact, which cannot be explained from the causal connection and historical development of depraved humanity. All other miracles are subordinate in relation to Christ and His work.

Assuming this, then, it is not true that the Gospel history is full of contradictions. It is not true that, "even assuming the possibility of miracles, the Gospel history teems with discrepancies, anachronisms, and absurdities." It is not true that, "even if we could believe all miracles, the mass of purely historical difficulties would be sufficient to shake our faith in the historical credibility of the Gospels." A fund of the most malicious frivolities has been employed in the attempt to establish these falsehoods. Now, if the men who make such statements were really in earnest, the question might be investigated in a calm and worthy manner; there could be no need of sneers and witticisms in connection with innumerable circumstances in the life and sufferings of Christ. It affords no pleasure to us to pronounce anathemas; for we can think of many an honourable and conscientious man, to whom this and that may appear to be mythical, and the whole question of miracles obscure and doubtful, but whom, for all that, we must regard as believers, because in their hearts they love the Lord Jesus. But it is one thing to respect honest doubt; another thing, indolently to keep silence when it is a moral scandal with which we have to do: one thing to make ourselves judges of other men's consciences and salvation; another, to call open wickedness by the name which it deserves. *Great men are never frivolous.* However firm their conviction that others are in error, they have always touched error with a careful hand, so far as sacred questions are concerned. Luther did not reform the Church by spitting upon crosses, and treading the host under his feet; and if truth deals so carefully with positive error, that cannot be truth which heaps such insults upon what it only conjectures to be erroneous. The very mode of acting betrays the wrong within; and all talk about "science" is but a wretched cloak, through the holes in which the shame of the nakedness appears. We have seen how much this science is worth. If ignorance, frivolity, and distortion are science, the negative criticism is very scientific. Thus far the historical character of the Gospel remains unshaken, and we may rest contented that it will still continue so in time to come.

PART II.

CRITICISM OF THE GOSPEL WRITINGS, AND GOSPEL HISTORY.

DIVISION I.


CRITICISM OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE NEGATIVE HYPOTHESES.

§ 103.

THE MYTHICAL HYPOTHESIS OF STRAUSS.

T was not historical discrepancies, but dogmatic doubts as to the possibility of the divinity of Christ, of His miracles and His resurrection, which first led the negative critics to dispute the historical character of the four Gospels. With what right they do so, we have seen in the First Part. Another question is now to engage us. The four Gospels are in existence. "Genuine and historical they are not, and of what is written in them only the smallest part is true."—How happened it that four so highly singular books, full of incidents which never occurred, were composed and attributed to authors long since dead,—books, too, which breathe throughout such lofty morality, and often rise to the height of classic poetry?

The critics have pulled down; they must now build up. As the four Gospels can hardly have been brought down ready-made from heaven, like the Koran by the angel Gabriel, we simply ask for the solution of the problem: *How is the origin of these books to be ex-*

plained if they are not genuine? And as the question concerns not the authenticity of the authorship merely, but first of all how the singular contents, the history related in the books, came into men's minds, since the things related never happened, the negative critics are obliged to construct a whole history: what Jesus did, who He was, how He met His death, and how they came at last to write four biographies of Him stuffed with so much unhistorical matter.

Various solutions of this problem have been attempted. We shall notice first the hypothesis of Strauss.

1. He starts with the assumption, that in the time of Augustus and Tiberius there existed a Messianic hope among the people of Israel. He neither proves this assumption (as we shall do afterwards), nor has he told us distinctly what conception the Jews had of the expected Messiah. From occasional expressions, however, it appears that, according to Strauss, the Jews thought of the Messiah as a political deliverer; that they gave Him the name previously given to the whole Jewish people, "First-born of God;" that they expected He would do miracles even greater than those of the heroes of the Old Testament, but that they did not expect Him to suffer death.

2. *What actually happened.*—It happened that in the time of Tiberius there lived a certain Jew, who was born in Nazareth. At that time appeared a Nazarean ascetic preacher of repentance, John by name, who not only exhorted the people to repentance, but bound them to it by a symbolic act of purification. That Jew named Jesus was one of his disciples, underwent repentance, was baptized; but when, in the course of years, John was cast into prison, he carried on the work of the latter, and attached the greater part of his disciples to his own person. Besides separating externally from John, he formed a plan which was internally different from that of the Baptist. He conceived the idea of effecting a moral revolution by means of his teaching, and hoped, according to the opinions of his age, that God would then suddenly interpose, deliver the nation from political bondage, and re-establish the kingdom of David. This doctrine accorded with the popular Messianic creed, and the opinion was frequently expressed in his hearing, that he was the Messiah. At first he shrunk back from the thought, but gradually adopted it himself. In the meantime the hatred of the priestly party became so strong, that he could easily foresee that they would give him up to the Romans to be put to death. It is possible also that the thought of the fate of the earlier prophets confirmed him in this idea;—possible also that he thought he found in several Old Testament passages an allusion to the necessity of the Messiah suffering. At any rate, the fact is, this

expectation was eventually fulfilled, and at a feast of the Passover he died upon the cross.

3. *But how could the history contained in the Gospels grow out of such simple materials?*—When Jesus was dead, and the first feelings of alarm had subsided, there arose in the minds of his disciples a psychological impulse to reconcile the fate of Jesus with their former views, and to incorporate the elements of suffering and death in their idea of the Messiah. They turned to the Old Testament, and finding a number of passages in which men of God are described as suffering and put to death, they interpreted these, by a false exegesis, as predictions of the Messiah's sufferings. Jesus was not lost; he was in glory. But if so, he would surely make known the fact to his disciples. How conceivable, that with this thought in their mind, some, especially women, should, by a purely subjective process, have an actual vision; and that in others, something objective, visible, or audible—occasionally, perhaps, the appearance of an unknown person—should lead to the same result! Thus arose the idea of his resurrection. The impulse so given soon led to something farther. When the Christians began to preach that Jesus was the Messiah, they were met with the objection, that the true Messiah would work miracles. They ought to have admitted the force of the objection; but they were now unwilling to let their Messiah go, and the feeling that the true Messiah would necessarily work miracles only convinced them that Jeshuah must certainly have done so, though they had never seen them. And the thought had a certain external basis. There were well-known sayings of Jeshuah, such as these: that he would make his disciples fishers of men; that a barren tree should be cut down. This suggested the idea that he had produced a miraculous draught of fishes, and had actually caused a barren fig-tree to wither away. Another occasion was furnished by incidents in the Old Testament, to which parallels were gradually invented; *e.g.*, the leprosy of Moses' hand; the healing of Naaman; the raising of the dead by Elijah and Elisha; the manna; the dividing of the water, etc. Thus in different places different myths arose, all expressive of the idea of the supremacy of the spirit over nature. But the infancy of Jesus presented the most favourable occasion for the formation of myths. The Messiah, who was more and more regarded as the Son of God in a metaphysical sense, could not have entered the world like an ordinary man. The attempt was therefore made, on the one hand by genealogies which were constructed in different places, and therefore necessarily disagreed, to prove that he was actually the descendant of David; and on the other, to adapt the O. T. prophecies of the importance of Bethlehem in

connection with the birth of the Messiah to the actual circumstances, sometimes by making his parents reside there from the very first, at other times by attributing their visit there to a historical event. Again, there also grew up different myths of a supernatural conception, in which angels, and messengers from the heathen, were introduced, to add to his glory, etc., etc.

4. The *origin of the Gospels* is explained in this way: After a considerable amount of materials had been accumulated, the want was gradually felt that they should be preserved in a written form. The same want arose in different places; and it was natural that the writings should differ from one another. We possess four works of this kind. The three first are closely related in matter and method. In the fourth there is a predominance of doctrinal reflection, and a careful development of the mythical elements.

Deferring the question respecting the Messianic hope to the second chapter, three questions arise here: first, *as to the internal possibility of the historical residuum* of the life of Jesus, as assumed by Strauss, secondly, *as to the possibility of such a formation of myths*; and lastly, *as to the agreement between his hypothesis and what we actually know*, and what Strauss himself admits, with regard to the *composition of the Gospels*.

1. *First*, in connection with the residuum of *the life of Jesus*, as Strauss leaves us, we are met at the very outset by two gigantic difficulties. One is to be found in the *disciples and followers of Jesus*. The expectation of a *miracle-working* Messiah was universal; it was so strong, that the disciples themselves were firmly convinced, that if Jesus really was the Messiah, he *must* have wrought miracles; it was so ineradicable, that Christians everywhere regarded this idea of the Messiah as more real than what they had themselves witnessed, or had heard from eye-witnesses. It grew into a firm persuasion of what never happened; and yet, while Jesus was alive, there was not the slightest trace of any such Messianic idea! If Jeshuah neither satisfied the political wishes of the people, nor the expectation of miracles, how was it that this objection was neither raised by the disciples, who still clung to the idea of a miracle-working Messiah, nor by the people of Galilee; but that of their own accord they originated the thought that he was the Messiah, and tried to force it upon him? But they often asked for a miracle (Strauss makes much of this); and therefore, if Jesus did not comply, either he must have pretended that he *could* work miracles but would not, or he must have told them that he *could not*, and that this formed no part of the idea of a Messiah. But

the former would have been entirely at variance with his character as described in the Gospels, and not even consistent with his desire to effect a "moral regeneration;" and the latter would have aroused the greatest opposition from a miracle-seeking generation. And what power must that have been, which led the people rather to give up their idea of the Messiah altogether than to deny the Messiahship of Jesus? Could mere moral teaching, by which they felt themselves condemned, exercise such an influence on the people?—Or if we assume, on the other hand, that Jesus taught, if not the whole people, yet those who still held him to be the Messiah, and most of all his disciples, to give up the opinion that the Messiah must work miracles, how are we to explain the fact, that after his death the very same people suddenly returned to their old opinion, though the life of Jesus had not accorded with it, and though it contradicted all their experience? We have sufficient ground, at any rate, to pronounce it impossible that such myths could have arisen among the *contemporaries* of Jesus.—The other difficulty has respect to the *person of Jesus himself*. The Jeshuah of *Strauss* must certainly have shared the Messianic ideas of his age. How, then, could he regard himself as the Messiah? He did not, says *Strauss*, till others forced the thought upon him. But these "others," who were constantly desiring him to work miracles, could not have originated the idea that he was the Messiah, if he had not first taught them to give up the notion that the working of miracles was essential to the Messiah. But the two things are equally inconceivable. A man, such as Jeshuah is said to have been, who shared the opinions of his age in their most contracted form, could never, without the greatest presumption, have come to regard himself as the Messiah; and it is equally impossible that any reasonable man, who at first shrunk back from a thought because it appeared to him presumptuous and insane, should eventually have believed it, merely because other people were constantly repeating it in his hearing.—Moreover, the idea itself is altogether irreconcilable with the further history of Christianity and the Church. *Ullmann* has already shown that the fact of a Christian Church being formed at all, notwithstanding the shock which the idea of a *crucified Messiah* must necessarily have given to the mind of every Israelite of that day, can only be explained on the assumption of the divinity of Christ, and the historical reality of His resurrection. And it surpasses the highest flights of imagination, to believe that the complete revolution which Christianity effected in the world arose simply from the circumstance, that a Galilean Jew, who wished to produce a moral change in his nation, fancied that he was the Messiah, and that his disciples had visions, "saw an

unknown person," and constructed the metaphysical idea that Jeshuah was the Son of God.

2. Let us now inquire into the possibility of such a *formation of myths*. *Strauss* declares that, so long as there is no historical consciousness in a nation, it is possible for myths to be formed. But by historical consciousness, he means simply one which does not believe in miracles, either real or pretended. Without stopping to discuss this point, we deny altogether the conclusion drawn, that in a nation which in *this sense alone* was destitute of historical consciousness, which had passed through centuries of inward culture and outward agitation, and had been brought into the closest intercourse with the two most enlightened nations of antiquity,—a nation, too, in which the keenest controversy had sprung up between a negative rationalism on the one hand, and supranaturalism on the other,—myths could possibly have been formed as if in a twilight dream. The only things resembling myths that we find among such nations are *intentional inventions*, as in some of the apocryphal gospels, and in the case of Mohammed; and isolated *anecdotes*, associated with the name of some great man. But in cases of this kind the substratum is never some general idea which was current in the nation at large, but certain historical incidents peculiarly connected with his character and life. Here, however, we are told that an idea, which was already current in the nation, was, with unconscious tact and in perfect simplicity and with primitive originality, gradually associated with a certain individual, and formed the ground-work of the myths contained in the Gospels. Such a process could only be possible in the *earliest childhood* of a nation, when the people first awake to self-consciousness and to the conception of their unity as a nation. And, in fact, when the possibility of these myths arising is to be shown, they suddenly degenerate into "anecdotes" and "saga," which we are courteously asked "not to imagine as springing up in those parts of Palestine where Jesus spent the greatest portion of his life." This takes from us the best part of Israel (Galilee and Judæa); and we cannot think of heathen Christians, as these had no preconceived idea of the Messiah which they could transfer to Jesus; Samaritan expectations of the Messiah would not be formed upon the miracles of Elisha; so that all that remains is the transjordanic territory and the Diaspora.

To be sure, even this is an extensive district. And to make the matter more simple, we are told that, "so far as the eye-witnesses are concerned, if the Apostles are intended, they must have been positively ubiquitous, to be present in every place when unhistorical legends sprang up and flourished; whilst eye-witnesses in the sense of persons

who had not been constantly with Jesus, would be very glad to fill up the gaps in their information with mythical representations." But where can these people have lived? Certainly not in the *Diaspora*. In Peræa, perhaps? The only point that Jesus touched was Gadara and Decapolis. It must have been in Galilee; and it is hard to believe that the people there, who had seen the good Rabbi now and then, would willingly believe such things as the miraculous feeding by the lake, if no one living by the lake had ever seen anything of the kind himself, or even heard his grandfather talk of it. We must come down to a much *later period*, therefore, before it can be imagined possible for such myths to arise. But what is to be said of the other class of eye-witnesses who were constantly with Jesus, viz., primarily, but not solely, the *Apostles*? We are told that they must have been actually ubiquitous, to put down the myths wherever they arose. This presupposes the existence of a wide-spread Christian community, which had grown up independently of the influence of the Apostles themselves. Otherwise I cannot see how these numerous and multiform myths can have sprung up, been modified, assimilated, and fixed, without ever coming within the range of the Apostles' influence, and without meeting with their opposition. And even granting that there were such isolated bodies of Christians, they must sometimes have met with other Christians; when the difference would come out in all its intensity between a church which simply believed in the Rabbi Jeshuah and one which believed in the miracle-working Jesus; and the Apostles would surely strain every nerve to put down the mythical nonsense, which would appear to them to be nothing but a tissue of lies. And would not this have produced a division in the Church at the very outset, of which history furnishes no record whatever?—The intimate connection and unity of the churches in the first century is completely ignored. If the Apostles were not ubiquitous, they did not sleep. And even if there had been communities removed from their influence, there must certainly have been others within its range, where their doctrine was propagated undistorted by myths; and, sooner or later, these two circles must come into collision, and the conflict already depicted ensue. But as there is no historical trace of such a conflict, nothing remains but to turn to later times. The formation of myths could not have taken place till all the Apostles, and other eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus, and all the leading coadjutors of the Apostles, were dead. And not even then! For by that time the unadulterated doctrine must have taken such root, that, if any community had brought out its mythical accounts, it would have met with opposition from all the other churches, who would have overthrown

the new folly with their apostolical tradition. *Whilst, therefore*, the *formation* of myths is inconceivable during the lifetime of the Apostles, the *adoption* of myths is equally inconceivable afterwards. Had it been a number of indifferent tales which were told of Jeshuah, we could understand their never attracting the notice of the Apostles and the apostolic churches. But that a man, who never gave the faintest sign of a miracle, should be said to have wrought scores of the most remarkable miracles that can be conceived, is utterly incredible. It is inconceivable that any one should imagine them; and inconceivable that others should accept them without opposition.—But only two classes of eye-witnesses have been mentioned: the Apostles, and the people who saw Jesus but once or twice, and were predisposed to believe all that they heard about Him. There was a third class, viz., the multitudes who must have seen Him a hundred times, and who, because they were *hostile to Him*, would be by no means disposed to tolerate false reports of His glorious deeds if they had seen no miracles themselves.

How real myths originate has been excellently explained by Vilmar (*Geschichte des deutschen National Literatur*¹) in the case of the old German Saga of the eighth century:—"The poetry of the people presupposes a given material which has not been invented or imagined, but *experienced* by the *whole people*, and has interwoven itself with the deepest roots of their life. This material relates to the oldest relations: to the *origin* of the nation as the real and almost sole element that is *common* to the whole nation. Why had the heroes of Troy an epic, and not Marathon and Salamis and Thermopylæ? Why had not Charlemagne an epic? why only the 300 years older Theodoric?"—Where the consciousness of the people relates itself also to the *powers of nature*, which are conceived of as persons after polytheistic fashion, there "the Myth" originates. Compare now with those times of natural, self-forming sagas and myths, the time in which the Apostle Paul wrote his letters, and judge whether there is room for speaking of innocent, spontaneous myths. We must speak of *invented tales* and *deceptive anecdotes*.

But we are reminded that "the apostolic Epistles make no allusion to miracles." No more than at the present day a pastor would refer, in his practical discourses, to any particular miracle. It is difficult to imagine any reason why the Apostles should have mentioned the miracles of Jesus in their letters to the churches. They merely referred to points which were either questioned or misunderstood; for example, the Lord's Supper and the resurrection. The fact of their

¹ *History of German National Literature.*

not alluding to particular miracles, therefore, is rather a proof that they were not called in question, and that the Apostles did not resort to them to make a display before the Jews.

Strauss has still to inform us how the *Gentile Christians*, of whom so many were added to the Church through Paul, were induced to accept all these myths, which cannot have sprung up till after the death of the Apostles, and then only among the Jewish Christians (since they grew out of an existing idea of a Messiah), if they had never heard anything of the kind from the Apostle Paul.

3. The *origin of the Gospel writings* is also diametrically opposed to the mythical hypothesis. Of Mark and Luke we must not speak till after we have settled the question of their age. Of the Gospel of John, which a recent hypothesis declares to be a production of the second century, we merely remark, in passing, that the gnostic *Heraclion* (c. 150) wrote a commentary upon it for the purpose of pointing out its harmony with the Valentinian system,—a proof that the Gnostics of that day were unable to deny its canonicity, and were therefore obliged to bend all their energies to make it square with their system. But it must have taken at least forty years for a Gospel to meet with such general acceptance; so that the *secondary* formation of myths, which is said to be apparent in the Gospel of John, must have taken place before the year 110; and the *primary*, which is contained in the Synoptists, before the end of the first century, when, as we have shown, such a thing was impossible.

Still more glaring is the contradiction with Matthew. According to Strauss's explanation of Matt. xxiv., the author had the impression that the destruction of Jerusalem and the parousia of Christ would be contemporaneous. After 70 A.D. such a view was impossible. No doubt we have shown that interpretation to be false. Matthew had a perfectly correct view of the relation of these two events. But in what form does he indicate the relation? So that the separation of the *three questions* first makes clear the separation of the answers. Christ's answer is correctly reported; but it remains certain that an author, writing after 70 A.D., would not have indicated the separation of the destruction of Jerusalem and the parousia merely by the succession of ideas, Matt. xxiv. 24–28, but would have expressed it more plainly.—But if Matthew was written as soon as 37 years after Christ, where is there any time for formation of myths?

In conclusion, we must remark that Strauss's hypothesis is self-contradictory in two respects. (a) Strauss does not deduce the hope of a Messiah from the Old Testament—it does not exist there—but from the Gospels themselves.—But why regard the Gospels as trust-

worthy on this point, if they are otherwise so unworthy of credit? Would it not be more consequent, with Br. Bauer, to maintain that the accounts of the Gospels even on this point are inventions, and that no such hope existed? (b) According to Strauss, the myths arose unconsciously, spontaneously. But what a monstrous amount of reflection does the origin of each individual myth presuppose, taking Strauss's own explanation of the process, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Jesus in the temple when He was 12 years old, or in the case of the herd of swine! To be consistent with himself, Strauss ought to maintain that the Gospels are deliberate inventions.

§ 104.

THE HYPOTHESES OF WEISSE AND GFRÖRER.

Weisse's hypothesis is as follows:

What happened.—In the days of Tiberius there lived in Palestine a good man, possessing, among other things, a magnetic healing power. He travelled about, collected followers, and frequently effected cures by this magnetic power. The Galileans thought he was the Messiah, and would gladly have made him king. He felt his Messianic vocation, but had no political ambition. He only sought to produce a moral change in the people, and to this end he related many parables. He was put to death eventually, and his material body remained in the grave, but his magnetic nerve-spirit appeared to his disciples and then rose to heaven.

How the historical material in the Gospels was formed.—After the death of Jesus, his disciples employed themselves simply in promulgating his doctrine, which they summarized in the apostolic *regula fidei* (from which arose afterwards the *symbolum apostolicum*). Who Jesus was, what he did, how he lived, the nature of his personality: on these points the Apostles said nothing to the newly formed churches, but trusted to the general knowledge of the age. Nevertheless, individual incidents of Christ's life were formed and multiplied (as it were behind the back of the Apostles!), and that in two ways. On the one hand, many real incidents gave occasion to the formation of myths. Because, *e.g.*, he was called David's son in the general sense of Messiah, he was believed to be a real descendant of David; and thus arose the myth relative to his birth in Bethlehem. On the other hand, it so happened, one knows not how, that the good people of the first Christian age took many of Christ's parables for histories; *e.g.*, the parable of the Canaanitish woman, the withered fig-tree, the change of water into wine, etc.

How the Gospels arose.—According to the testimony of Papias, the Apostle Matthew wrote (in Aramæan) a collection of the words of Jesus. According to the same Papias, Mark, a disciple of Peter, wrote down what he had heard Peter relate concerning the life of Jesus: hence our *Mark*. Subsequently, Matthew's collection of discourses was amalgamated with Mark, the former being translated into Greek, and the latter abbreviated in its descriptions of single incidents; and thus arose our *Matthew*. Independently of our Matthew, Luke, the companion of Paul, wrote a Gospel with the aid of *Mark* and of the Aramæan Matthew, but with the use of other sources also: hence our *Luke*. Thus arose the synoptical Gospels, and so has much of the mythical element slipped into them, particularly in *Matthew* and *Luke*.

The origin of John is thus accounted for. For the purpose merely of helping his own fading memory, and not at all with a view of supplementing the Synoptists, John wrote down sketches for his own use, without any intention of publishing them; which, indeed, being unconnected, and speaking half in the person of Jesus and half in his own person, were not fit for publishing. After his death, the Ephesian presbyters found the papers in his room, and thinking them to be a collection of the veritable words of Christ, published them, with such accounts of miracles as were in circulation among them, stating at the close that the truth of the whole was attested by John! Criticism of this theory may be dispensed with.

Gfrörer's hypothesis may be regarded as an amplification of that of Strauss, although the outlines of it, Gfrörer assures us, were sketched before the publication of the *Life of Jesus*. The main point of difference is, that he does not assume the Messianic hope like Strauss, but endeavours to prove it, partly by trying to show that Philo's theosophy was very early transplanted into Palestine by means of the Therapeutæ and Essenes, partly by seeking to establish the high antiquity of the rabbinical writings. From these writings (the Targums) the special features of the Gospel history are supposed to have sprung. To give just one example: The Targum Jonathan, in Zacharias xiv. 21, translates מַכְרֵי merchant; and, according to our author, hence arose the legend of Christ driving the traders out of the temple!

According to Gfrörer, the *synoptical* Gospels are secondary, and contain mythical features. On the other hand, *John* is genuine; and the miracles in John are explained away in a rationalistic manner. This hypothesis neither needs nor deserves refutation. We shall simply give our readers here a *selection* of critical results. 1. All the Gospels mythical and spurious—Strauss. 2. The synoptical Christ true, John's a phantasm—Weisse. 3. John's Christ true, the synoptical a

popular corruption—Gfrörer. 4. In John's Gospel the discourses of apostolical origin although unhistorical, the events inventions—Weisse. 5. In John, discourses and events, so far as they relate to Jerusalem, genuine and historical; so far as they relate to Galilee, interpolated—Schweizer. The reader may take his choice!

§ 105.

BRUNO BAUER.

Bruno Bauer's hypothesis may be summed up in this:—*a.* What happened.—Eighteen centuries ago it came to pass that—*nothing came to pass, or something happened, but we cannot tell what.* This is substantially all that is left. For he will not admit the historical character of the baptism of Jesus, of His miracles, or of a single one of His discourses. *b.* How the Gospel history arose.—There arose, he tells us, a community in the bosom of Judaism; and this community had a religious consciousness, which first divided itself in a remarkable manner, and then returned to a higher unity. They thought, namely, of embracing in a higher unity the antiquated Judaism and decaying Heathenism. There also sprang up the idea of a supreme unity of the one God and humanity. This idea, still in the form of a simple conception, was that of the Messiah, man anointed with divinity. This idea was powerful enough to throw its reflection back into the writings of the Old Testament (in which, however, it really has no place); and also expressed itself in a psychological process, by transferring all the component elements of the religious idea to that Jesus, of whom we don't know even who he was. At first, some one—in the book which goes by the name of *Mark*—wrote a simple, aimless account of what is now marvellously supposed to be a real history of the life of Jesus. *Mark* was taken in hand by some one in whom there had waked up, not so much a conscious reflection, as a more concrete mass of ideas. He altered *Mark* without supposing that he was writing anything unhistorical, in the pleasant delusion that what floated before his mind as a dreamy ideal had actually occurred. This was the origin of *Luke*. At length came a third, who sought to harmonize the two where they seemed to disagree; and although reflection predominated in him to a great extent, he did not perceive, any more than his predecessors, that what he had just invented was not history, but a purely subjective conception. This was the origin of *Matthew*.

Hitherto the critics have been very unsuccessful in explaining the origin of the *Gospel writings*, on the supposition that the *Gospel history* is unreal. It is impossible to find out a way in which the historical

materials contained in the Gospels can have been produced. Against the assumption that these materials arose spontaneously out of a prevailing Messianic idea, is the circumstance, that the Messianic idea which created a miracle-working Jesus, must have presented the greatest obstacle to the recognition of a Jesus who performed no miracles. Every hypothesis which supposes that Jesus wrought no miracles, and yet that, notwithstanding this, either by tradition or in writing, the report that he did work miracles spread universally throughout the Church, founders on the moral character of the first Christian communities, which precludes the thought of fraud. And yet, without fraud, it is impossible that so many thousands can have been deceived. If not, we should be compelled to assume that the men of those days were utterly destitute of a sound common sense; a supposition which would certainly indicate the want of it now.

CHAPTER II.

RELIABLE HISTORICAL DATA CONCERNING THE GOSPEL HISTORY.

A.—*Data concerning the Expectation of a Messiah.*

§ 106.

THE EXPECTATION OF A MESSIAH IN THE TIME BEFORE AND AFTER CHRIST.

It has been asserted by *Bruno Bauer* that there is no trace of the idea of a Messiah either in the LXX., in the Apocrypha, in the time after Daniel, in Philo, among the Pharisees and Sadducees, or in the Old Testament. He admits, indeed, that the idea is found elaborately worked out in the Book of Enoch, in Onkelos, and in Jonathan ben Uziel; but he assigns all these to a very late period, viz., the fourth century after Christ. In reply to the question, how the Jews arrived at the idea afterwards, if they had no such idea in the time of Jesus? he affirms that Jesus was the first to evolve the idea from his own mind; that the Christian Church worked it out in figures, and believed that the same figures were to be found in the Old Testament also; and that the idea as elaborated by the Christians was then for the first time accepted by the Jews.—In our examination of this question, we shall take our own *positive* course, and bring out the evidence of a hope of a Messiah before Christ (in the time of the Maccabees), after

Christ (in the Targums), and in the time of Christ (in the New Testament). To trace the *genesis* of this hope in the Old Testament would require a book of itself, and would not be in place here, any more than the question, whether the New Testament writers were correct in appealing as they do to the prophetic passages of the Old Testament.

In 1 Macc. xiv. 41, we find that the Jews resolved that Simon should be their prince and high priest, till God sent them a *trustworthy prophet* (πιστὸς προφήτης). And it is obvious that what they meant was a prophet who should anoint a *divinely authorized ruler*. The promised re-establishment of the theocratic kingdom was looked for as close at hand. And this was the *kingdom of the Messiah*.—The fact that the passage in question mentions only a prophet, and not the Messiah (the King), is no proof that the hope of a Messiah did not exist. According to Isa. xl. and Mal. iv., a prophet was to precede the final deliverance. The Israelites, therefore, might have looked for him as the *forerunner of the King*. They might, and they *did*. What was the πιστὸς προφήτης to do? To point out another ruler in the place of Simon. Is it conceivable for a moment that the Maccabees, who clung so tenaciously to their prophets, should have expected this πιστὸς προφήτης without any regard to Isaiah and Malachi, *i.e.*, in any other capacity than as the forerunner of the final, complete salvation?—*Bleek* has very properly called attention to a passage in the *Orac. Sib.* iii. 590 sqq., dating as far back as the time of Antiochus Epiph., to the effect that, after the devastating wars of the Romans, “God will send a king from the sun, who will deliver the whole earth from war, slaying some according to God’s command, and entering into a firm covenant with others.” The heathen will unite to oppose him, and lay siege to Zion; but they will be overthrown by a terrible judgment, and the children of God will dwell in His temple.

We might now pass at once to the New Testament writings, and show that the hope of a Messiah, as it is brought out casually here and there, corresponds exactly to such of the elements of that idea as we find in the Old Testament. But we shall take a leap from the time of the Maccabees to that of the Targums, to see whether it is possible that the Messianic idea, as there developed, can have originated with the Christians, and passed over to the Jews in its elaborated form.

1. The oldest of the *Targums* are undoubtedly *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*. Onkelos is distinguished by a style resembling that of Ezra and Daniel, and by entire freedom from the fables and additions which abound in the rest of the Targums. The most important pas-

sages in which a fixed Messianic idea is found, are Num. xxiv. 17, "*quando surget rex ex Israel et ungetur MESSIAS ex Israel*," and Gen. xlix. 10, עַד רִיחִי מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא דְרִילִיָּהּ הִיא מַלְכוּתָא.—In *Jonathan ben Uziel* the expectation of a Messiah is worked out more fully, but in a more distorted form. The Messiah appears as a temporal king, fighting and conquering. Many passages of the O. T., even those in which the Redeemer is described as the suffering servant of God, are referred directly to the Messiah; but the greatest trouble is taken to evade every intimation of suffering—to ascribe to the Messiah the predicates of glory alone, and those of suffering to the Israelites or the heathen. It is evident from this, that at the time when the attempt was made to show the impossibility of Isa. xi. containing any reference to *Jesus*, its allusion to the *Messiah* must have been unquestioned. Otherwise it would have been simple enough to say, "This suffering servant of God is not the Messiah." But when the Jews took all possible trouble to eliminate from Isa. liii. every allusion to the servant of God as suffering, and never thought of denying that the passage was *Messianic*, no proof could well be greater, that at the time when the controversy commenced between Jews and Christians, Isa. xl. sqq. was regarded by the former as *Messianic*.

2. That the idea of a Messiah is prevalent throughout the *later Targums* is undoubted. In the *Targ. Hieros.*, Gen. xlix. 10 is paraphrased in the same way as in *Onkelos*. Ver. 11 is rendered here and in *Pseudo-Jonathan*, "*quam pulcher est rex Messiae, qui surrecturus est e domo Judæ*." One Targum paraphrases Exod. xl. 11, "*et sanctificabis ipsam propter Josuam servum tuum, doctorem synedrii populi tui, cujus manu dividenda est terra Israelis, et Messiam filium Ephraim*,"¹ etc.: another on Deut. xxx. 4, "*si fuerint dispersiones vestrae in fines coelorum, inde congregabit vos Verbum Jehovah per manus Eliæ sacerdotis magni et inde adducet vos per manum regis Messiae*;" Gen. xlix. 11, "*quo venturus erat rex Messias*;" Exod. xl. 9, "*domus Juda et regis Messiae*."

3. The age of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan ben Uziel* is an important question here. The accounts of the Talmud are uncertain, and approach the fabulous. In the *Bab. Gemara*, *Onkelos* is mentioned four times: (1) as a contemporary of Gamaliel; (2) as son of Calonymus, in the time of Hadrian; (3) as a proselyte; (4) as proselyte and

¹ Directed against Christians. Compare a Targum on Cant. iv. 5: *Duo salvatores tui, salvaturi te, Messias filius David et Messias filius Ephraim, similes sunt Mosi et Aaroni*. Every possible means was resorted to in order to escape the necessity of recognising *Jesus* as the Messiah. But the idea of a Messiah was still firmly maintained.

Targumist of the Pentateuch. The three last we regard as fabulous. Whether the first is based upon a true foundation, we shall not attempt to decide. We shall content ourselves with remarking, that while the accounts in the Talmud contain no *certain* proof of an earlier age, they are equally destitute of any reliable proof of a later. Internal grounds must therefore decide. The style, which is almost exactly the same as that of Daniel, the accuracy of the translation, the absence of fables, the impartiality with which passages are interpreted as Messianic without any allusion to Christians, are certainly indications that the Targum was composed *before* or *during* the time of Christ. This is confirmed by the great estimation in which the Targum was held. It was not regarded as merely a commentary like the rest, but as a translation and a sacred book,—a Masora being prepared for it as well as for the Old Testament.¹ *Gfrörer* has also pointed out passages which certainly prove that Onkelos wrote *before the destruction of Jerusalem*. He finds in Gen. xlix. 27 a prediction of the continuance of the temple worship; and the same in Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19 (while the Targ. Jerus., which follows Onk. literally, omits these words). With tolerable certainty, therefore, we may attribute to the work a remote antiquity.—So again with *Jonathan ben Uziel*. One account makes him pupil of Hillel, in the time of Christ; others place him in the time of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. On the principle, that a highly venerated man would be more likely to be placed too early than too late, we regard the former as the only one worthy of credit.

Of the age of Jonathan we have positive evidence. On 1 Sam. ii. he places a prophecy in the mouth of Hannah, which relates to all the important catastrophes that befell Judæa from Sennacherib to the Seleucidæ, and closes with a promise of prosperity to Jerusalem. A person writing after the destruction of Jerusalem would never have spoken in this fashion. On Jer. ii. 3, and Ezek. xxxvi. 38, he employs two similes to depict the glory of Israel which is predicted there. He compares those who injure Israel to such as withhold the first

¹ The origin of the Targums is without doubt to be explained in the following way:—As the Jews grew less and less able to understand Hebrew, it became necessary at the readings in the synagogues to interpret the Hebrew which was read. At first this would be done orally; but gradually a stereotyped mode of interpretation was formed, which took a fixed shape in writing, or at least the *best* interpretations of the most *celebrated* Rabbis were noted down as helps for common readers. Thus is explained, *a.* how it comes that different Targums partly agree verbally, and partly diverge; *b.* how it comes that at first only the interpretation, but afterwards the explanations and elucidations also, were noted; so that the two old Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uziel have more the appearance of translations, the later ones that of commentaries (in the form of periphrases).

fruits from the temple; and Israel itself to a company festively adorned, going up to the feast of the Passover. No one would have used such similes after 70 A.D. So also the only fault attributed to the Romans is, that they enforce the tribute. It can hardly be denied, therefore, that Jonathan wrote either before or during the age of Christ; so that in Onkelos and Jonathan we have two important documents proving that in the time of Jesus there was a distinct expectation of a personal Messiah, a Davidic King, and a political Saviour.

4. But, apart from these, let us look at the idea of a Messiah as we find it expressed in the *later* Targums, and ask, *whether it presupposes that the Jewish nation must have had the hope of a Messiah before the separation of the Christians from the Jews; or whether the hypothesis is tenable, that the idea of a Messiah was first derived by them from the Christians?*

a. As a mere prelude, we point at once to one simple circumstance. We find, indeed, that in Ps. cx. the *perfect King* appears in heavenly light upon the throne of God; the first trace of a presentiment that the Redeemer must be more than a mere man. In Isa. vii.-xi. and Micah iv. v., the promised second David is identified in a remarkable way with Jehovah; and in *Malachi* also, the coming of the Angel of the Covenant with that of Jehovah Himself. Still there were no *data* sufficient to produce a *clear* perception of the *divinity* of the Messiah. But in the Christian Church we find from the very first the most definite view of the (metaphysical) divinity of Christ (cf. Rom. i. 4, viii. 32, xv. 6; 1 Cor. i. 9, x. 4; Phil. ii. 6, etc., etc.),—a view which must have come down from the clouds, if it is not to be found in such occurrences and discourses as Matt. xvi. 16, John viii. 53 and 58.—It was altogether different with the Jews. In *Ecclus.* and the Book of Wisdom we find, first of all, the theory of the *Word* in God, which appears in the beginning as Wisdom immanent in God, not yet personally distinct from Him, but only poetically personified. This idea can be traced in a connected line throughout the Targums. In *Onkelos*, the Word of Jehovah is introduced here and there impersonally (cf. Num. xxiii. 21, *verbum Jehovæ adjuvat illos, et Schechinah regis illorum est inter eos*; Deut. xxxiii. 27, *per verbum ejus (Dei) creatus est mundus*). But in Gen. iii. 8 it is personified; cf. Gen. xx. 3 and Num. xxiii. 26. In the later Targums the personality is more and more distinct. With *Jonathan*, Isa. xlii. 1, compare the *Jerusalem Targum*, Gen. iii. 22, where the Word of God is introduced as speaking, and *Pseudo-Jonathan*, Deut. i. 29, 30: *Sermo Dei vestri, qui anteit vos, pugnabit pro vobis*. The *Word* is also introduced as related to the

Messiah (cf. *Jon. Isa. xlii. 1*, and *Jerus. Targ. Gen. xlix. 18*, *redemptionem, quam dixisti per verbum tuum venturam esse populo tuo*); but even in the latest Targums this appears simply as a *relation*, not as a *union*: the Word rules the Messiah—it *works through* him; but he is not himself the Word. Cf. *Pseudo-Jonathan* on *Deut. xxx. 4*: *Si fuerint dispersiones vestrae in fines cœlorum, inde congregabit vos verbum Jehovah PER MANUS Eliæ . . . et inde adducet vos PER MANUM regis Messiaë*. We see, therefore, that the development of the Jewish idea of a Messiah took its own course from the time of the Wisdom of Solomon to the very latest times. The Christian idea was *not* adopted; or if it was, the most important part was left behind.

But not only have we this evidence, that the idea was not borrowed by the Jews from the Christians: the circumstances are sufficient to prove that it could not have been so. If the Jews in the time of Jesus had no expectation of a distinct personal Messiah, this expectation must have been one of the doctrinal points of difference between them and the Christians. But such points, instead of being adopted, are those which every attempt is made to overthrow. Now, as this was not done here, but the Jews shared with the Christians the expectation of a personal Messiah, and differed only so far as the attributes of the Messiah were concerned, it follows that this expectation must have been in existence before the separation took place between them. The hope of a Messiah entertained by the Jews after the time of Christ, presupposes its existence in an earlier age. And, as we have seen, in all probability *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* are documents from the time of Christ Himself.

§ 107.

THE HOPE OF A MESSIAH IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

We have other documents besides *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, the age of which is not probable, but certain. We must not refer to *Philo*, indeed. *B. Bauer* prohibits this; he says, "He speaks once, it is true, according to *Num. xxiv. 7, LXX.*, of a man who is to arise as captain and warrior, and overcome great nations; but what is once, in the case of so fertile a writer?" To our mind, a hope once expressed is a hope actually expressed, and can hardly be adduced as a proof that it had no existence. But even if *Philo*, with his spiritualizing disposition, his readiness to divest facts of their historical reality and resolve them into allegorical imagery, had not written a single Messianic passage, this would by no means prove that the *Jews, as a people*, cherished no such hope in the time of Jesus. But we have in mind

a different author from Philo—one whom certain modern writers completely ignore, whom *B. Bauer* does not mention in his treatise: we mean, the historian *Josephus*. What he says of Theudas appears to us not to be without importance: "He told them he was a prophet, and that he would by his own command divide the river, and afford them an easy passage over it; and many were deluded by his words" (*Ant.* 20, 5, 1). This shows at least that the thought of "the prophet," the second Moses, who would arise, was not so foreign to that generation. This conclusion is strengthened by the *mass* of impostors, every one of whom declared himself to be the expected founder of the New Covenant. Compare *Ant.* 20, 8, 6; *Wars of the Jews*, 2, 13, 4 and 5. In all of these we find not merely that they pretended to be *ordinary prophets*, but that they declare themselves to be filled with the Spirit of God (*προσχήματι θειασμοῦ*), and to be commissioned in a miraculous way to secure for the people *political* freedom. In all of them there is the boasted combination of the gifts of prophecy and sovereignty. They all pretend to an equality with Moses the law-giver; and they all find faith.—Surely such *facts* as these contain the proof, that there was an expectation prevalent at the time, that a person resembling Moses in rank and theocratic position was about to appear.

But *Josephus* himself tells us expressly what were the ideas prevalent among the people, which gave rise to the facts referred to. In *Ant.* 10, 11, 7, he says, that Daniel was read both widely and gladly; that the people clung with their hopes to Daniel's bright predictions; that even after the destruction of Jerusalem they held fast by his prophecies still. Can it be said, then, that they had no expectation of a Messiah? Or did they perhaps overlook the passages in Daniel in which a Messiah is spoken of? We shall see.—In *Ant.* 10, 10, 4, *Josephus* relates Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image with the head of gold, the breast of silver, etc. He then gives the interpretation, somewhat vaguely, with reference to the Babylonian Empire, the two kingdoms, which were to destroy the Babylonian—a conqueror from the West (Alexander), and "another government that shall be like unto iron." He then proceeds to say: "Daniel did also declare the meaning of the stone to the king; but I do not think proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things present, but not things that are future." Why should he say nothing about the stone? Why, but that the whole nation understood this stone to refer to the Messiah, the deliverer whom God would send, of Israelitish descent, and therefore he was afraid to publish this interpretation because of the Romans?—Or is this perhaps a mere hypothesis? Let us see.

The topstone of our demonstration is the passage in the *Wars of*

the Jews, 6; 5, 4, "But now, what did the most elevate them (the Jews) in undertaking this war, was an ambiguous oracle that was also found in their sacred writings, how *about this time* (Daniel) one from their country should *become governor of the habitable earth*. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves, and *many of the wise men were thereby deceived* in their determination (*κρίσω, interpretationem*). Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian."—Here Josephus himself is artful enough to refer the oracle to Vespasian; but of all the rest he says, that they understood the prophecies as relating to a particular deliverer, conqueror, and ruler, whom God would raise up from among themselves.

Thus we see the whole course of the Jewish hopes of a Messiah, from the Pentateuch to the very latest of the Targums. Link hangs to link. The obscurity which God in His wisdom allowed to rest, in the Old Test., (1) upon the identity of the Son of David with the suffering Servant of God, the Prophet, and the Angel of the Covenant; (2) upon the distinction between the first and second coming of the Messiah; and (3) upon the *divinity* of the perfect King,—brought about that, whilst the spiritually-minded recognised in Jesus the Messiah, the Prophet, and the Servant of God, the carnally-minded, the greater portion of the people, looked for a purely political Messiah, rejected Jesus, and through their trust in pretended Messiahs of a political kind, brought upon themselves political destruction, and turned the political hopes of a Messiah into something unmeaning and absurd.

B.—*Data respecting the Person and Life of Jesus.*

§ 108.

DATA OF THE APOSTOLIC EPISTLES.

We may remark at the outset, in the first place, that even on the assumption, that the Apostles gave to the churches a history of Jesus' life, we are not justified, as *Weisse* supposes, in expecting to find certain portions of it in their Epistles. For the history of the still unknown person of Jesus would be given at the time when a church was first collected, and when the Apostles or other preachers were still present. Now the Epistles were written to persons already in possession of this knowledge; they were occasioned by certain evils in the churches, which needed to be cured. This cure could only be effected from the central point of the Christian faith and life, not by

the repetition of any commandments that Jesus had given. And there was no reason to recall particular facts from the life of Jesus. But, *secondly*, even on the most cursory glance at the Epistles, we find that the Apostles do not set up a mere *dogma* apart from the person of Jesus Himself, as modern critics have maintained, but constantly refer to the concrete personality of Jesus, with which they assume that their readers are already acquainted. For example, when Paul exhorts to purity or holiness, we do not find him appealing to the "unity of deity and humanity." He speaks of "Christ" who is *to live in us*, to be formed in us, with whom we are to die to sin, to be buried, and to live; of Christ, with whom we are risen again, and made to sit in "heavenly places." It is to this concrete Christ, this concrete person, who was crucified, and rose again, and appeared to the Apostle himself, and will one day be seen by all believers, that all the subjective life of faith is directly referred. It is not a thought, an idea, to which the unknown Jesus of *Weisse* merely serves as a substratum; but the living *person* standing before the eyes of the churches, whom it is only necessary for the Apostle to mention, to indicate the source of all concrete holiness. But how could the readers understand these Epistles, unless they were already acquainted with the nature and life of the person alluded to? It is evident that the churches must have been already made acquainted with the life of Jesus; a fact in itself sufficient to preclude, to a very great extent, the undisturbed formation of myths.

But another question arises: Was the life of Jesus in itself, and as described by the Apostles, the same as we find in the Gospels? Particular incidents from His life we have no right to expect. But the general stamp of the Apostles' teaching is of very great importance. What modern critics regard as most objectionable in the life of Jesus, as related in the Gospels, is the "supernatural" element. And the question arises, therefore, Do the Apostles represent Jesus in their Epistles as supernatural, or not? It matters but little that particular miracles are not alluded to, provided the image in the Apostles' mind is evidently that of a man so far removed above the "natural," as necessarily to be *qualified* for the performance of miracles. And we must not overlook the important admission of *Baur* (*Paulus*, p. 90), that the portrait of Christ as drawn by Paul is based upon an accurate knowledge of the actual life of Jesus. If, then, the Apostles represent Jesus as an ordinary man, the negative critics are right; but if they speak of Him as entirely different from others,—if they refer without hesitation to His *pre-existence*, on the one hand, and His *resurrection* and *ascension* on the other,—we have good reason to ask, how the

Apostles could possibly have arrived at such a view of the *nature* of Jesus, unless He had actually exhibited in His life the *supernatural* character which they ascribe to His person? Did Jesus appear to the Apostles themselves to be altogether supernatural? If this be granted, there can be no further ground for objection to the life of Jesus as related in the Gospels.

Let us look, first of all, at the Apostles' doctrine of the *pre-existence of Jesus*. It is a sufficiently significant fact, that whilst Paul most firmly maintains the true humanity of Christ (Gal. iv. 4), he ascribes to Him the fulness of the divine nature (2 Cor. v. 19; Col. ii. 9). For how could a Jew, who distinguished so thoroughly the creature from the Creator, have been brought to such a doctrine except by irresistible facts? When Paul, therefore, speaks of Christians as those who "in every place call upon the name (קראים בשם) of Jesus Christ our Lord" (1 Cor. i. 2); when he says of Christ, "through whom are all things" (1 Cor. viii. 6), representing the universe as coming into existence "from God" and "through Christ;" when he says that Christ was the Rock which accompanied the Israelites (1 Cor. x. 4), and, in more definite terms still, that "He was the first-born of every creature," that "in Him all things were created, that are in heaven and that are in earth;" surely a man must possess a very different New Testament from ours to be able to say, with *Schwegler*, that "the idea of the pre-existence of Christ was foreign to the apostolic age."—But possibly Paul was thinking of Jesus before His incarnation as *impersonal*, as simply wisdom in God, a kind of λόγος ἐνδιαθετός? Hardly so; for in 2 Cor. viii. 9 he says, that "though He was rich, He became poor;" and what else can he possibly have meant than the giving up of a glory possessed before? In Phil. ii., again, the *act*, the *resolution* to exchange the "form of God" for the "form of a servant," is set before the Philippians as an example of what they should do; and in ver. 6 ("who being in the form of God," etc.), the Apostle represents the Son as *reflecting* before His incarnation upon the work of redemption, which He was about to undertake; and the subject of His reflection as being *His relation to the Father*. Not only did Paul think of the Son as pre-existent, but ascribed to Him a personality distinct and self-distinguishing from that of the Father.

How did Paul come to this doctrine? Does he deliver it as something new? Does he deduce it from grounds? Does he come forward with it in opposition to the rest of the Apostles? Not to PETER at least. For he both speaks of Christ as προεγνωσμένος πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (*destined from eternity to be the Redeemer*), and says that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets of the Old Testament

(i. 1, 11); not a spirit analogous to the spirit of Christianity, but the Spirit which proceeded from, and was given by, the person of Christ. And JOHN expresses the same view when he says, "The Son of God was manifested" (1 John iii. 8); "Jesus Christ is *come* in the flesh" (iv. 2); and "God *sent* His only-begotten Son into the world."—Peter and John, therefore, both speak of the pre-existence of Christ. There is not the slightest indication of any difference between the Apostles on this most important point. With a tone of the greatest confidence, Paul proclaims the doctrine to both Jewish and Gentile Christians. It nowhere appears as a newly arisen idea, least of all as a product of mere subjective thinking. Moreover, he carefully distinguishes on other occasions between the results of his own thought and the revelations of God. So that, when he proclaims the pre-existence of Christ as the most indisputable certainty, either he was a deceiver, or the doctrine must have been the undoubted belief of all Christians. At all events, the twelve must have been acquainted with it. But if they were, *how* had they learned it? Was it merely a conclusion of their own? What a bold commencement would that have been! how unlike their usual conscientiousness! and how unsuitable to the firmness with which they spoke (1 Pet. i. 5, and 12, 23, ii. 2; 1 John i. 1 sqq., ii. 20, 22, iv. 1)! And even then it must be assumed that the impression made upon their minds by the person of Jesus had been that of a divine, perfectly superhuman nature and power. But their teaching, like that of Paul, evidently indicates that they had received from the Lord Himself just such communications as we find in John viii. 58, xvii. 24. Here, therefore, we have this most distinct historical datum: *Jesus declared Himself to be the eternal, personal, Son of God.* Consequently, the choice lies before us, either to pronounce Him a fanatic, or to admit that there was nothing strange in His possession of miraculous power. His birth from a virgin especially must present itself as peculiarly fitting to every open and unprejudiced mind. The generative power of the male is active—that of the female receptive. When *salvation* is brought into the world, the receptive attitude alone befits humanity. And a *Saviour already existing* could not for the first time be begotten then.

We pass to the *resurrection and ascension of Jesus*. That the Apostles not only thought of Jesus as received into heaven, and thence communicating spiritual life to believers,¹ but were also most firmly convinced of His resurrection,² believed that He had gone up to

¹ 1 Cor. ii. 16; 2 Cor. iv. 11, 14; Gal. ii. 20; Eph. i. 10; Phil. ii. 9; Titus iii. 6.

² Rom. vi. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 3 sqq.; Eph. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 8; 1 Pet. i. 4.

heaven,¹ and expected that He would visibly return as Judge,² is not disputed. The question is simply, whether this belief was merely founded upon *visions*, or upon proofs of an *actual resurrection*; for the latter alone would be a miracle. But would Paul have described a *vision* as “the energy of the might of the power of God” (Eph. i. 19); would he have spoken of a vision as showing the glory of God the Father (Rom. vi. 4); or would he have contrasted a visionary resurrection with *dying once*, as he does in Rom. vi. 10? Would a reasonable man have used such words as *ἀνάστασις*, *ἐγερθῆναι*, to describe a visionary appearance? We certainly think not. Moreover, in 1 Cor. xv., Paul brings forward the resurrection of Christ as the pledge of ours; and describes the latter as being made alive, as the change of our earthly, corruptible body into one that is incorruptible. He must therefore have thought of the resurrection of Jesus in the same way, as the rising of the same body which had before been corruptible and really dead. He must not only have *thought* of this, he must have *known* it; and this he certainly could do, since “five hundred brethren at once” are not likely to have had the same *subjective vision* at the very same time.

Here, then, we have a dilemma again. *Either the Apostles had only visions*, and no reliable proofs of the actual resurrection of Jesus; in which case they were fanatics to speak in such strong terms of a resurrection as the “working of the might of the power of God,”—a supposition entirely at variance with their general character; *or*, CHRIST HAS RISEN FROM THE DEAD (and ascended to heaven, Eph. i. 20, iv. 9). In the latter we have again *in nuce* the whole system of the universe. Matter, *i.e.*, the visible and finite, is not something in itself evil or worthless, but susceptible of transfiguration; and the laws of nature with which we are acquainted, relatively, *i.e.*, in contrast with the present condition of nature generally, are rational and necessary; but its whole condition is disturbed by sin, and under the dominion of death. On the other hand, there is a kingdom of higher life and higher laws, the *kingdom of salvation*, which in the person of Christ once appeared in particular acts and manifestations as the *kingdom of miracles* (the point of union, the person of Christ, being the absolute miracle), but which will one day be exhibited as the *universal condition of the transfigured world*, in the “new heaven and new earth.”

With this system before us, the whole of the history of Jesus, as related in the Gospels, is both free from difficulty and compatible with reason.

¹ Eph. i. 20, iv. 9.

² 1 Cor. i. 7, iv. 5, xv. 51; 2 Cor. v. 10; Col. iii. 4; 1 Thess. iv. 13 sqq.; 1 Pet. i. 7, iv. 5.

C.—*Data on the Early Ministry of the Apostles.*

§ 109.

CREDIBILITY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

The Acts of the Apostles are the main source from which we obtain an account of the early ministry of the Apostles. That the work was composed by the author of the third Gospel is undoubted. But doubts have been expressed whether tradition¹ is correct in assigning them to the same *Lucanus* who is described as a physician in Col. iv. 14, who accompanied Paul during his imprisonment in Rome (Philem. 24), and was the only faithful attendant left to the Apostle (2 Tim. iv. 11). The question also arises, what amount of credibility his work possesses, especially in the former half? A third question also arises, whether the first person plural employed in chaps. xvi. 10–17, xx. 5–15, xxi. 1–18, xxvii. 1–28, is to be understood as referring to the author of the book itself, or to some one else (Timothy or Silas, for example), whose writings have been copied unaltered into the body of the work?

The decision of the third question is of great importance towards the settlement of the first. For, if the author speaks of himself as a companion of Paul, he was certainly no other than the Luke mentioned in the different Epistles. And this internal evidence coincides with tradition. But if he does not, the work might just as well have been written by some one in the second century, as by the Luke referred to. It is of importance also in its bearing upon the second question; for although it is true that, if Timothy was the writer, the credibility of the passages themselves would be well established, and we should have a guarantee that the sources employed were good, yet the credibility of the work would be more thoroughly established if the author is here speaking of himself. In that case he was really the companion of the Apostle, and able to obtain from him the most exact accounts of the events related in Acts i.–xii.

We shall investigate in order these three questions.—We shall look first at the *external evidence of the authenticity of the Acts*. It cannot be denied that the testimony of *Eusebius* as to the general admission of its authenticity lays no light weight in the scale. *Theodotus* quotes it in a treatise appended to the works of Clem. Alex. It is true, his work (being a polemic against Valentinianism) cannot have been written before the close of the second century. But two other

¹ *Vid.* Iren. hæc. 3, 14, 1; Clem. A., Strom. v.; Tertul. de Jejun. c. 10; Euseb. h. e. 3, 25.

circumstances give to the citation in question great value. In the *first* place, it occurs in the work of a *Gnostic*. The separation of the Gnostics from the Church commenced before the second century. From that time the two were in direct hostility; and it is very improbable that the Gnostics would accept from the Church a work which arose after that time, and which was directly at variance with their doctrines. And, *secondly*, the expression which he employs, οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς πράξεσιν ἔφησαν, shows that the book must have been in existence for a considerable time; not only because it proves that the title was generally adopted then, but because a title so inapplicable to the general contents of the book could not have been given till some time after the book itself was written.

Another circumstance compels us to attribute to the work a very early antiquity. It was even quoted by the *Ebionites* (*Epiph. hæc.* 30, 16). *Epiphanius* affirms that they possessed an “Acts of the Apostles,” which they changed and mutilated like the Gospel of Matthew.—We know how this sect arose. The Jewish Christians were scattered by the destruction of Jerusalem; and though till that time they had been wisely allowed by the Apostles to observe the ceremonial law, they were obliged now to pass over to the universalism of Paul. A band of them, however, remained in Pella, and, resisting all inward growth, severed themselves from the organic life of the Church. Their legalistic principle involved the death of the specifically Christian life. They fell into errors, and were given up to the spirit of falsehood and of intentional corruption. This was manifest most of all in the way in which the Aramæan Gospel of Matthew by degrees degenerated in their hands into the Gospel of the Ebionites. Now, if the separation of the Ebionites from the rest of the Church can be traced back to this early age, and a sect which so strongly resisted the introduction of every work of a Hellenist or Pauline stamp, was nevertheless in possession of the Acts of the Apostles, which they sought by alterations to accommodate to their own standpoint, in what other way can this be explained except that they had possessed the book from the earliest times, and could not deny its authority? And whilst the antiquity of the book rests thus upon external foundations, there are points in the work itself which confirm the tradition that it was written by Luke. There are technical terms in both the Gospel and the Acts which betray the medical training of Luke the physician. And the dedication to a man, who is addressed as *κράτιστος*, shows that the book was not written in obscurity, but in broad daylight; so that it would soon be widely known, and there would be the less room for ignorance or error with regard to the data of its composition.

We shall not lay much stress upon this, however, nor upon the sudden breaking off of the narrative with the first imprisonment at Rome, but pass to the *internal credibility* of the book. And, first of all, an inquiry is necessary, which has not yet been instituted. The Acts contain discourses of both *Peter* and *Paul*. If these are genuine, we should expect to find the same style and general train of thought in the former as in the first Epistle of Peter, and in the latter as in the Epistles of Paul.

But before entering on that inquiry, we must first ascertain which of these discourses were made in Aramæan, and which in Greek. Of those belonging to Peter, the following appear to be Aramæan: x. 28 sqq. (comp. ver. 36, τὸν λόγον ὅν—אֵת דְּבַר אִשְׁרָא). Luke must, however, have made use of a Greek translation, from which came the word ἡμην, ver. 30 (nowhere else to be found in Luke); iv. 8, v. 29 (because before the Council). The following are Greek: Chap. ii. (of course), iii. (in the temple, to be sure; still it contains free citations from Sept., with important variations, which a translator would scarcely have ventured on. It agrees in its Greek style with other words of Peter certainly spoken in Greek. It is certain it was not translated by Luke. Conf. ὥσπερ καὶ, for which Luke has always καθὼς καὶ; καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, for which Luke uses other expressions: Luke ii. 25, xxi. 24); xi. 5 (certainly not translated by Luke, on account of the ὥσπερ καὶ and ἡμην, vers. 5, 12, and 17). Chap. xii. 11 is uncertain. Chap. xxii. contains the only Aramæan speech of Paul's. The discourse, chap. xiii. 16, might be Aramæan as spoken to Jews; but against the supposition are the divergent citations from the Septuagint, and some Greek forms of speech which are to be found only in Paul's Epistles (e.g., πληροῦν τὸν δρόμον, the use of διὰ ἀργουσίων). The other discourses are obviously all Greek.

If we now look carefully at these discourses, we shall find, (1) that *the discourses of Peter have many points in common*, not only in forms of expression,¹ but in thought and theological views;² (2) that they *contain points of resemblance to the first Epistle of Peter*;³ (3) that the

¹ Ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεός (ii. 31, iii. 21 and 24, xi. 14); Μετανοήσατε καὶ ἐπιστρέφετε (iii. 19, viii. 22); διὰ στόματος (ii. 16, iii. 18 cf. iv. 25); καὶ νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς.

² Jesus died "by the determined counsel and foreknowledge of God" (ii. 23, iii. 18, 20, 24, iv. 28, x. 42).—Frequent reiterations of the antithesis, the Jews thought to destroy Jesus, but He was glorified instead (ii. 23 seq., iii. 13 sqq., v. 30, vi. 10, etc.).—Jesus is called παῖς Θεοῦ (Acts iii. 26, iv. 27, 30). God ἐχρείσεν Ἰησοῦν, x. 38, vide iv. 27.

³ Cf. τῇ ὁρισμένη βούλῃ with 1 Pet. i. 2 and 20, and ii. 4–6. The antithesis referred to in last note occurs in 1 Pet. i. 19 sqq.—Ps. cxviii. 22 is only quoted in Acts iv. 11 and 1 Pet. ii. 7 (except by Christ Himself).—Faith given through

same idea is not expressed in the same way as by Luke and Paul; (4) that the discourses of Paul have similar points of mutual resemblance;¹ (5) that they agree with the Epistles of Paul in words,² constructions,³ and theological ideas;⁴ (6) the same ideas are not expressed in the same terms as by Luke, Peter, and Stephen.⁵

Christ (Acts v. 31; 1 Pet. i. 21).—Christ gave repentance and blessedness through repentance: Acts iii. 19, v. 31; 1 Pet. ii. 21, iv. 1. In Paul, repentance is separated from holiness as simple acknowledgment of sin.—In Peter, Christ appears as a concrete unity, as the sole source of all our new life; in Paul, the separate momenta of the new life are distinguished as an *ordo salutis*, and Christ is related to each of these momenta in a different manner.

¹ ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν (xiii. 16 and 26);—ἰδιᾶ γενεᾶ (xiii. 36, xiv. 16);—ὁ Θεός ὃς ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.;—πάντας, xviii. 21, xxviii. 4;—Ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα, xx. 25, 29;—Μετὰ δακρύων, xx. 19, 31;—πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ. And the peculiar use of ὁδός for religion (xiv. 16, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14). (In Peter, ὁδός never means religion, but tropically way.) The frequent use of καὶ νῦν, καὶ τανῦν, καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ.

² κεχάρισται (Acts xxvi. 16, xxvii. 23, cf. Rom. viii. 22; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 10, 12, xii. 13; Gal. iii. 18, etc.);—ἀποβολή ψυχῆς (Acts xxvii. 22; Rom. xi. 15);—ἐποικοδομεῖν; πληροῦν, τελεῖν τὸν δρόμον = to die (Acts xiii. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 7);—πάντα = in all things, Acts xx. 35; 1 Cor. x. 23;—frequent use of πᾶς: κατὰ πάντα (Acts xvii. 22; Col. iii. 20, 22).

³ διό, διότι (very frequent);—μαρτυρεῖσθαι in an active sense, Acts xxvi. 22; 1 Thess. ii. 11.

⁴ Acts xiii. 17, cf. Rom. ix.—τὸ σπέρμα κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν, Acts xiii. 23, 32, a purely Pauline thought (Rom. ix.): quite different from Acts ii. 30.—That the promise was fulfilled to the children, Acts xiii. 32; Gal. iv.; Rom. ix.—That David served God for his own generation, and the like, Acts xiii. 36; Eph. iii. 5.—Quite Pauline is Acts xiii. 39, cf. Rom. viii. 3.—ὁ Θεός ζῶν, Acts xiv. 15; Rom. ix. 26; 2 Cor. iii. 3; 1 Thess. i. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15, etc. The time before Christ a time of ἀγνοία, Acts xiii. 27; Rom. ii. 4, x. 3. God winked at the sins committed before Christ, Acts xvii. 30; Rom. iii. 25. The heathen *could* know God, Acts xvii. 27; Rom. i. 20; cf. also Acts xvii. 28; Rom. xiii. 36.—To *serve* God. Religion as a service, Acts xx. 19, xxvii. 23, xxiv. 14, xxiii. 1, also xiii. 36. Conf. Rom. vi. 6, vii. 25, xii. 11; Gal. iv. 8; Tit. iii. 3; also Rom. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Tit. i. 1. (Elsewhere only in Luke xv. 29, but not tropically, and Matt. vi. 24).—Δεδεμένος τῷ πνεύματι, Acts xx. 22; Eph. iii. 1, iv. 1; Philem. 1.—Δοῦναι τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγιασμένοις, Acts xx. 32, xxvi. 18, cf. Gal. iii. 18; Eph. i. 11 and 14; especially Col. i. 12; Acts xx. 33, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; 2 Cor. xi.—Πάση συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ, consciousness of having done his duty, Acts xxiii. 1; Rom. ix. 1, xiii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 25; 2 Cor. i. 12, iv. 2; and the Pastoral Epistles. (In Peter, on the other hand, 1 Pet. iii. 16 and 21, ii. 19, it is the consciousness of being reconciled to God [?].)—Ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς Φῶς, Acts xxvi. 18; Rom. viii. 38; 2 Cor. iv. 14; Eph. i. 18, iv. 18, v. 8; Col. i. 13; 1 Thess. v. 4.

⁵ The discourse, chap. xiii., is on the whole analogous to that of Stephen. But just on that account the discrepancies have all the greater weight. Ὡς τεσσαρακονταετὴ χρόνον, xiii. 18, 21, different from vii. 36, 23, 30.—Ἡγεῖρε σαττῆρα, xiii. 23, cf. Acts ii. 30; xiii. 24, cf. x. 37. In xiii. 25, the citation of the words of the Baptist widely diverge from Luke iii. 16.—xiii. 27, ἀγνοεῖν = fail to

It is by no means true that the peculiarities of Luke run through the discourses of Peter and Paul. On the contrary, we find both the general type of their teaching, and minute peculiarities of style, most carefully distinguished. But the question now arises, whether it is possible that these discourses can have been preserved with such verbal accuracy by the hearers? At first sight this appears very improbable; and our asserted credibility seems to be imperilled, and all our foot-notes appear to be of no avail. The greatest difficulty of all is presented by Stephen's speech, in case it really does contain all those fine allusions which *Luger* has pointed out. But *Luger* has given us the key to the difficulty. He says, "Unquestionably Saul heard the speech. But how must the wisdom and spirit with which the speaker *sought* to convince him (Saul) that he mistook the meaning of the temple and the law, have embittered the feelings of the zealot for law and temple, the scribe and scholar of the Pharisees! Nay, not only sought to convince him, but *well nigh* did it. Only so can we understand the rage of Saul. It was the restless, painful zeal of one who has a suspicion that he has erred in the holiest of all matters.—And when the Lord had revealed Himself to him, how important must the speech of Stephen have appeared in his eyes; how the whole peculiar style of Stephen's views and proofs must have stamped itself upon his mind! Yea, would not every word of the speech, as it floated before his memory, appear to him in the clearest light? In this way is explained the oral tradition of the speech. It appears to me natural and reasonable to think that not a word of it would be lost." But it is not necessary to maintain that every word of this and the other speeches was preserved. All we say is, that the Christians who heard Peter and Paul speak, knew their style, and remembered their words in the style in which they were uttered.

The character of the *discourses* in the Acts, therefore, is a strong proof of its credibility. Luke must have obtained them from the best

recognise (involving a charge of guilt). Inversely iii. 17, ἀγνωστὸν as an excuse.—xiii. 28 cf. iii. 14 and Luke xxiii. 14; xiii. 29 cf. Luke xxiii. 53: instead of *μνημείου* Luke has *μνῆμα*.—xiii. 17 cf. with the Petrine antithesis. Peter: "Ye put Him to death:" but God has neutralized your deed, and raised Him up. Paul: Just by putting Him to death ye have helped to complete God's plan of redemption.—xiii. 35; Ps. xvi. is cited otherwise than in Peter's address, ii. 27:—xiii. 36 cf. ii. 29.—In xiii. 26 and 46, as always in Paul's writings, *λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ* is the word which is preached, the contents of the preaching. On the other hand, in Luke (Acts vi. 7, xii. 24, xix. 20) it is by synecdoche = the interest of the word of God, almost equivalent to "the kingdom of God." Still differently in Peter. With him (1 Pet. i. 23 sqq.) it is neither the Gospel interest nor the object of preaching, but the word as means of grace.

sources, probably in *writing*, since we find, in some of those which were delivered in Aramæan, Greek peculiarities which differ from the style of Luke, and indicate the hand of an earlier translator. We must not underrate the penmanship of these founders of the Church. Let us not forget that Paul left both books and parchments behind him in Troas, the latter most likely being distinguished from the former as being written by his own hand. It is by no means improbable, therefore, that Luke would endeavour to procure, in the different towns in which Peter and Paul had preached, written accounts of their labours there.

Everything, therefore, is in favour of the credibility of the Acts of the Apostles as a book carefully prepared from accounts by contemporaries and eye-witnesses; and though De Wette speaks of "insoluble difficulties, exaggerated representations, inaccuracies, doubtful, unsatisfactory matter, the Marvellous, ignorance of Jewish customs, and contradictions," as occurring in the book, yet nothing of consequence has been advanced by him against the credibility. Baur, however, in his "Apostle Paul," has made an attack on the credibility of the Acts from a new quarter, which we must briefly consider.

Baur believes he has discovered several glaring contradictions between Gal. ii. and the representation given in Luke of the relations subsisting between the Apostles. Unfortunately, he has not deemed it necessary to commence his inquiries with a grammatical interpretation of the passage, Gal. ii. 1 sqq. It is all the more necessary that we should do so, and to this we now proceed.

The Apostle Paul, on his third missionary journey, about the year 55, combats *Galatian false teachers*, who had preached to the Christians there the false doctrine (and, according to Gal. i. 6, not without success), that it was necessary by circumcision to become a Jew in order to have part in Messiah and His salvation. These false teachers at the same time undermined the prestige of his apostolic authority, and represented him as a man who had received a call to proclaim salvation, not directly from Christ, but only indirectly through the twelve Apostles. After the introduction (i. 1-10), he combats in the first part of the Epistle (i. 11-ii. 14) this latter calumnious representation, and thereby paves the way for the refutation of the false doctrine in the second part (ii. 15 sqq.). After relating that he went up to Jerusalem for the first time three years after his conversion, and there had spoken with no Apostle except Peter, *but* (ἐν μὴ, ver. 19 as in ver. 7) only James, the brother of the Lord, who was not an Apostle, he proceeds in chap. ii. thus:—

"Then, fourteen years after, I went again up to Jerusalem with

Barnabas, taking Titus also along with me. But I went up in obedience to a revelation, and laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the heathen; but privately (I laid it before) those who had authority, that I might not run, or have run in vain." (A syncope of thought, for—that no man might make objections, in consequence of which my activity would be in vain. The objection, viz., that all the heathen baptized by Paul were not validly baptized, and were not real Christians.) "But not even Titus, who was with me—a born heathen—was compelled to be circumcised. But because of the false brethren brought in unawares, who were brought in to spy out our liberty (cunningly to rob us of it) which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might make slaves of us again; to them we yielded, not even for an hour, to obey them, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you. But on the part of those who seemed to be somewhat (whoever they might be is a matter of indifference to me, since God accepteth no man's person)—those distinguished persons laid nothing further on me; but, on the contrary, seeing that I was entrusted with the Gospel among the uncircumcision, as Peter was among the circumcision, and recognising the grace given to me, James, Cephas, and John, who had the reputation of pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we (should go) to the heathen, as they to the circumcision; only that we should remember the poor."

Thus Paul first mentions the in itself decisive fact, that at that time it occurred to no one to insist on Titus being circumcised. He then begins a thought which he finishes in the form of an anacolouthon. He begins: "*Because of the false brethren;*"—but then he interrupts himself with the animated turn of thought, "to these I gave way not for a moment." Probably he meant to say, "Because of the false brethren, etc., I spoke, I gave myself trouble," etc.—Having related that the false brethren wished to take away liberty from him and the heathen Christians, and force circumcision on them (that is plainly the sense of ver. 4), but that he absolutely refused to yield to them, in ver. 6 he places the *δοκοῦντες* (the three among the twelve so named, because he wishes to avail himself of their influence against the false teachers, as three authorities recognised by the Jewish Christians and also by them) in sharply defined opposition to these *ψευδαδελφοί*. On the part of the *δοκοῦντες*, however, no further demand was laid upon me. Here, too, the resumption of the proposition is in the form of an anacolouthon. He inserts the parenthesis to obviate every appearance of resting on those three as his superiors, whose protecting authority he stood in need of.

Baur thinks he has discovered four great contradictions between

the accounts in the Acts and that in the Epistle to the Galatians.

The first respects the nature of the meeting at Jerusalem. In the Acts it is represented as a formal public transaction, in which (ver. 12 and ver. 22) the whole Church took part; whilst in the Epistle to the Galatians, "the Apostle not only knows nothing of this, but speaks as if he wished to exclude such a view of the matter." But this view rests simply upon exegetical negligence. If Paul laid his Gospel before the leaders separately (not "in particular," *præsertim*, but in a separate conversation, *seorsim*), it is clear that he must have laid it before the others besides. The Apostle obviously, by the words *κατ' ἰδίαν*, hints at a *public* conference besides the private one. But he had special reasons for making most prominent mention of the private conference. The Galatian false teachers might otherwise have said, in the public meeting they spared Paul, but only because he had submitted to certain conditions at a private meeting, or in general had subjected himself to the authority of the *δοκοῦντες*. It is evident, on the other hand, that Luke did not need, for *his* purpose, to relate the proceedings of the private meeting; it was quite sufficient for him to narrate the *results*, as they appeared in the public meeting.

The second contradiction has reference to the substance of the transaction, which Baur alleges is quite differently represented in the two passages. But Baur perverts the account in the Acts when he makes it say that the twelve Apostles not only did not share the views of the false teachers, but supported the position of Paul in the most prominent and ostensible manner. Luke does not say so. At ver. 6 we read: "The Apostles and elders came together, to see what was to be done in the matter. *But when there had been much disputing*, Peter stood up and said." Even in this public assembly, therefore (in which, though the Church took part, yet the Apostles and elders were the principal parties conducting the deliberations), even after the private conference between Paul and the three leading Apostles, there were among the other Apostles and presbyters many who found it by no means easy to come to a decision on the question, and to distinguish between the observance of the law given by God and not yet abrogated, and of the temple worship, on the part of the Jewish Christians,—an observance springing out of genuine piety, and which Paul himself approved (1 Cor. vii. 18),—and the observance of the law regarded as meritorious and obligatory, which the false teachers wished to impose as a yoke upon the Gentile Christians. There were some among the Apostles and elders who allowed themselves to be dazzled and misled by the seemingly pious position of these Judaizers, and

Luke by no means slurs over the *συζήτησις* which really took place. But that Peter and James were the persons who, according to Luke, put the matter in a clear light, is in perfect harmony with the statement in Gal. ii., that it was just with them that Paul had previously a private conference. The account in the Acts, therefore, relates accurately the *results* of that private conference.

The third contradiction between the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians is found in the occurrence at Antioch, Gal. ii. 11 sqq. But if we look at this passage without prejudice, it contains the strongest proof that Peter was at one with Paul *in opinion*. Peter, like all Jewish Christians observing the law out of piety in Jerusalem, comes to Antioch, and there eats with heathen Christians, unconcerned about the Mosaic laws in reference to eating. But when certain Jewish Christians belonging to Jerusalem come thither, a false fear of man seizes him, lest they should take offence at his freedom or not understand it, and instead of acting the truth before them, he withdraws himself from the table of the Gentile brethren. And in vers. 12 and 13 Paul says, with the greatest definiteness, that this conduct was *hypocrisy*; that Peter in this matter belied his own convictions; consequently his own conviction was, that one might eat with Gentiles, which was just Paul's own.

The fourth and last contradiction is as follows: Such a document as that mentioned in Acts xv. 23 sqq., and according to the prescriptions of which, Paul, on his second missionary journey, ordered the life of the newly founded communities (Acts xvi. 4), cannot really have been issued, else Paul would have referred to it, and not to the private conference, in defending his position against the false teachers. The absence of a reference to the decrees of the council in the Epistle to the Galatians may be thus explained. If the Jewish and Gentile Christians, the twelve and Paul, had really regarded one another with distrust, nothing would have been more necessary for Paul, in order to make his position secure, than to leave everywhere certified copies of the decrees. But that was not the true state of matters. All the Apostles were essentially at one; the false teachers were for once put down; it was resolved unanimously, that the Gentile Christians should avoid all sins of impurity which to their blunt consciences seemed lawful; and further, in order that social intercourse between them and the Jews might be possible, they should avoid three things which were an insuperable offence and abomination to the latter, and which they could avoid without much self-denial,—viz., the eating of things strangled, of blood, and of flesh that had been offered in sacrifice. In all sincerity Paul bound the churches which he founded

to these duties (Acts xvi. 4); but in so doing he did not find it necessary to deposit with them copies of the act. In the churches which he founded his authority was sufficient; and there was no danger of Jewish Christians coming thither and saying, Ye are *not* bound to keep these decrees: so as to require an appeal to a written document. The Jewish Christians would have been more likely to appeal to the decrees against Paul, if he had been unfaithful in the carrying out of the instructions. Paul would find it necessary to appeal to the document, only in case any Jewish Christians had demanded of the Gentile Christians *more* than the observance of those three points. But of this there is no trace in the second journey. On this journey Paul had founded the Galatian church, and given them also the apostolic injunctions, without leaving a copy in writing. The *δόγματα* came into force as a matter of course. The Epistle was written some years after, on the third journey. The Judaizing teachers, who had slipped in meantime, would not, we may be sure, appeal to the document containing the decrees of the council, but rather to the authority of the twelve. They could do this by assigning to the observance of the law by the Apostles a dogmatic ground. *But would not Paul require to refer to the decrees against them?* We do not deny that he *might* have done it; but we deny that he *must* have done it, and that from his silence we may conclude the non-existence of the apostolic letter. There were sufficient grounds why Paul should fight with other weapons. In the first place, there can hardly have been a copy of it in the Galatian church. Consequently, if he did refer to it, a denial of any knowledge of it on the part of the false teachers was to be expected; and he would be obliged after all to appeal to the testimony of the twelve. It was therefore simpler to refer at once and directly to the proceedings in Jerusalem. But there is another weighty reason to be given. From Gal. i. 1, 8, 11, we see that the false teachers questioned especially the personal authority of the Apostle, and represented him as having received his office from the twelve, and not directly from Christ. In opposition to this, Paul could refer to the transactions in Jerusalem, and their details; for in these he could call up the Apostles as vouchers for the truth of his doctrine;—in such a way, however, that by entering into the minute details, he showed that they were not authorities over him, but stood side by side with him as colleagues. To the letter of the council he could refer with much less propriety. For it was issued in the name of the Apostles and elders in Jerusalem, who spoke of Paul and Barnabas in the third person (asked to do so by Paul, to support his authority by theirs), and set forth the decrees in all simplicity, in such

a form that it might appear that they had proceeded from them alone, and not from Paul also. If Paul, therefore, had referred to the decrees, he would have taken from his opponents one weapon in regard to circumcision; but in respect to his authority he would have put another weapon into their hands. The omission to mention the letter of the Apostles and elders is therefore easily explicable, without requiring us to doubt its existence or the historical truth of the account in the Acts.¹

Thus the alleged contradictions between the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians² have come to nothing, and the Epistle, instead of supporting Baur's hypothetical construction of the primitive history of the Church, furnishes the most weighty argument against it.

§ 110.

THE "WE" PASSAGES.

The question still remains as to the authorship of the passages in which Luke speaks in the first person plural. These passages (chap. xvi. 10 sqq., xx. 6 sqq.) were formerly generally supposed to indicate that Luke was, at the time referred to, a companion of the Apostle. It was at least perfectly natural to write in this manner. Laying no stress on his own person, he does not tell *how* he came to be a companion of Paul, but the "we" indicates the *fact*. He uses the "we" simply to indicate that he was an eye-witness of what he related; and it would have been unnatural to proceed in the third person, especially if Theophilus already knew that he had been a companion of the Apostle.—But more recently several critics, incited by *Schleiermacher*, have adopted the hypothesis, that these portions of the history were not written by the author of the entire book, but by some other companion of Paul, and introduced without alteration by the writer of the Acts. Three different names have been suggested. According to *Bleek* and

¹ Baur argues against the existence of the apostolic letter from its not being referred to in 1 Cor. viii., where he thinks (and Neander agrees with him in this) a reference might have been expected. We do not agree with him. We believe that Paul would rather deduce the substance of the apostolic precepts from the essence of faith and love, and lead the Church to their observance, not by mechanical authority, but by inward conviction.

² Wieseler (*Chronologie des Apost. Zeitalters*) escapes the consequences of Baur's argumentation by identifying the journey mentioned in Gal. ii. with that referred to in Acts xviii. 22, instead of that in connection with the apostolic council. From the foregoing observations it is evident that it is by no means *necessary* to maintain that Acts xv. and Gal. ii. refer to different events. They harmonize perfectly well, viewed as referring to the same event.

Ulrich, the author was *Timothy*; according to *Gfrörer*, *Luke* wrote the passages in question, but not the rest of the Acts; in *Schwanbeck's* opinion, they were written by *Silas*.

A. Let us look first at the general negative assertion, that the writer who speaks in the first person cannot be the author of the entire work. According to *Bleek* and *Schwanbeck*, it is extremely unnatural for the author of the whole book to show, by suddenly passing to the first person plural, that at a certain point he joined the Apostle, instead of saying, "Here, in Troas, I met with Paul, and became his companion from that time." No doubt, if a writer of our own day was about to print a work for the public, he would introduce the "*we*" with an explanatory "*I*." But the author of the Acts was writing, not for the public in the modern sense, but for a circle of Christian churches in Lower Italy, to whom both the Apostle and he were certainly well known, and who must therefore have been acquainted with the fact, that the author of the Acts had been an attendant of Paul in some of his journeys. These readers, therefore, would understand without the slightest difficulty the author's transition to the first person plural; and any further explanation would have been altogether needless. Moreover, this simple transition cannot have been so unnatural as modern critics pretend, since for eighteen centuries no one found any difficulty in the "*we*;" so that the acuteness of scholars in search of hypotheses is balanced by the unbiassed feelings of millions of unprejudiced readers. But whilst the transition to the first person is by no means unnatural, if the passages were written by the author himself, it would have been in the highest degree forced and unnatural for him to act as these critics suppose. In their opinion, he met with the writings of some other author, who had used the first person plural. At first he took the trouble to substitute for the word "*we*" the proper name; but afterwards he did not even correct the "*we*" into a simple "*they*." If this were the case, how thoroughly the writer must have defeated his own object, and what confusion and mistake he must have caused! For eighteen centuries he has been misunderstood, as these critics themselves confess; and yet they persist in calling this natural! "But there are examples of the same thing to be met with," says *Schwanbeck*. No doubt he can adduce analogous examples from a class of authors, of a character to reduce his own argument to absurdity; for example, the most miserable chronicles of the Middle Ages. But is the author of the Acts of the Apostles a mere mechanical compiler, on a level, as to mental capacity, with *Saxo Annalista* and others? The reader may judge for himself, whether the poverty of mind is really to be found in the writer of the Acts, or in a critic

who could institute such a comparison. There is a passage in the Old Testament which could have been adduced with much greater plausibility. A section in the book of Nehemiah (chaps. viii.-x.) is well known to bear internal evidence, in style and other peculiarities, of *Ezra's* authorship. In chaps. viii. ix. Ezra is mentioned in the third person; but in chap. x. the first person plural is suddenly introduced, and Ezra is not mentioned again. This seems to present an analogy to the case before us. But it was certainly not Nehemiah who substituted the name of Ezra for an original "we" or "I" in chaps. viii. ix. According to a very common Hebrew custom, *Ezra* began to write of himself in the third person, and afterwards passed to the first. And Nehemiah had no reason to remove the latter from chap. x.; for he was himself actively engaged in connection with the events recorded there, and could therefore use the term "we" quite as well as Ezra. But, according to the conjecture of our critics, the writer of the Acts was not included in the "we" of chaps. xvi. and xx., so that it would utterly destroy the sense to let it remain.

B. In the following circumstances, already frequently pointed out, we have a strong argument in favour of the conclusion, that the Luke mentioned in the three Epistles of Paul was the author of the two passages in question. The companion of Paul who writes in Acts xvi. and xx. in the first person, must have parted from Paul in Philippi; for in ver. 19 the "we" ceases, and the names Paul and Silas are introduced. Silas alone accompanies the Apostle to Berea, where Timothy (who had also come with Paul from Asia Minor to Philippi, chap. xvi. 3 cf. vers. 19 and 40) joins them again (ver. 14). From Berea Paul goes alone to Corinth (ver. 15), and Silas and Timothy follow him thither (ver. 15 cf. chap. xviii. 5).

From Derbe to Troas: Paul, Timothy.

„ Troas to Philippi: Paul, Timothy, Luke.

„ Philippi to Berea: Paul, Silas.

In Berea: Paul, Silas, Timothy.

From Berea to Corinth: Paul.

In Corinth: Paul, Silas, Timothy.

This is exactly how the matter stands, if it is Luke who speaks in chap. xvi. 11 sqq.—And this is perfectly in harmony with the data found in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, which was written from Corinth. Silas and Timothy are in Corinth with Paul. No Luke is mentioned there; and when we turn to the Acts, we find that it is not till Paul visits Philippi again, on his next journey, that Luke reappears, and the first person plural is used once more (chap. xx. 5, 6). It would appear, therefore, as if Philippi had been Luke's home.

C. We now pass to the *special hypotheses*.—In support of the hypothesis defended by *Bleek* and *Ulrich*, that the passages were written by *Timothy*, we are referred, *first*, to the fact, that in Acts xx. 4 all the companions of Paul are introduced with *predicates*, excepting Timothy; from which it is inferred that originally ἐγὼ took the place of Τιμόθεος, and the name was substituted afterwards. To this *Krauss* replies, that Timothy was well known to the readers already. But *Ulrich* answers again, that it is the author's custom to repeat the predicate, however often the name occurs. This is only the case, however, with names less known; he does not follow the custom with a Barnabas any more than with a Timothy (*vid.* Acts iv. 36, xi. 22, 25, xiii. 1). And if he had done this throughout, he would not have omitted it when he introduced the name Timotheus in the place of *ego*, any more than on other occasions. *Secondly*, *Bleek* punctuates Acts xx. 4 in the following manner: "And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea, and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus and Gaius of Derbe and Timotheus.—And Tychicus and Trophimus of Asia, these [two last mentioned] going before, tarried," etc. Thus Timothy stands at the end; and it is argued, that any one else than Timothy himself would have placed his name first, and not last; whereas, if the passage was written by Timothy, modesty would explain the position in which the name appears. But such a division of the clause is the most unnatural that can be conceived. What need there could have been to recapitulate the two names Tychicus and Trophimus by οὗτοι, it is impossible to imagine. And the most simple construction is to take the singular συνελπητο as referring to Sopater alone. Moreover, if Timothy wrote the passage, he could not be included in the expression, "followed to Asia;" for the author of this section, who writes in the first person plural, accompanied the Apostle, not to Asia, but to Jerusalem, and thence to Rome. The sentence, therefore, must be pointed thus: "There accompanied him into Asia Sopater the son of Pyrrhus, of Berea. But the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy, and from Lesser Asia Tychicus and Trophimus—these going before tarried for us in Troas." Thus Timothy does not stand at the close of a period. And even if Luke had placed his name at the end, this would be quite intelligible at a time when Timothy was still very young. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis, therefore, both fall to the ground. But there are positive proofs which may be adduced that the hypothesis is untenable. Whilst the Acts themselves contain no information as to the time when Timothy rejoined Paul, we find a notice in 1 Thess. ii. 2, to the effect that Timothy first met with the Apostle,

not in Berea, but in Thessalonica. It is evident, therefore, that if Timothy was the author of the "we" passages, these accounts of Timothy ought to commence at chap. xvii. 4, and not at chap. xx. The same thing occurs in a still more striking manner in chap. xvi. 1-10. Timothy meets with the Apostle as early as chap. xvi. 1, and travels with him from Lystra or Derbe throughout Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia, and yet there is no sign of a first person plural. So, again, in chap. xx. 1 sqq. It is evident from 2 Cor. i. 1 that Timothy met with Paul on his journey from Asia Minor through Macedonia to Greece. From Rom. xvi. 21 we see that he was the Apostle's assistant during his three months' stay in Greece; and from Acts xx. 4, that he returned with the Apostle from Greece through Macedonia. Now, if Timothy was the author of the "we" passages, we should certainly expect, in chap. xx. 1-3, not only the first person, but a less summary account. How can this brevity be explained? *If Luke, who resided in Philippi, was the author*, the explanation is simple enough. From Philippi onwards he was a companion of the Apostle; and he therefore hastened forward to that portion of the Apostle's life in which he felt so strong a personal interest, and also, in accordance with his plan, to the events which occurred in Jerusalem, and which involved the last solemn rejection of Christianity on the part of the Jewish nation, and its king and supreme council, and also the preparations for Paul's journey to Rome. He had, on the other hand, no positive inducement to give a detailed account of the previous journey through Greece, of which he had *not* been an eye-witness.—But if Timothy, who accompanied the Apostle throughout the entire journey, was the author, there is no rational way of explaining why the editor of the whole work should have cut away so large a portion of Timothy's report of the journey, and merely commenced at Troas. Whatever reasons *Luke* might have had for hastening to that portion of the journey which lay between Philippi and Jerusalem, there is no imaginable reason why any later editor, with a complete account before him written by Timothy, should have left one-half of it entirely unemployed. The only feasible assumption would be, that Timothy's account did not commence till the departure from Philippi. But if Timothy wrote any account at all of his journey with Paul, how strange that he should relate nothing as to what occurred on the way through Macedonia to Greece, during the stay there, or on the journey back to Macedonia; and yet should have thought it worth while to mention the trivial circumstance, that certain companions went on before to Troas! But how simple the explanation, if the account was written by Luke, who first joined the Apostle at Philippi!

D. The *Silas hypothesis* is, if possible, still more distorted. The two passages are supposed to have been originally written by Silas, and the editor, in adopting them, left the "we" in certain places (chap. xvi. 11–18), and in others changed it into "Paul and Silas."—This contains its own refutation. No one would for a moment suppose that the original passage reached no further than chap. xvi. 18; for in that case it would have broken off in the very middle of a particular occurrence. But what could have been more absurd than for an editor, after leaving the word "we" in eight verses, in which, if it referred to Silas, it must have been perfectly unintelligible to every reader, to render the obscurity still greater by changing it into "Paul and Silas" in chaps. xvi. 19, xvii. 14, and xviii. 5 sqq., and then returning to the "we" once more in chap. xx. 5? No wonder, as *Schwanbeck* himself says, "it was a long while before critics could admit the idea that such a thing was even possible." We fear it will be some time longer yet.

E. *Gfrörer's* hypothesis, that Luke was the writer of the "we" passages, but not of the entire book, has been disposed of already. The former is confirmed under B; the second refuted under A. So that we come back to the result, that Luke was the author of the passages in question; that not only is there nothing to disprove his identity with the author of the whole book, but the way in which the author hurries over chap. xx. 1–3 to that portion of the journey in which he was himself present is perfectly intelligible on that supposition; and that such hypotheses as that Timothy or Silas wrote the passages, are the impossible fictions of modern Scholasticism. Thus, then, the ancient tradition, that *Luke*, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul, was the author of the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, is perfectly sustained.

§ 111.

HARMONY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES AND THE APOSTOLIC EPISTLES IN RELATION TO THE JOURNEYS OF PAUL.

We find on examination that the Epistles, especially those of Paul, agree most perfectly, as regards both the occasion of their being written and the circumstances mentioned in them, with the thread of the history contained in the Acts of the Apostles. The *first Epistle to the Thessalonians* has its place in connection with Acts xvii. Compare, for example, 1 Thess. i. 5, 6, with Acts xvii. 4 and 11. In Thess. ii. 18 Paul speaks of being kept for a time from his readers; *vid.* Acts xvii. 14 and 16. Paul further says, that he sent Timothy to

strengthen them, and that Timothy had now returned, after he had waited for him at Athens (ii. 1). Luke mentions how Timothy and Silas remained in Berea, and how Paul waited for them in Athens and Corinth (according to 1 Thess. iii., therefore, they first went to Thessalonica again). Timothy rejoined Paul in Corinth (Acts. xviii. 5). For the *second Epistle to the Thessalonians*, compare 2 Thess. i. 1 with 1 Thess. i. 1, and Acts xviii. 12 sqq. with 2 Thess. iii. 2.—The *Epistle to the Galatians* was written from Ephesus. Paul visited Galatia on his second missionary tour (Acts xvi. 6), and again on his third tour (Acts xviii. 23), when he is said to have *strengthened* the churches, so that he must have founded churches already. It was after the second visit that he wrote his Epistle.

Paul remained in *Ephesus* more than two years (Acts xix. 8, 10, 21). The general way in which Luke speaks of his stay there does not preclude the possibility of his making shorter excursions in the meantime. So long a stay in one place without interruption would have been quite at variance with his usual custom. Yet Ephesus was the centre of his labours during these two or three years, whence he radiated Christianity, and fostered the new churches all around. There are passages in his Epistles which show that he did take one such journey, viz., to Crete and Corinth, which Luke has passed over. In 2 Cor. xiii. 1 he calls his approaching visit to Corinth (Acts xx. 2) the *third*. And the first Epistle to Timothy refers to a journey through Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3) to Crete. After the Apostle had set out upon *this*¹ journey, and had either reached or left Macedonia, he sent to Ephesus his *first Epistle to Timothy*. In the Epistle to the Galatians he had attacked the grosser form of Judaism—legal righteousness, the overthrow of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. In the first Epistle to Timothy he has a more refined description of Judaism to deal with—a legal, casuistic treatment of Christian ethics, a limitation of Christian *liberty* (i. 9); and, in opposition to this perversion of the truth, he maintains that the *letter* of the law is for murderers. He also foresees clearly, however, that the future is threatened by another danger, that of Antinomianism (chap. iv. 1 sqq.): he therefore wisely guards against this opposite extreme.

On his return to Ephesus, he wrote the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*. On this we have the following data:—

¹ The *first Epistle to Timothy* cannot have been written after his departure from Ephesus, noticed Acts xviii. 19; for then Paul went not to Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), but to Cæsarea. Nor after the departure to Macedonia mentioned Acts xx. 1; for then Timothy was sent on before (xix. 22).

ACTS.

1 COR.

- xviii. 1-17. On his 2d tour, Paul spends $1\frac{1}{2}$ years in Corinth with Aquila and Priscilla.
- Ver. 6. Opposition from the Jews. Cf. chap. i. 22.
- „ 8. Forms a church notwithstanding. „ „ i. 26.
- „ 24-28. After his departure Apollos preaches in Corinth. „ „ iii. 4-6.
- Chap. v. 9. Paul wrote a *first* Epistle, which has been lost (probably from Ephesus), against fornication.
- i. 11. He received intelligence through the servants of a certain Chloe, who lived in Corinth, just before he wrote his second letter (1 Cor.); cf. xvi. 17.
- xix. 22. Paul sends Timothy and Erastus to *Macedonia*. iv. 17. Sends Timothy to *Corinth* (xvi. 10), but expects that he will not arrive there till the Corinthians have received his letter. Timothy was therefore not going straight to Corinth.
- xvi. 8. Our first Epistle to the Corinthians was written from *Ephesus*.
- xix. 21. When in Ephesus, Paul planned a journey to Macedonia and Achaia. xvi. 5. Paul intends to come through Macedonia to Achaia.

Thus, in the simplest manner, the details all fit together.

From Ephesus Paul also wrote the *Epistle to Titus*, whom he had left behind in Crete, in similar circumstances to those of Timothy in Ephesus, and with a similar commission to organize the newly established churches in Crete. Judaizing *ματαιόλογοι* had also found their way there, as formerly to Ephesus (chap. i. 10 sqq.).—When Paul wrote to Titus, he intended to spend the next winter in Nicopolis (in Acarnania); and purposed to send Artemas or Tychicus to fetch Titus thither (chap. iii. 12). The former intention he appears to have carried out; for the three months' stay in Achaia mentioned in Acts xx. 2, 3, may refer to Nicopolis, as this city was then regarded as

belonging to Achaia (*Tac. Ann. 2, 53, apud urbem Achaiae Nicopolim*); and this is all the more probable, as we know from Rom. xv. 19 that he did visit Illyria at this time, and therefore moved along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and Ionian Sea. The Apostle then *left Ephesus* on account of the persecution, and wrote *from Macedonia* his SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS. With regard to this we have the following data:—

ACTS.

2 COR.

Departure from Ephesus on account of the persecutions; chap.

Chap. i. 8.

xix. 23 sqq., xx. 1.

Paul goes to Macedonia; chap. xx. 1.

Paul hoped to find Titus in Troas, but did not, and went forward to Macedonia; chap. ii. 13, cf. vii. 5, ix. 2.

He goes from Macedonia to Achaia; chap. xx. 2.

He intends to come to Corinth; ix. 4, x. 11, xiii. 2.

Paul had previously sent Timothy from Ephesus through Macedonia to Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 11, cf. Acts xix. 22). In the meantime he went to Macedonia himself, and then met Timothy on his way back from Corinth (2 Cor. i. 1). On account of the intelligence which Timothy brought, Paul began to write the second Epistle to the Corinthians. He had written as far as chap. vii. 1, when the long expected Titus arrived (chap. vii. 5 sqq.), with more pleasing information respecting Corinth, and the produce of a collection already made in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem (chap. xii. 17, 18, cf. Rom. xv. 25 sqq.). Paul then sent Titus back to Achaia along with two other brethren (chap. viii.), to complete the collection there; and promised that he himself would follow them soon (chap. xiii. 1). According to chap. ix. 2, he was still writing in Macedonia.

For a long time past, his thoughts had been turned towards *Rome* (Acts xxv. 10; Rom. i. 13, 15, xv. 22). Christians from different countries (*e.g.*, Aquila) were assembled there. And when the Apostle had reached Corinth from Macedonia (Acts xx. 2), he wrote the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. With regard to this Epistle,¹ compare the following passages:—

a. Rom. xv. 25, 26. When Paul wrote, he was about to go to Jerusalem with a collection

1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii.—ix.; Acts xxiv. 17, xx. 22.

¹ We assume the genuineness of Rom. xv. xvi. as established by *Kling* (*Studien und Kritiken* 1837, 2), against *Baur*.

which had been made in Macedonia and Achaia.

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| <p>b. Rom. xvi. 3, 4. When Paul wrote, Aquila and Priscilla were in Rome, and had collected the church in their house (ver. 5). They had previously met with Paul (ver. 4).</p> <p>c. Rom. i. 13, xv. 23. When Paul wrote, he was longing to visit Rome.</p> <p>d. Rom. xvi. 21. Paul sends greetings from Timothy, <i>Lucius</i>, Jason, and Sospater.</p> <p>e. Rom. xvi. 23. When Paul wrote, he was staying at the house of Gaius.</p> | <p>Acts xviii. 2 and 18 (and 26).</p> <p>Acts xix. 21. On his third missionary tour, Paul longed to visit Rome.</p> <p>Acts xx. 4. Timothy and Sospater are mentioned as companions of Paul through Achaia.</p> <p>1 Cor. i. 14. Gaius is mentioned as a Corinthian.</p> |
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There still remain to be noticed the Epistles written during the first imprisonment in Rome. The Epistle to PHILEMON was written when Paul had been some time a prisoner (Phil. 9, 10), and after the conversion of Onesimus. Paul mentions an Aristarchus (ver. 24); and in Acts xxvii. 2, we find an Aristarchus accompanying the Apostle. In ver. 1, Paul states that Timothy is with him; and it is evident from Phil. i. 1 and ii. 22 that Timothy really was with Paul during the Roman imprisonment mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.—With regard to the Epistle to the COLOSSIANS, compare Col. iv. 10 with Acts xxvii. 2. From Eph. iii. 1 and 13, iv. 1, vi. 19, 20, it is evident that the Epistle to the EPHESIANS was sent off at the same time as the Epistle to the Colossians.—On the Epistle to the PHILIPPIANS, compare Acts xvi. 12 sqq. and xx. 6, with Phil. i. 1, iv. 10 sqq. At the close of his imprisonment, when he no longer enjoyed the privilege of living in a house of his own (Acts xxviii. 30), and when his trial had already taken the worst possible turn, he wrote the SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

According to Phil. ii. 19 sqq., Timothy had left the Apostle in bonds, shortly before his first judicial examination, for the purpose of visiting Philippi. Alexander the coppersmith, who did the Apostle much harm in this examination (2 Tim. iv. 14 sqq.), resided in Ephesus, since Timothy, who was then in Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 18 cf. iv. 19, and 2 Tim. ii. 17 cf. 1 Tim. i. 20), was told to beware of him. He was very likely one of the men who stirred up the tumults

against Paul (Acts xix. 24 sqq.); and was sent for by the Jews as a witness that Paul was a constant disturber of the peace.—According to 2 Tim. iv. 20, Paul had left Trophimus behind in Miletus, sick—the same Trophimus whom he had been accused of taking with him into the temple (Acts xxi. 27–29). It is true that he did not touch at Miletus itself on the voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. xxviii.); but the vessel in which he sailed from Cæsarea was bound for Adramyttium (near Troas), and was about to touch at the different ports of proconsular Asia, and therefore at Miletus (Acts xxvii. 2). At Myra of Lycia the centurion and Paul went on board another vessel (Acts xxvii. 5). Trophimus evidently remained behind, and proceeded to *Miletus* in the vessel which was bound for Adramyttium. In that case, Paul could very well say that (in sailing past) he had left him behind in Miletus. The Apostle mentions this to Timothy, to *explain* the reason of his absence, which had been so disadvantageous to Paul, and to show that Trophimus was not to blame.—*Erastus* the Corinthian (Rom. xvi. 23) might have helped the Apostle to meet the charges of the Jews, who had probably been fetched from Corinth (cf. Acts xxiv. 5 and xviii. 12–17, xx. 3); but he was too cowardly to come, and had *remained* in Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20; it does not follow therefore that the Apostle himself had just been in Corinth). Five years before, Paul had left a *φελόνη* (a *map*; cf. *Matthies in loc.*) and some books with Carpus in Troas; and since that time he had neither wanted them, nor had any opportunity of fetching them away. But now, for some reason, it was important that he should have these writings (possibly because they contained something which would be of service in making his defence; or it may have been because he wished to bequeath them to the church in Rome for its edification): he therefore requested Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 13) to bring this map with him when he came, and if possible, as the trial was hastening to a tragical end, before the winter storms rendered a voyage impossible (2 Tim. iv. 21).¹

The casual and incidental notices which we find scattered throughout the Epistles of Paul, with regard to his ever changing life, may thus be brought in the simplest manner, and without discrepancy, into harmony with the account of Paul's travels in the Acts of the Apostles. And it is just in minute and apparently unimportant points that we find the most remarkable agreement. If the Acts had been fabricated in a later age, as *Baur* maintains, this would indicate the most clever and refined species of fraud: the author must have been in *possession*

¹ The pastoral letters, therefore, fall into their places in the account of Paul's life as given in the Acts; and there is no necessity whatever to assume that he was set at liberty, and afterwards taken prisoner a second time.

of all the Epistles of Paul, and must have singled out with most unusual skill all the minutest details, for the purpose of weaving them into his patchwork, and bringing it into harmony with the Epistles. But even then, what author would have introduced into such a passage as Acts xx. 4 the names of Timothy and Sosipater, simply because he found from Rom. xvi. 21 that they were in Rome with Paul, and omitted those of Lucius and Jason, who are also mentioned there?—Thus we obtain an additional proof of the authenticity and credibility of the Acts of the Apostles from a study of the notices contained in the Pauline Epistles.

Baur founds another objection upon Acts xxviii. 17 sqq. We read there, that three days after his arrival in Rome, Paul sent for the elders of the Jews, and said to them, "I have committed nothing against the people or customs of our fathers;" assuring them that he had been accused unjustly by the Jews, and therefore had appealed to Cæsar. "For the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain." Thus he speaks, evidently on the supposition that the Jewish elders at Rome will already have received intelligence respecting him from Palestine. But they reply that they have received no information, either by letter or word of mouth, and are quite ready to listen to him. Of the *αἵρεσις*, however, to which he belongs, they know very well that it has met with opposition everywhere from the Jews. They say by no means, that all they know of the Christians is that they are a sect opposed *in other places* by the Jews; but the reason they assign for desiring to hear of Paul what he thinks, is that his *αἵρεσις* is one in which the Jews have everywhere manifested a polemical interest.

This is the account as given in the Acts. Supposing that at that time there were no Christians in Rome who were known to the Jews, these elders would not have spoken of "this sect," as soon as Paul mentioned the hope of Israel. The expression shows that they were already acquainted with this sect, as one which had to do with the hope of Israel. They did not expect to receive the first account of "this sect" from Paul, but were simply interested in discussing it with him, because they heard on every hand both of the progress it was making and the opposition it excited; and therefore regarded the question as one well worth their while to inquire still further about.

Baur gives a different version. He quotes a passage from *Ols-hausen's* commentary, in which he states (erroneously), that "according to Acts xxviii. 17, 18, the Christians were *altogether unknown* to the elders of the Roman synagogue." Now, according to *Baur's* view, the Epistle to the Romans, which is known to have been written

before the arrival of Paul in Rome, presupposes the existence of Jewish Christians there. There was a Jewish Christian church in Rome, therefore, when Paul arrived. How was it possible, then, that the elders mentioned in Acts xxviii. should have known nothing of this church?

Olshausen's assumption, that on account of the persecution of the Jews by Claudius, which occurred shortly before the Epistle to the Romans was written, there cannot have been any Jew or Jewish Christian in Rome at that time, *Baur* justly pronounces untenable. The question is not settled any more easily, by the supposition that these elders (Acts xxviii.) merely pretended to know nothing of the Christians. But this gives *Baur* no right to conclude that Acts xxviii. contains merely an unhappy *invention* of the author, who wanted at any rate to make Paul address the Jews first of all, and could only explain the *fact* that Paul preached to the Gentiles in Rome, by the fiction that the Jews would not listen to him. For, *first* of all, the author by no means states that the Jews were unbelieving; on the contrary, he says (vers. 23, 24), that on a certain day they came to Paul and listened attentively, and that "some believed, and some believed not." Would the author have written this if he had intended to give a fictitious representation of the Jews as unbelieving? And, *secondly*, according to the view expressed in Rom. i. 16, Paul must actually have first addressed himself to the Jews.

But *Baur's* hypothesis is as *unnecessary* as it is *impossible*. There is no discrepancy between Acts xxviii. 17, 18, and the fact that there were Jewish Christians in Rome; for, according to the explanation which we have just given, the Jewish elders speak of the Christians not as an *unknown* sect, but as one with which they were *well* acquainted.

§ 112.

HISTORICAL DATA IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

The authenticity and credibility of the Acts being thus established from every point of view, we are now perfectly warranted in looking to it for such historical data as we require. It would, of course, be beyond our plan to give *in nuce* a complete history of the apostolic age. We shall restrict ourselves, therefore, to such points as will be of importance in the remaining inquiry.

(1.) The Christian Church was founded by *the twelve Apostles in Jerusalem*; and for a long time the Jerusalem church formed the

central point of all the churches within and without the limits of Palestine (cf. Acts xi. 20 sqq., xv. 2).

(2.) For a time the Apostles all remained in Jerusalem, with the exception of short excursions in Palestine.

(3.) The Christian Church, therefore, did not arise accidentally or unobserved, but was developed in a very definite form, and with cohesiveness and unity.

(4.) The missionary work, or the work of spreading Christianity, was carried on by the preaching of the *εὐαγγέλιον*, i.e., of the *doctrine* of Christ (that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, the Son of God, the Risen One). But this *doctrine* was not proclaimed apart from the *history* of Jesus, the description of His person, the *μαρτυρία*. This fact, which *Weisse* disputes, is most fully proved by the Acts of the Apostles and the apostolic Epistles. For whenever the Apostles meet with unconverted Jews, they proceed to show them that the different predictions of the Old Testament are fulfilled in Christ (Acts viii. 30 sqq., xiii. 15 sqq., especially vers. 24 sqq., xviii. 28, xxviii. 23, etc., cf. Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. i. 12). But how was this possible, without entering into the life of Jesus, just as Matthew has done? Moreover, all those passages which speak of a *λόγος*, a *λόγος ἀκοῆς*, a *κήρυγμα*, presuppose that the subject of the preaching was something more than a mere *dogma*, or *theologoumenon*; that it was a complete whole, a *history*. In what other way could the distinction arise between the *Evangelists* and the *teachers* (Eph. iv. 11)? And how else are we to explain the stress laid upon the *eye-witness* of the preachers? *To have seen* the Lord was regarded as essential to apostleship (1 Cor. ix. 1). And when the place of Judas was filled up, the disciples considered it indispensable, that whoever was chosen should have been with them “*all the time* that the Lord Jesus went in and out among them;”—and on what ground? “*To be a witness* with us of His resurrection.” He who had not been a witness of the whole of the *life* of Jesus, was not thought a valid witness of His resurrection.—We find, too, that when the Apostles proclaimed the Gospel, they did enter into the facts of Jesus’ life (Acts ii. 23, 24, iii. 13 sqq., x. 38 sqq.); and in their Epistles they do the same (cf. 1 Cor. x. 27, chap. xi.; 1 Thess. v. 3; 1 Tim. v. 18, vi. 13; Jas. v. 12; 2 Pet. i. 17, 18).

(5.) The Jewish Christians who remained in Jerusalem continued for a time (till the Lord Himself abolished the temple, Acts vi. 14) to take part with the rest of the people in the temple service, but were no longer members of Jewish synagogues (Acts vi. 9, and viii. 1). The difference between them and the Jews consisted in this, that they believed the law to have been fulfilled in Christ, and sins to be for-

given once for all through Him (Acts iii. 19, iv. 12, vii.), whilst the Jews did not believe in Christ. The distinction between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians was by no means this, that the latter hoped to obtain forgiveness of sins *without* the law, the former *through* the law (so far as the forgiveness of sins was concerned, they were fully agreed); but that the former kept the law until it was actually abolished by God Himself through the destruction of the temple, whilst the latter (whose central point at a very early period was Antioch) from the very first did not observe the law at all (Acts xv. 1, cf. ver. 29).

The distinction between the *false teachers at Galatia* and the *Apostles* (who were fully agreed among themselves) is altogether different from that between the Jewish and Gentile Christians, who held exactly the same belief as to the manner in which forgiveness of sins was to be obtained. The first are described in Gal. ii. 4, 5, as "false brethren unawares crept in," whom Paul withstood in the presence of the *δοκοῦντες*—of Peter, James, and John. With the latter Paul was perfectly agreed, both as to the circumcision of Titus (ver. 3), and their different spheres of labour (vers. 6–10). The former (successors of the false teachers mentioned in Acts xv. 1) taught, that only they who were already embraced within the limits of Judaism, through circumcision and the observance of the Old Testament *law*, could have any claim to the grace of redemption through a Messiah, which was promised to the Israelites alone (cf. Acts xv. 1, and Gal. iii. sqq.). They did not put the keeping of the law in the place of Christ's work of grace, but made the *claim* to the latter dependent upon the former, regarding the observance of the law, not as the cause, but as the condition of the forgiveness of sin. In opposition to them, Paul taught, that to come to the Gospel there was no need of the law, but that the former set the believer free from the latter; that faith, not lineal descent from Abraham, was the ground of a claim to the blessings of Christ. In this he knew that there was no difference of doctrine between himself and the rest of the Apostles (Gal. ii. 8, 9).

A third distinction is that between the *Ebionites* and *other Christians*. Romantic minds have imagined the Jewish Christians and the Ebionites were one and the same. The Jewish Christians, as described in the *Acts*, must have been totally different from the Ebionites as described by the *Fathers*. The latter were persons who, even after God Himself had abolished the temple worship and swept the old covenant away, and after all the other Jewish Christians had given up the observance of the ceremonial law, still believed that they were bound to adhere to it. They started from the same view as the false teachers in Galatia, that Christ existed for the sake of the Old Testa-

ment, not the Old Testament for the sake of Christ,—that a man must be a member of the old covenant before he could belong to Christ. But in the case of the Ebionites this false doctrine bore still more poisonous fruits than in that of the Galatians, since it involved not only a defiance of God's own act (the destruction of Jerusalem), but a *formal* separation from *all* other Christians. And this was followed by the loss of all *spiritual life*, and by their returning, with regard both to the plan of salvation and to the person of Christ, to that legality, and that idea of the Messiah, which appeared to the carnal eye to be the sole teaching of the Old Testament; whereas the spiritual eye can discern even in the Old Testament, within and above the law, the Gospel promise, and the divine Sufferer by the side of the human King.

We have thus a threefold distinction. 1. The JEWISH CHRISTIANS (including the twelve Apostles), and the GENTILE CHRISTIANS. These were *agreed* in the *doctrine*, that righteousness could only be obtained through Jesus the Messiah, and not through the law. They differed in *practice* in this respect, that the Jewish Christians, from reverence, observed the law till God had abolished it in fact, whilst the Gentile Christians felt themselves free from its obligations.

2. The GALATIAN TEACHERS and the APOSTOLIC CHRISTIANS, both Jewish and Gentile. They were *agreed* in the fact that Jesus was the Messiah, who had secured forgiveness of sins and salvation for the people of God. But they *differed* in this: The *former* taught that the new covenant existed on account of the old, was in fact but a new phase of the old; and that, in order to participate in the Messianic salvation, a man must first become a member of the *people of God*, *i.e.*, the *Israel* according to the flesh, the mark of which was circumcision. The *latter* taught that the old covenant existed for the sake of the new, the law for the sake of the (still more primitive) Gospel. To participate in the Messianic salvation, a man must indeed belong to the *people of God*. But the people of God are those that believe; the Israel of the circumcision was only a type of the spiritual Israel.

3. The EBIONITES and CHRISTIANS. They *agreed* that Jesus was the Messiah. But they *differed* in this: The *former* taught that the work of the Messiah consisted merely in giving a new enforcement to the law, and that the Messiah himself was only a man. The *latter* taught that the work of the Messiah delivered from the bondage of the law, and that the Messiah was the Son of God.

Thus the early history of the Christian Church, as described by us above (pp. 28–33), is fully substantiated.

DIVISION II.

CRITICISM OF THE GOSPEL WRITINGS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS.¹

§ 113.

DATA ON THE ORIGIN OF MATTHEW.

AN inquiry into the origin of the four Gospels divides itself into two parts : one embracing the *three Synoptists*, who are so closely related to one another ; the other, *John*, who stands alone. With relation to the Synoptists, we shall not commence with the hypotheses offered in explanation of their close relationship, but shall adopt the much safer plan of commencing with what we know of each Synoptist separately, and then inquiring whether the certain data which we possess are not sufficient to enable us to explain the relationship between them. Such certain data are to be obtained, partly from the Gospels themselves, partly from notices and quotations in the Fathers, and partly from the nature and history of the apocryphal Gospels. We commence with

¹ [We may here bring under the notice of students a work which will be of use in the study of the questions that are discussed in this chapter. We refer to *Anger's Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, cum locis qui supersunt parallelis litterarum et traditionum Evangelicarum Irenæo Antiquiarum*, Lipsiæ 1851. The object of this work is to exhibit in synoptical view, along with the Greek text of the three first Gospels, all the parallel passages of oral or written tradition to be found in the apocryphal Gospels, the apostolic Fathers, and all other authors, whether *Catholic, heretic, or heathen, previous to the time of Irenæus*—or more accurately, of the publication of his books against heresies. The reason given by the author for limiting his work to this period is, that the works of Irenæus referred to are the first unquestionable witnesses to the reception by the Church of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, *in the form* in which, with minor variations, they were afterwards current.—The reader will also find two useful appendices on the *Apocryphal Traditions of the Lord's Words and Works*, and on *some of the Apocryphal Gospels*, in *Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Cambridge 1860.—Ed.]

the Gospel of Matthew ; and shall examine, first of all, not its age, but its *original composition*.

1. From the Gospel itself we may learn as much as this, that it was written for Jewish Christians, and intended to prove that Jesus of Nazareth was really the Messiah promised in the Old Testament ; and also to point out the difference between the Old and New Testament theocracies. If we look closely at the style, particularly at the quotations from the Old Testament, we shall notice one thing to which many critics have attached too much importance. There are many quotations in Matthew in which the Septuagint is followed, and others (especially such as contain Messianic prophecies) which deviate from it, without the deviation being caused by the context. *Hug* regards this as proving with the greatest certainty, that our Greek version of Matthew cannot at any rate be a translation from an Aramæan original, but must have been written in Greek at first, in the form in which we have it now ; since a translator would either have copied from the Septuagint such quotations as were given in Hebrew, or have given a literal translation of the Hebrew ; and would never have presumed to alter them at his pleasure. But to this *Sieffert* has already justly replied, that the Greek translator of an Aramæan work has quite as much right to alter freely any quotations which he may find copied literally from the Old Test., as the original author would have. *Bleek* has reproduced *Hug's* argument in a new form. He thinks he has discovered, that in the Greek Matthew the Septuagint is followed, where quotations are introduced into the conversation of others ; whilst the author gives his own translation of the Hebrew, whenever he introduces quotations to prove the fulfilment of prophecy. And he argues, that if the *words* of Jesus and others had been written originally in Aramæan, it is utterly improbable that the Greek reviser would have given the quotations occurring in their conversation in the form adopted in the LXX., even when it was at variance with the Hebrew text. But we assume that this was the work of one who possessed not only the Aramæan original, but the ordinary type of verbal narrative. The next difficulty started by *Bleek* is, that it is impossible to conceive, if this be the case, why the LXX. should not have been followed in the second class of quotations. We reply, simply because it would have disturbed the context and destroyed the sense. For example, the words quoted from Hosea in Matt. ii. 15 are rendered quite freely in the Sept., "And out of Egypt I called *My children* ;" and it is obvious that the Greek reviser could not have given this rendering in a passage intended to prove that, according to prophecy, God called His Son Jesus Christ out of Egypt. So also in

Matt. viii. 17, the quotation from Isa. liii. 4 is not given according to the Septuagint, simply because the rendering, "thus He bears our sins (*ἁμαρτίας*)," could not be adopted in a passage intended to show that Jesus takes away our infirmities (*ἀσθενείας*). In other passages of this kind the Greek reviser follows the Septuagint closely. On close examination, therefore, we find that there is no foundation for Bleek's distinction. In some of his prophetic references, he does certainly depart from the LXX. without urgent reason, and gives his own translation; but in the other class of passages he often does the same thing. Then, further, in many of the citations occurring in the conversations of others, the similarity with the LXX. is of no moment, as they are so short (a few words, as *οὐ μοιχεύσεις*, etc.), that a variation could hardly occur. Discounting these cases, the actual state of matters is this:—

A. Literal citations.

Prophetic references :

i. 23.

Citations in conversations :

iv. 7, 10; xiii. 14; xix. 5;
xxi. 16, 42; xxii. 44.

B. Quotations from LXX., with immaterial deviations (from memory).

Prophetic references :

ii. 18; xiii. 35; xxi. 5.

In conversations :

iii. 3; iv. 4 and 6; xv. 4, 8.

C. Original translations (without urgent reasons).

Prophetic references :

ii. 6; xii. 18–21.

Quotations in conversation :

v. 21, 31, 33, 43; xi. 10; xxii. 24
and 37.

Thus we see that the two classes of passages are treated as a whole in just the same way; and no argument can be founded upon them against the assumption of a Greek revision of an Aramæan original. Moreover, it must be borne in mind, that the original, from which the Greek version of Matthew had to be translated, if it be a translation, was written not in Hebrew, but in Aramæan; and therefore, that quotations from the O. T. would be translated into Aramæan. Deviations from the LXX., therefore, instead of emanating from the translator, may have been found in the original, and merely rendered word for word by the reviser. We have started with this inquiry, that we may be in a better position for examining the statements made by the Fathers, as to an original Aramæan edition of Matthew, with an unbiassed mind. We know now, that from the Greek version of Matthew no conclusion can be drawn against the possibility of an Aramæan original (nor *for* it, though Eichhorn and Bertheau have professed to find Hebraisms and blunders in translation).

2. We now pass on to *data from the Fathers*. The most important notice we find in *Eusebius, Hist. Eccl.* (3, 39). He quotes a passage from the *λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις* of Papias, in which Papias speaks of his intercourse with Apostles and apostolic men. Eusebius then proceeds as follows: καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν (Papias) Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγῆσαι καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις, ἐφ' ἧς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς παρέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣν περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτίθεται διὰ τούτων καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Then follows a quotation on the origin of the Gospel of Mark: Μάρκος μὲν ἐρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενομένος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὅς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. Eusebius continues: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰσθόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου: περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται. (Here the only natural course is to regard what follows as information communicated by John the Presbyter; in fact, as a quotation made from John by Papias:) Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ἐβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.¹

¹ We give in a note our reply to the objection offered by Schleiermacher, Lachmann, and Credner, to the effect that the words of Papias or John the Elder cannot relate to our Gospel of Matthew, since the Gospel mentioned by the former contained only *discourses of Jesus* (λόγια), whereas ours contains *narratives* also. There must, it is supposed, have been an original and genuine Aramæan Gospel of Matthew, consisting of *discourses* only, out of which our Greek and spurious Matthew arose. In opposition to this, Hug (Gutachten, pp. 33–4) has already proved, that according to the usage of the Fathers, λόγια denotes the *canonical writings* as such, whether they contain accounts of words or deeds. Cf. *Iren.* procem.: 'Ραδιονογοῦντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου, κ.τ.λ. (referring to all the Gospels); and τῇ τῶν ἐφαρμοζομένων κυριακῶν λογίων κακοσυνθετῷ σοφίᾳ. Also i. 8. Clemens Al., Strom. vii. 18, p. 900 seq.: Καθαρὰ καὶ δεκτὰ τῷ Θεῷ παραδίδωσιν ἡ γραφὴ, ὡς ἂν εἰς πατέρα καὶ εἰς υἱὸν διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῶν δικαίωντων τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ νύκτωρ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν μελετούντων. Also Origen, Comm. in Mt., tom. iii. on Mat. v. 19, οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς θείοις λόγοις ἐστὶ σκόλιον. Harless has also shown from Rom. iii. 1, 2, and Heb. v. 12, that this is the fixed usage in the New Testament. (Compare Acts vii. 38, from which it is evident that the first meaning of λόγιον is *oracle, revelation*, not *dictum* or *discourse*.) He also observes that the word λόγια, in the passage relating to Matthew, is to be explained from the use of the same expression in the passage immediately preceding, in which Mark is referred to. In the passage referring to Mark it is stated promiscuously: Μαρκὸς . . . ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν. οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα; and οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν

Thus *John the Presbyter*, himself a disciple of Jesus, assures us that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Aramæan, and that every one (who did not speak Aramæan as his native tongue) translated it as well as he possibly could.

Independently of Papias and John the Presbyter, we find a second notice in *Euseb. h. e.* (5, 10); viz., that *Pantænus* found "the Gospel by Matthew" in the Hebrew language in India, where it had been taken by Bartholomew. Ὁ Πάνταινος καὶ εἰς Ἰνδοὺς ἔλθειν λέγεται ἔνθα, λόγος, εὐρεῖν αὐτὸν, προφθάσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον παρὰ τισιν αὐτόθι τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπεγνωκόσιν οἷς Βαρθολομαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων ἓνα κηρύξαι, αὐτοῖς τε Ἑβραίων γράμμασι τὴν τοῦ Ματθαίου καταλείψαι γραφὴν, ἣν καὶ σώζεσθαι εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον. (For the worth of this account, see the following section.)

Irenæus, *Hær.* 3, 1, says: Ὁ μὲν δὲ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

Origen (*Euseb. h. e.* 6, 25) says: πρῶτον μὲν (εὐαγγέλιον) γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελώνην ὕστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαῖον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύουσι γράμμασιν ἑβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένων.

Jerome, in his preface to Matthew, says: *Matthæus in Judæa evangelium Hebræo Sermone edidit ob eorum maxime causam, qui in Jesum crediderant ex Judæis.* And in his *de vir. ill. cap. 3*: *Matthæus primus in Judæa propter eos, qui ex circumcisione crediderant, evangelium Christi Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit, quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est.*

Lastly, *Epiphanius*, *Hær.* (29, 9) says of the Nazarenes: ἔχουσι δὲ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρέστατον ἑβραϊστί παρ' αὐτοῖς γὰρ σαφῶς τοῦτο, καθὼς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν, ἔτι σώζεται. (Vid. *Chrysostom*, *hom. in Matt. i.*).

The Syrian Church also held the view expressed by Ebedjesu, that Matthew wrote in the language of Palestine. Thus we have a whole list of Fathers who speak firmly and deliberately of the original composition of the first Gospel in Aramæan as an established fact.

3. The passage from Epiphanius suggests a connection between the Aramæan Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which we must now examine more closely, and which throws con-

τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγιον. *Frommann* also appeals to the title of the work of Papias himself—*κυριακῶν λόγιον ἐξήγησις*, which contains not discourses only, but historical accounts also. The objection offered by *Lachmann*, therefore, is completely overthrown, along with his entire hypothesis.

siderable light upon the whole question. There are also other data which indicate a connection between the former and certain *apocryphal* Gospels; and these we must now inquire into, before we can come to any definite conclusion upon the question generally. We commence with *Jerome* (ob. 420), in whose works we find the greatest number of allusions to the subject, and whom we should expect to possess more than ordinary information on the subject, since he lived in Palestine, and, as we shall see, made it one of his leading occupations to prosecute inquiries into the Gospel of Matthew in Aramæan. In his work *Adv. Pelag.* 3, 1, he writes as follows of the *evangelium juxta Hebræos*: “*Ev. juxta Hebræos, quod chaldaico quidem syroque sermone, sed hebraicis literis servatum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazaræi; secundum apostolos sive ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthæum, quot et in Cæsariensi habetur bibliotheca.*” This sentence contains two propositions: (A) *The Gospel of the Hebrews is identical with the Gospel of the Nazarenes*; and (B) *the Gospel of the Hebrews was written by Matthew*. The first is the statement of Jerome himself, who was personally acquainted both with the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and also with the Gospel of the Hebrews (which, as we shall presently see, and as Eusebius (3, 25) especially proves, was a work generally known); the second he gives as the opinion of most of his contemporaries.

We now pass on to the other passages in Jerome. On Matt. xii. 13 he says: “*In evangelio, quo utuntur Nazaræi et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in græcum sermonem de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum (the original production of Matthew).*” From this we see, then, that Jerome paid such particular attention to the Gospel of the Nazarenes as to be induced to translate it. Still further, we find the second statement B, that the Gospel of the Nazarenes was regarded by most persons as the Aramæan original of Matthew, again repeated; and the expression, “*Matthæi authenticum,*” also presupposes that by the *plerique* the canonical Greek was not regarded as the original of Matthew. Lastly, the words, “*evangelium quo utuntur Nazaræi et Ebionitæ,*” lead to a third conclusion: (C) *The Gospel of the Nazarenes is identical with the Gospel of the Ebionitæ.*

But we may also proceed a step further. The Gospel of the Nazarenes cannot possibly have been *the same* as the canonical Matthew; for if it had been so, why should Jerome have translated it?¹ We are brought, therefore, to this conclusion: (D) *The Hebrew (Naza-*

¹ Cur enim græcum in sermonem reddidisset, si illud cum evangelio canonico. græce exarato, convenire vidisset? (*Harless.*)

rene) *Gospel, though differing from the canonical Greek Matthew, was such that it could be, and actually was, regarded as the Aramæan original of the latter.*

This last proposition (and incidentally also the first) is confirmed by Jerome in his *de vir. ill.* 2: "Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur secundum Hebræos et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque sermonem translatum est (the Nazarene Gospel therefore) quo et Origenes servatur (which was therefore used by Origen without any scruple).

We now pass to *Epiphanius*, a man whom we may expect to find very suspicious of any work employed by heretics. Even he admits without hesitation that the Gospel current among the Nazarenes, and called by them "the Gospel according to Matthew," was the Aramæan Matthew which they alone had preserved. Hence he confirms our fourth proposition (D). But he gives no less support to the other three. That is to say, he regards the Gospel of the Ebionites as essentially the same as that of the Nazarenes; he looks upon both as identical with that of the Hebrews; and, lastly, he identifies all three with the Aramæan Matthew. For he says that the Ebionites δέχονται μὲν τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ καθ' Ἑβραίου, ὡς τὰ ἀληθῆ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Ματθαῖος μόνος ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐν τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ ἐποίησατο τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἑκθεσίν τε καὶ κήρυγμα. In this passage he is very far from setting it down as a pretension of the Ebionites, that their Gospel is that of Matthew; he gives it as his own deliberate conclusion, that the Ebionites also receive the Gospel of Matthew, and that this Gospel is the only one of our New Testament writings which they do not reject, but accept as canonical. He then mentions the fact, that it was by the Ebionites themselves that it was called, *not* the Gospel of Matthew, but the Gospel of the Hebrews. Even this he does not blame, or regard as a proof that the Gospel of the Ebionites could not have been written by Matthew. On the contrary, he says distinctly that "Matthew did actually write in Hebrew" (*i.e.*, Aramæan).

Irenæus (h. 1, 26) writes to the same effect: "(Ebionæi) solo autem eo, quod est secundum Matthæum evangelio utuntur." *Eusebius* (3, 27) also says, Οὔτοι (the Ebionites) δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀποστόλου πάσας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀρνητέας ἡγοῦτο εἶναι δεῖν, ἀποστάτην ἀποκαλοῦντες αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου. Εὐαγγελίῳ δὲ μόνῳ τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίου λεγομένῳ χρώμενοι τῶν λοιπῶν σμικρὸν ἐποιοῦντο λόγον.

To understand perfectly these statements of the Fathers, it is necessary to bear in mind such quotations and fragments as we still possess from the Gospel of the Hebrews, and also from that of the Nazarenes and Ebionites. The Fathers pronounced all three Gospels

to be one and the same, and in fact identical with the Aramæan original of Matthew. At the same time, as we have already seen (D), the Gospel of the Nazarenes must have differed from the canonical Greek of Matthew. Now, if we look more closely at the quotations and fragments, we shall find :

(E.) *The Gospel of the Hebrews, that of the Nazarenes, and that of the Ebionites are three different recensions of one and the same Gospel, the first being simply the Aramæan Matthew (with trifling alterations) which was used for some time by the early orthodox Fathers, and eventually supplanted by the Greek version of Matthew; that the Gospel of the Nazarenes is the same which was scrupulously preserved by the Nazarenes alone, and became corrupted before long; and that the Gospel of the Ebionites is a still more distorted Gospel of the Nazarenes, into which the most absurd stuff was interpolated, after the manner of the Gnostics, by the remaining representatives of the sect, which was in reality dead, and had become thoroughly heretical.*

The *Gospel of the Hebrews* was well known to orthodox theologians in the time of Eusebius (ob. 340), and held in some esteem. For in a well-known passage (3, 25), this Church historian places it, not among the ἀπόκρυφα (cf. Eus. 3, 25 and 3, 31), but the ἀντιλεγόμενα; i.e., among those books which from the commencement of the second century had been received in many churches, though not in all. His words are as follows :—ἐτι δὲ ὡς ἔφην ἡ Ἰωάννου ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἦν τινες ὡς ἔφην ἀθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσι τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις· ἤδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον κατέλεξαν, ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ἄν εἴη. (The whole list is the following: James, Jude, 2d and 3d Epistle of John, Hermas, Revelation of Peter, Barnabas, Revelation of John, Gospel of the Hebrews.) We must beware, however, of inferring too much from this; which we should do, if we were to assume that in the time of Eusebius the old genuine Gospel of the Hebrews was still in the possession of orthodox theologians in a sufficient number of MSS., and in a pure form, distinct from that of the Nazarenes. For everything leads rather to the opposite conclusion; viz., that there never did exist a distinct family of MSS. of the Gospel of the Hebrews in the orthodox Church, but that at a very early period the Nazarenes were the only possessors of this work, and orthodox theologians were accustomed to make their quotations either from such codices as they had obtained direct from the Nazarenes, or from such as might be regarded as daughters of Nazarene MSS. In the quotations from the Gospel of the Hebrews, for example, which we find in succession in different Fathers, we see a general deterioration in the cha-

acter of that work, which may be perfectly explained from the deterioration in the Ebionites themselves. We can easily understand, therefore, how the Gospel of the Hebrews might be quoted without scruple in the earliest times; whereas afterwards such doubts naturally arose, that in the age of Eusebius it was only by a portion of the Church that it was regarded as a *Homologoumenon*. It was quoted by Hegesippus,¹ Ignatius,² and Papias.³ Of the passages quoted, only one remains (in Papias); and even of that we have merely a brief notice of the substance,—sufficient in our opinion, however, to warrant the conclusion, that it contains the account of the anointing of Christ by a sinful woman, which we find in Luke vii. At a very early period, therefore, the Aramæan Matthew appears to have received additions from the historical materials of the genuine Gospels, possibly from the Gospel of Luke itself. It was quoted still further by Clemens Alex. In Strom. 1, p. 380, he says, *Κὰν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θανάσιμος βασιλεύσει, γέγραπται, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται*. Here too we have an addition, which is not to be found in our version of Matthew, but an addition of a very appropriate kind, which might very well have originated in genuine verbal tradition.

The deterioration had proceeded much further when *Origen* quoted the Gospel of the Hebrews. In his tract. on Matt. xix. 19, he cites a passage in the following words: “Scriptum est in evangelio quodam, quod dicitur secundum Hebræos (si tamen placet alicui suscipere illud non ad auctoritatem sed ad manifestationem propositæ quæstionis). Dixit, inquit, ad eum alter divitum: Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? dixit ei: Homo, leges et prophetas fac. Respondit ad eum: Feci. Dixit ei; vade, vende omnia quæ possides, et divide pauperibus, et veni sequere me. Cæpit autem dives scalpere caput suum et non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: Quomodo dicis, legem feci et prophetas; quoniam scriptum est in lege: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut te ipsum, et ecce multi fratres tui filii Abrahæ amicti sunt stercore, morientes præ fame, et domus tua plena est multis bonis et non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simoni fili Joannæ, facilius est, camelum intrare per foramen acus, quam divitem in regnum cælorum.” We have here three additions to the account in Matt. xix. 16–23: the young man’s perplexity—“he began to scratch his head;” the reply of Jesus, “How sayest thou, I have observed the law,” etc.? and the name “Simon, son of Joanna,” which seems to indicate a Nazarene desire to exalt Peter (cf. “sedenti apud se”).

The corruptions are of the same kind in another passage, which

¹ Euseb. 4, 22.

² Jerome, vir. ill. 16.

³ Euseb. 3, 39.

Origen quotes in two different places. In Hom. 15 on Jer. he says : “ εἰ δέ τις παραδέχεται τὸ ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἢ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀνήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Θαβὼρ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ;” and in Tom. 2 in Joh. p. 58, Huet : “ εἰ δὲ προσίεται τις τὸ καθ’ Ἑβραίου εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ φησιν ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἢ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν μιᾷ τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ.” The same passage is quoted by *Jerome* (lib. 11, comm. on Isa. xl. 11), to prove that the Holy Spirit is represented sometimes as male and sometimes as female, whilst it is really neither, “in divinitate enim nullus est sexus.” This passage is commonly adduced as a proof of the corrupt state and apocryphal character of the Gospel of the Hebrews. But if it was really so bad, there would be the greater reason for wondering how *Origen*, and still more how *Jerome*, could make quotations from it. Even if it be an interpolation, it is an innocent one, and by no means heretical. The same remark applies to this as to the previous quotation. The additions bear the same relation to the genuine text, as the additions in the earliest Targums to the text of the Old Test. Explanations and interpolations were introduced, without the admixture of anything heretical.

We find the Gospel of the Nazarenes, as quoted by *Jerome*, in the same condition. From the “*Evangelium juxta Hebræos, quod chaldaico quidem sermone sed hebraicis literis scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni,*” he cites the words of Matt. xviii. 22 quite correctly (lib. 3, adv. Pelag.). But he also quotes the following apocryphal account : “*Ecce mater domini et fratres ejus dicebant ei : Joannes baptista baptizat in remissionem peccatorum ; eamus et baptizemur ab eo. Dixit autem eis : quid peccavi, ut baptizer ab eo. Nisi forte hoc ipsam, quod dixi ignorantia est.*” Here is already an Ebionitish trait. *Jerome* also quotes the following words from the history of the resurrection (vir. illus. v. Ignat.) : “*Et quando venit ad Petrum et ad eos, qui cum Petro erant, dixit eis ; ecce palpite me et videte, quia non sum dæmonium incorporale, et statim tetigerunt eum et crediderunt.*” This is simply Luke xxiv. 39, with one change only, viz., that the disciples are described as “Peter and those who were with him ;” a truly Nazarene preference, therefore, being once more given to him. —A fourth quotation in *Jerome* (lib. 2, com. in Matt. xii.) contains the account of the man with a withered hand, with the additional information that he was *cæmentarius*. Again a harmless addition. He also states, that in this Gospel it is said to be one of the greatest sins for any one to vex his brother. He gives, too, the following words of Jesus : “Ye are never happier than when looking upon your brother in love.” (Possibly an addition to Matt. xviii. 22.) And in his com-

mentary on Isa. iv. 12 we find this extract: *Factum est autem, cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, et fons spiritus sancti descendit et requievit super eum, et dixit illi: fili in omnibus prophetis expectabam te, ut venires et requiescerem super te; tu enim es requies mea, tu es filius meus primogenitus, qui regnas in sempiternum.* We have here Matt. iii. 17, with a perfectly correct *theologoumenon* introduced in a truly Targum fashion.—This, then, was the state of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, in the form in which it existed in Jerome's time as the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*. It contained words and narratives which never had a place in Matthew; it also contained, along with genuine accounts, many explanations and *theologoumena* introduced into the history itself; and, thirdly, it contained traces of a disposition to manifest a preference for Peter.

It was altogether different with that version of the Gospel of the Hebrews which *Epiphanius* possessed, viz., the *Gospel of the Ebionites*. He regarded this Gospel as both corrupt and heretical.¹ The quotations which he has made, prove unmistakeably how far and how rapidly the corrupting process had spread among the Ebionites. Of the passage which we last cited from Jerome, we have a totally different version. The words spoken of Christ, as the end of the prophets, are wanting; and a double voice from heaven is introduced. Again, the first three chapters of our canonical Gospel of Matthew are wanting: this was not the case with the Gospel of the Nazarenes, for Jerome quotes two passages from that Gospel which are contained in Matt. ii. In all the passages given by *Epiphanius* we find a strictly apocryphal web of interpolations, beneath the mass and burden of which it is with difficulty that the original Matthew can here and there be recognised. And an examination of such extracts as we possess, confirms the conclusion to which we had already been brought by the statements of the Fathers. Whilst *Hug*, for example, starts with the assumption that the Gospel of the Hebrews must always have existed in the same form as in the time of *Epiphanius*, and then draws this conclusion: "So far back in antiquity as we are able to demonstrate on historical grounds the existence of the Jewish book (!), we find it always so different from our own Matthew, that there is no ground whatever for the conjecture that the two writings are identical;" we have seen, on the contrary, (1) that notwithstanding the small number of extracts which we possess, there is a very evident

¹ Hær. 30. Itaque in evangelio apud ipsos secundum Matthæum appellato, non integro autem et pleno, sed corrupto ac mutilato, habetur, etc.—This gives all the more weight to the opinion of *Epiphanius*, when, notwithstanding this, he recognises the Gospel as the (simply corrupted) Aramæan Matthew.

deterioration of the early Gospel of the Hebrews, which was regarded and quoted as canonical in the first two centuries, and afterwards, being preserved among the Nazarenes and Ebionites alone, became corrupt, received paraphrastic additions, was lowered in consequence in the estimation of the orthodox Church, and eventually sank with the fall of the Ebionites into a thorough apocryphal patchwork; (2) that although we have so few quotations on the whole, that they might all be printed on four octavo pages, they contain a comparatively large number of passages which are also to be found in our own Gospel of Matthew (viz., chap. ii., iii. 4 and 17, v. 22, vi. 11, xii. 10, xviii. 22, xix. 16-23, xx. 26, xxiii. 35, xxvii. 16 and 51, xxvi. 17); and (3) that the statement of the Fathers is fully confirmed, that the Gospel of the Hebrews is no other than the Gospel of Matthew in its original Aramæan form.

§ 114.

HYPOTHESES AS TO THE ORIGIN OF MATTHEW.

1. Notwithstanding the clearness and concord of these *data*, most of the early theologians of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, and among more modern writers, *Hug*, *De Wette*, and others, still hold to the hypothesis that Matthew wrote in *Greek*. This hypothesis has been so thoroughly met by the searching criticism of *Sieffert*, that as no fresh arguments have been adduced on the opposite side, we need do little more than give a brief *resumé* of *Sieffert's* investigations. The supporters of the Greek original rely for the most part upon the following arguments:—*a*. The testimony of all the Fathers as to the Aramæan Matthew may be traced to one common source, and resolves itself into the testimony of Papias.—*b*. Papias was no critic.—*c*. As Jerome and Epiphanius were afterwards deceived by a certain similarity between the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, or the Hebrews, and the Greek Matthew, and were led to imagine that in the former they could still discern traces of the latter, Papias may also have been deceived in the same way. And the first in the whole series of such accounts *may* therefore rest upon an error.—*d*. While the evidence adduced in support of the Aramæan Matthew is not conclusive, the evidence on the other side has all the greater force. No one has ever seen the Aramæan Matthew.—*e*. The Gospel of the Hebrews, or Nazarenes, or Ebionites, which was given out as such, was nothing but a miserable patchwork.

To this the following is a sufficient reply. *a*. The account of Eusebius (3, 25) is derived not from Papias, but from John the Elder.

And the testimony with regard to Pantænus is at any rate altogether independent of Papias. *Harless* tries to weaken this testimony. He says, "Since no one knows what was the nature of this Gospel, and it cannot be discovered at all from the words of Eusebius whether it was the same as the one praised by Papias, or entirely different from it; whether it was written in Aramæan, or rendered into Aramæan by Bartholomew or some one else; Pantænus cannot possibly be ranked among those who confirm the testimony of Papias by the authority of their own names." I must confess that I am not yet convinced that I am in error. It seems to me that it is a matter of little moment whether the Gospel brought to India was the same as the one quoted by Papias or not. There is said to have been a mere legend that Pantænus found an Aramæan Matthew in India, which had been taken there by Bartholomew. This is quite enough. Such a legend could not arise without some one being aware of the existence of an Aramæan Matthew. Supposing that this is nothing but a legend, can such a legend have grown out of the opinion of one single man? Is it possible that because Papias (or, more correctly, John the Elder) imagined that the Gospel of the Ebionites was written by Matthew, and, consequently, Matthew wrote first of all in Aramæan, therefore a legend quickly sprang up in other quarters of an Aramæan Matthew being discovered in India?

But apart from the legend of Pantænus altogether; supposing that the account of the Aramæan Matthew did not originate with John the Elder, but with Papias; and supposing that the legend of Pantænus had never existed, and that Irenæus had actually obtained his information from Papias, and Origen his from Irenæus; even then, we ask, how it is possible for a whole series of Fathers,—and those the most important of all: an Irenæus, an Origen, an Eusebius, a Jerome,—to copy from one another a mere legendary tale, and publish it, without scruple, as genuine and unalloyed. If this be the case with regard to the tradition of the Church, there is not a single statement as to any biblical book whatever which rests upon a firm foundation. Irenæus certainly knew Papias better than we do, and could tell for certain when he was to be trusted, and when not. And is it likely that he can have adopted a conjecture without inquiry, and given currency to it, without any one in the whole of Christendom knowing anything of the actual facts? Can we imagine it possible that Origen, the learned investigator of the Scriptures, who carried on his critical inquiries into the New Testament in Palestine itself, and there availed himself of every critical document, and who was the founder of the Cæsarean Library, should have quietly adopted this

conjecture as categorical truth, without making any further inquiries as to the *when* and *where*? Or, that *Eusebius*, who had certainly studied the whole Christian literature in existence in his time, gave his authority to a statement, the origin of which he knows and reports, though no one else either knew or had known anything of the matter? "In any case," as *Sieffert* says, "it follows from this tradition, which ran through all antiquity, and that without any contradiction, that no tradition of an opposite character could even have been preserved." And this is really quite enough.

b. With regard to the weakness of mind charged upon poor Papias, we have very little to say. The well-known, rather childlike than childish, passage, as to the thousand years' reign (in *Irenæus* 5, 23), and the statement of Eusebius, that Papias was πάνν σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν, cancel each other; for the passage in question shows very clearly how Eusebius came to his conclusion. Whether, as *Michaelis* supposed, Eusebius referred to the chiliastic dogma which Papias embraced, or whether he was alluding to the childlike playfulness of his mind, it is perfectly certain that the good Father was endowed with the ordinary powers of the human mind. If his intellect was so weak that he could be imposed upon in every possible way by Ebionites and other heretics; if he was destitute of all power of discrimination; in short, if he was a dolt, how came it to pass that he was a teacher and author, and that Eusebius made so many quotations from his books?—But we must again repeat, that this important statement originated not with Papias, but with John the Elder, an immediate follower of Christ.

c. With the premises, the conclusion must also fall. So far as Jerome and Epiphanius are concerned, we cannot imagine how these men,—the former of whom made such minute inquiries as to the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and the latter of whom was so suspicious of everything heretical,—could have allowed themselves to be so misled by one single statement, as to recognise in the Gospel of the Nazarenes the Aramæan Matthew, simply because of a certain resemblance between the former and the Greek version of Matthew's Gospel. In any case, the opponents of an Aramæan Matthew have but little ground on which to rest their positive hypothesis. If the resemblance was not *very considerable*, how could Jerome and Epiphanius have come to their conclusion? They would surely have been more disposed to follow Papias, Irenæus, etc., and say that there had once been an Aramæan Matthew; but it was now lost, and the Gospel of the Ebionites was a different book.—The resemblance, therefore (as the quotations show), must have been very great. But how did it

happen that the resemblance was so great, unless the Gospel really originated with Matthew?—"Perhaps it was an Aramæan translation of the original Greek." But even then, the translation was not corrupt at the commencement, but became so (as the quotations prove) by degrees. And it remains simply marvellous, how John the Elder could have imagined that Matthew wrote originally in Aramæan; marvellous, how such an opinion could have met with general adoption; marvellous, that no one should have met the pretensions of the Ebionites to be the possessors of the original Matthew, by replying that Matthew wrote in Greek.

d and *e*. *Sieffert* has already observed, that not only has the Aramæan Matthew been seen, but that Papias, Hegesippus, Ignatius, Origen, and others, have made quotations from it (as the "Gospel of the Hebrews"). And it is a strange *petitio principii* to argue thus: "The Heb. Gospel was not the same as the Aramæan Matthew; the Gospel of the Hebrews alone was known to the Fathers; therefore the Aramæan Matthew was not known to them." The first proposition is demonstrated from the corrupt state and apocryphal character of the Gospel of the Hebrews, its gradual deterioration being entirely ignored.—But what can have led Hegesippus, Ignatius, and Clemens to quote the Gospel of the Hebrews, if from the very beginning it was as bad as it evidently was in the time of Epiphanius?

The words of *Sieffert*, therefore, are fully warranted: "If any one thing in connection with the early history of the New Testament writings is firmly established, it is that Matthew wrote in Aramæan." And what could be more natural? We regard the evidence adduced by Hug, that in the days of the Apostles Greek was very commonly understood in Palestine, as perfectly correct; but this does not touch the point. All that it establishes is the fact, that an Evangelist *might* have written in Greek, not that he necessarily did so. To prove this, Hug must show that Aramæan had already died out; whereas all that he has been able to demonstrate is, that in most of the towns Greek was understood as well as the mother-tongue. From Acts xxi. 40 it is clear, that even those who understood Greek preferred to hear their own Aramæan spoken. Just think, then, of the native Israelite, an Apostle of the circumcision, writing the life of Jesus for Israelites (this is evident even from our Greek Matthew); is it likely that he would make use of a language which had been forced upon his nation, instead of the sacred tongue which Jesus Himself had employed?¹

¹ [Our author here assumes that our Lord spoke in Aramæan. This position, however, is strenuously denied by Mr Roberts in his work, *Discussions on the Gospels*, London 1862. Mr Roberts maintains, and makes an elaborate endeavour to

We can easily understand the wish, afterwards arising among Hellenists and in the surrounding countries, to possess a Greek version of this Gospel, which those who were not perfectly familiar with Aramæan had hitherto been obliged to interpret as they best could; and this would fully account for its being translated at a very early date. And there is nothing incomprehensible in the fact, that in later times the Nazarenes and Ebionites, who adhered so tenaciously to everything of an Old Testament character, were the only possessors of an Aramæan Matthew, whereas in other circles it was gradually supplanted by the Greek translation.

2. Now if it is certain that our Greek version of Matthew is only a translation of the Aramæan original, the question arises, by whom was this translation made? It is certainly going too far to assume, with *Bengel*, *Olshausen*, and others, that *Matthew himself* was the translator. *Jerome* would hardly have said (*de vir. illus.* 3), "*Matth. . . evangelium . . . Hebraicis literis verbisque composuit: quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est,*" if the Greek had been written by Matthew; for such a fact would certainly not have been forgotten.

Still further from the truth, however, are they who think that it was not till a late period, long decennia after the Aramæan, that our Greek version of Matthew arose (*e.g.*, *Lücke*, *Orelli*, *De Wette*, etc.). From the very nature of the case, the want of a Greek translation must have been felt at an early period; and John the Elder (an improve, that Greek "was widely diffused, well understood, and commonly employed for all public purposes in Palestine during the period spent on earth by our Lord and His Apostles;" that "almost all the Jews, both in and beyond Palestine, were then *bilingues*," understanding both Greek and their own vernacular dialect; and that, "whilst it is generally said that our Lord spoke *for the most part* in Hebrew, and only *sometimes* in Greek, what I venture to maintain is, THAT HE SPOKE FOR THE MOST PART IN GREEK, AND ONLY NOW AND THEN IN HEBREW." With such views, of course, the above argument of our author has no force for Mr Roberts. As that argument, however, is the chief support of the opinion that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, Mr Roberts naturally denies the accuracy of that opinion. He attaches no weight to the testimony of Papias. He declares the words of Papias to be nonsensical, particularly where it is said, "Every one translated the Hebrew Gospel to the best of his ability." He asks, "*to whom* does this statement refer? If to Jews, why did they translate this Gospel, when *ex hypothesi* it was written for them . . . that they might need no translation? If . . . to Gentiles, how did it come to pass that they were able to translate the Hebrew document in question? Is it not a well-understood fact, that so rare was an acquaintance with that language, that very few even of the teachers of the Church could read it?"—P. 387. Though the views of this work are not generally received, they are supported with such arguments as are entitled to serious consideration.

—Ed.]

mediate follower of Jesus) actually speaks of the time when every one had to rely upon his own skill in interpretation, as one already past (*ἡρμήνευσε*: cf. *Sieffert* 21). It was during the lifetime of the Apostles, therefore, that the translation was made, in all probability by their direction, and under their superintendence. Hence we find, that from the very beginning our first canonical Gospel was invariably called τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον; and that "the same authors who state that the Apostle Matthew wrote in Hebrew, use and quote the first Gospel in the canon, just as if it was the production of Matthew himself."¹

§ 115.

DATE OF MATTHEW.

1. The question as to the time when our Greek Matthew was composed, is answered to some extent by the passages quoted in § 113 from the Fathers. It was in existence in the days of John the Elder;² for he speaks of the time when there was no written version as already gone by. Moreover, the earliest quotations which we possess *verbatim* from the Greek version of Matthew (for of course the fragments from the Gospel of the Hebrews prove nothing as to the age of the *Greek* Matthew), lead us back to a very remote date. We also learn from the account given by *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* of the Valentinians, a sect known to have existed as far back as the year 160, that they were in possession of our Greek Matthew, and appealed to it as a book which the Christians themselves considered canonical, for the purpose of defending their philosophemes against their attacks. According to *Irenæus* (1, 1, 3), they derived their mystical numbers from the hours mentioned in the parable in Matt. xx. 1 sqq. He also states (1, 3, 2) that they brought out the number "ten," one of the numbers of the Æons, from the *ἰῶτα* in Matt. v. 28 (quoting the whole passage word for word). According to *Irenæus* (1, 3, 5), they also appealed to Matt. x. 34; and according to *Tertullian* (de carne Chr. 20), to Matt. i. 20.³

These quotations prove, at all events, that the Greek Matthew was not only in existence as early as the year 200, but was then in general use in Egypt. We have still earlier quotations, however. *Ptolomæus*,

¹ *Ibid.* Clem. Alex., Strom. 1, p. 341; Iren. hæc. 3, 11, 8; Tert. de carne 32.

² If the citation in Eusebius be regarded as proceeding, not from him, but from Papias, it would still prove the existence of our Matthew about 150 A.D.

³ *Hug* also calls to mind the fact, that there is a work in the British Museum ascribed to Valentine himself (*πιστὴ σοφία*), in which the following passages are quoted: Matt. vii. 7, 8, x. 36, 41, xi. 14, 28, xiii. 9, xxiv. 4, 22, 43, xxviii. 18.

the friend and disciple of Valentine, and, according to Origen, almost contemporaneous with his teacher—who must have lived, therefore, before the end of the second century—in a letter addressed to Flora (in *Epiph. hæc.* 33), quotes word for word Matt. v. 17 and 39, and also xix. 8 (with the addition of these words, however: Θεὸς γὰρ φησί συνέβησε ταύτην τὴν συζυγίαν,—which the word φησί shows to be an addition).¹ Other quotations of Ptolomæus agree for the most part with Matt. xv. 5 and 6 and 8 (cf. Hug 85).—The work of the so-called *Theodotus*, which is appended to the writings of Clemens Alex., and in which we find quotations from Matt. ii. 1 sqq., v. 8, x. 28, xii. 31, xvii. 2, xviii. 10, xxv. 1, 2, is apparently of a later date. But these quotations furnish evidence of the early and general reception of the Greek Matthew in Egypt, and of the undoubtedly canonical character which it sustained.

Justin Martyr quotes chap. ii., v. 20, viii. 11, 12, vii. 19. But even *Isidorus*, the son of Basilides, who lived in the middle of the second century, quotes Matt. xix. 11, 12, in the fragments preserved by Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* i. ii. iii. iv.). And *Tatian*, who also lived at the commencement of the latter half of the second century, not only uses our four canonical Gospels in his *Diatessaron*, but quotes *verbatim* Matt. vi. 19 (*Clem. Strom.* iii. 12). Both of these facts presuppose that in Asia also, by the middle of the second century, the Greek Matthew was generally received as an undoubted work. *Marcion*, too, was acquainted with our Matthew. For according to *Tertullian* (Mark ii. 7), he denied that Christ uttered the words contained in Matt. v. 45 (to be found in no other Gospel); also those in Matt. v. 17 (*Tert.* 4, 7, cf. 3, 2 and 12 seq.).

Matthew was also known in the countries in which classical culture prevailed. The heathen *Celsus* refers to the fact of Jesus having drunk *vinegar and gall*, which is not mentioned anywhere else than Matt. xxvii. 34. (*Celsus* lived after 150; *vid.* Gieseler, Church History i. § 30, Note a.) Another proof that he was acquainted with Matthew is found in the passage, ἀπηνθαδῆσθαι τοὺς γενεαλογήσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου φύντος (Luke) καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ βασιλέων (Matt.) τὸν Ἰησοῦν (*Orig. c. Cels.* ii. 32). *Hug* also maintains with perfect justice, that *Celsus* must have been acquainted with *four* Gospels at least, since he speaks of *some* as mentioning one angel, and *some* two angels, in the account of the resurrection.

To sum up, then. So much is firmly established, that by the year

¹ In the middle of the quotation Ptolomæus writes, “for God,” says Christ (*viz.*, somewhere else), “has founded this *syzygy*.” In any other sense the word φησί would be superfluous.

150 our Greek Matthew was received in the most diverse parts of the Church; and was so well known and so fully acknowledged, that even heretics referred to it, and felt it necessary to keep their systems in harmony with it. Now, whoever reflects for a moment upon the slowness with which books were circulated at that time, and especially upon the length of time which it must have taken for a book to reach the different Christian churches, which were for the most part poor, oppressed, and scattered, will find no difficulty in admitting that so general an acquaintance with the Greek Matthew by the year 150, presupposes its existence as early as the year 100; and that is just the date to which we are brought by the passage quoted from John the Elder.

2. When was the ARAMÆAN Matthew written?—Our information on this point is very scanty, and, for those who are determined to doubt, neither very definite nor very certain. *Eusebius* tells us (h.e. 3, 24): *Ματθαῖος τε γὰρ πρότερον Ἑβραίοις κηρύξας, ὡς ἔμελλε καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέροις ἰέναι, πατρίῳ γλώττῃ γραφῇ παραδούς τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγέλιον, τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, τοῦτοις ἀφ' ὧν ἐστέλλετο, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἀπεπλήρου.* There is the greatest internal probability in the account given here. As long as the twelve Apostles remained together in Jerusalem there was no necessity for any written narrative. As *Gieseler* has shown,¹ the Christians generally, especially those of Palestine, would be more fully occupied with the study of the Old Testament, whose prophecies demonstrated the Messiahship of Jesus, than with the composition of works of their own. It was not till the Apostles were scattered abroad that the necessity arose for a written compendium of their oral instruction, which might serve as a safe groundwork for the future,—a model, a test, and a guiding star. This is just what *Eusebius* says. According to his account, the first Gospel was not meant as a biography; it was to be a compendium of the *whole message of salvation*. And this is what we really find: our Gospel of Matthew is not a biography, but a demonstration from the Old Testament of the Messiahship of Jesus (*vid.* § 12).

But *when* did Matthew leave Jerusalem?—At a very early period; for we find, from Acts ix. 32, the Apostles, who had remained behind in Jerusalem during “the persecution that arose about Stephen,”² went singly to visit the new affiliated churches. And as the Gospel spread farther and farther among the Jews in the surrounding coun-

¹ Hist. Krit. versuch über die Entst. der schriftl. Evv. pp. 69 sqq.

² It is quite a mistake to place Matthew's journey and the composition of his Gospel as early as this persecution itself.

tries, it became necessary to take still longer journeys. In the course of time, the quiet life of the Apostles in the capital probably came to an end. And as it is evident, from Acts xv. 13 and Gal. ii. 9, that to some of them was entrusted the care of the head and mother church, it is also probable that others undertook the superintendence of different districts of Palestine. In the year 64 we read of the death of a James; and though all that the Fathers say of him may not be true, this at least is certainly reliable, that he was a kind of bishop in Jerusalem; from which we may infer, that between the years 50 and 60 the Apostles undertook much longer journeys, and therefore appointed one who was not an Apostle in permanent office in the capital. This may have been the time when Matthew left Palestine, and composed his Aramæan Gospel.

This supposition is confirmed by a statement of *Irenæus* (3, 1), which is altogether independent of the former. He says: “Ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.” It is true that strong doubts have been expressed of late as to the fact of Peter having ever been in Rome.¹ But all that *Baur* has been able to establish is the *possibility* of the account given by Gaius, of the death and burial of Peter in Rome, being a mythical one. In this, his reply to Olshausen is no doubt a sound one. But it would be hard to *prove* that Peter never was in Rome. (*Vid.* § 116, p. 545.) Granting even that *Irenæus* derived his account of the two Apostles working together in Rome from the Ep. of Dionysius, and that the genitive absolute was merely *Irenæus'* method of describing the time at which Matthew wrote his Gospel, it brings us at any rate to the early part of the seventh *de-cennium*.²

This approximative date is in every respect fitting and probable. About this time there may have arisen a necessity for the Apostles to take longer journeys, and hence the need for written Gospels. At this time, *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, there was also a reason why such a work should be composed in Aramæan; for the prerogatives of the Old Testament nation were not yet abolished. But the destruction of Jerusalem, which ensued shortly afterwards, and the consequent cessation of an *Israelitish* centre to the Christian Church, serve still

¹ *Vid.* *Baur* über Zweck u. Veranlassung des Römer briefs. Tüb. Zeitschrift 1836.

² It was in the autumn of 60 that Paul first came to Rome, and his death took place in the year 64. See the masterly investigations of *Wieseler* (*Chron. des apost. Zeitalters*, p. 551).

further to explain, on the one hand, an increase of the want, already felt for, and the early preparation of, a Greek translation; and on the other hand, the fact that the Aramæan original continued to be used merely by those who adhered in a legal way to everything of a Jewish character, and who soon degenerated into sects, and was gradually supplanted by the version in Greek. This translation was probably made before A.D. 70 (see above, pp. 538-9).

3. *The Aramæan Matthew was written by the Apostle Matthew rather more than twenty years after the death of Christ. Before the end of the first century, and in all probability before the year 70, it was translated into Greek, under the supervision of the Apostles; and the translation was acknowledged as perfectly trustworthy.*

But both *De Wette* and *Sieffert* question the trustworthiness of the Greek version. The latter admits the possibility of certain mythical ingredients having crept into it. But it will be difficult for him to explain to us how these mythical elements could have found their way in, if the translation was made so early as he himself admits that it was. The translator must certainly have known what he found in his Aramæan original. Is he, then, likely to have engrafted upon so important a version of an apostolical work all kinds of tales which he may have heard in one quarter or another, without even assuring himself that the things described had really taken place? Or is it probable that such interpolations could have been made, without their being exposed by any one of the Apostles who were still living, any one of their most confidential followers, or any one of the disciples of Jesus who were then alive? Could the substitution of the name Matthew for Levi, which *Sieffert* admits, have crept, without remark or notice, into the translation of a work which emanated from Matthew himself? How do such alterations, as *Sieffert* is disposed to acknowledge, harmonize with his own assertion, that the same writers who maintain that Matthew first wrote in Aramæan, both use and quote our Greek version "as if it were the production of Matthew himself"?

4. On the *integrity* of the Gospel it is not necessary to make any remarks. The objections of *Williams*, *Hess*, and *Eichhorn* to chaps. i. ii. have long been proved to be without foundation. Cf. *Griesbach*, comm. crit. in text. gr. n. t.; v. *Schubert*, de infantie J. C. hist. authenticia; *J. G. Müller*, üb. die Aechtheit der zwei ersten Kapp. *Kuinoel*, Prolegg. zum Comm.; *Credner*, Einl. i. § 37; *Hug*, ii. 74.

§ 116.

ORIGIN AND DATE OF MARK.

1. The principal passage relating to the origin of Mark, viz., the account of *John the Elder*, has already been given *in extenso* in § 113, 2 (p. 526); and in the note we have answered Lachmann's opinion, that *λόγια* denotes a book containing merely discourses and not narratives. In that passage, John the Elder states very distinctly the following points:—

a. Mark, acting as the ἑρμηνευτὴς of Peter, wrote a Gospel. He is already well known to us from the Acts of the Apostles. His mother lived at Jerusalem, and the believers held their meetings in her house (Acts xii. 12). He belonged therefore to one of the first Christian families,—a family so intimately connected with the Apostles from the very commencement, that if we may look anywhere for accurate information, we should expect to find it there.—John Mark became a companion of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii.), but he afterwards left them both (ver. 13). On a subsequent occasion (Acts xv.), when Paul and Barnabas were about to take another journey, the latter wished Mark to go with them. Paul would not consent; and as Barnabas, a cousin of Mark's (Col. iv. 10), insisted upon it, a separation took place between the two. But we afterwards find Mark with Paul during his imprisonment in Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). Mark was at that time about to travel to Asia Minor (Col. iv. 10); and he *now became a companion of Peter*, who calls him "his son" in 1 Pet. v. 13. At a still later period of Paul's imprisonment (2 Tim. iv. 11), we find him directing Timothy to bring Mark with him to Rome.

b. This Mark wrote down the words and deeds of Christ. He wrote them, however, not in any particular order (*τάξει*),¹ but simply as he recalled them to mind. As Peter had related, just as the circumstances required (*πρὸς τὰς χρείας*), first one occurrence and then another from the life of Jesus, so Mark wrote them down as he remembered them, merely taking care that what he wrote was true.

These statements are fully borne out by our Gospel. Cf. § 15, p. 80.

2. The expression, "*ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν*," confirms the statement

¹ The allusion is to methodical arrangement generally, not merely to *chronological* order. And this corresponds accurately to our Mark, who has no definite order of any sort; though Credner thinks otherwise, and consequently takes the above statement as referring not to our Mark, but to a lost writing.

of *Irenæus* (hæc. iii. 1), that at the time when Mark wrote, Peter was not with him. After *Irenæus* has given the date of the composition of Matthew, he says, *μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων (Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου) ἔξοδον* (i.e., death), *Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγραφῶς ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε*. Here also the statement immediately preceding, which *Baur* disputes, viz., that Peter was in Rome at the same time as Paul, by no means affects the validity of the other statement, that Mark wrote in the *absence* of both.—But let us look at this statement a little more closely. As we have already observed, it is certainly not impossible that Peter may have been in Rome. And there is something very important in the fact, that so many Fathers refer to it in such a way as not only to speak of “the time when Peter and Paul were in Rome,” as though it were known to all the world, but make use of it as a fixed standard by which to determine the date of other events. *Wieseler* has lately put the question beyond all doubt, and shown that Peter came to Rome about the time when Paul was put to death,¹ namely, in the autumn of 63, and that he perished among the other victims of the Neronian persecution in July 64 (*Chron. des apost. Zeitalters*).

Now if this journey was actually taken by Peter, it serves most perfectly to determine the date of the composition of Mark. What had already taken place at Jerusalem was repeated at Rome. As long as the Apostles were together, no written history was needed by the Church; but after the martyrdom of both the Apostles, there naturally arose, as *Clemens*, in *Eusebius*, so clearly shows, a necessity for some fixed word, some compendium of the Apostles’ preaching. The Church well knew what it possessed of the (probably scanty) narratives of Paul, and the fuller accounts of Peter, concerning the life of Jesus. These must not be forgotten, altered, or left to the chances of corruption. Mark was requested to commit them to writing. He wrote down the different incidents one after another, as he and the Romans had heard them from Peter. And this fully accounts for the way in which picture follows picture in his Gospel (see § 15).

3. This view, which may appear hypothetical so far as all credit is refused to the categorical statements of the Fathers, is fully confirmed by various peculiarities in the Gospel itself, which show clearly

¹ So far as the 1st Ep. of Peter is concerned, it seems to me most natural to regard the word *Babylon*, in 1 Pet. v. 13, as a symbolical term for Rome. The symbolical use of the terms *συνελεχτή* and *νιός* in the same verse favours this conclusion. Peter was in Rome at a time when a fierce persecution threatened the Christians of Asia Minor, and knowing of their danger, he wrote immediately after the death of Paul to the churches which the latter had founded there.

that it was written, not in Italy, at least not in the Greek portion of Lower Italy, but in *Rome*. Not only are reproofs, intended for the Jews alone, omitted (*e.g.*, Matt. viii. 11, xxi. 43, cf. xv. 21 sqq.), and Jewish customs continually explained (cf. Mark vii. 2, 3, xv. 42), but the explanation is given in a mode adapted for Romans only (not for Greeks). The value of the *λέπτον*, a Jewish coin, is not estimated by the Greek *drachma*, but by the Roman *quadrans* (Mark xii. 42); and so the centurion is not called *ἐκατόνταρχος*, which every Greek would have understood, but by *κεντυρίων*, a term more familiar to those who spoke in Latin (cf. chap. xv. 39).—Now when can we imagine a greater need to have been felt in Rome for such a Gospel than immediately after the death of Peter and Paul? And if we take into account the *unanimous* testimony of the Fathers, to the effect that Mark wrote under the influence of Peter (in other words, from a recollection of his accounts), the view which we have given above of the origin of the second Gospel attains the highest degree of probability.

4. From the fact that Mark wrote under the circumstances referred to, it also follows that it is highly improbable that Matthew was used by him, or his Gospel by Matthew.

5. We have only now to take a brief survey of the *earliest quotations*, as a still further and secondary proof of the age and genuineness of Mark. That *Celsus* was acquainted with Mark, is evident from the passage quoted in the previous section, in which he speaks of *some* Gospels as mentioning two angels in connection with the resurrection, and *some* only one. *Tatian* also was acquainted with all four Gospels (see § 115). *Theodotus* quotes Mark i. 13. *Valentine* also appears to have possessed a complete “*εὐαγγέλιον*,” which contained the four Gospels. At least this is the testimony of *Tertullian*, who says, “*Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur*” (*De præsc. hæc. c. 38*). And the *Valentinians* make particular reference to certain things connected with the account of the woman with the issue of blood, which are related by Mark alone (*Iren. 1, 3, 3*). *Ptolomæus* quotes Mark ix. 5 (to *Flora*). *Justin* is well known to have been acquainted with the four Gospels, and quotes Mark xii. 25 in his *lib. de resurr. cap. 2*, and Mark ii. 17 in chap. 8.

§ 117.

INTEGRITY OF MARK.

The conclusion of the Gospel, chap. xvi. 9–20, has been frequently regarded, and that not without reason, as the work of a different hand

(*Griesbach*, Comm. crit. ii. 197; *Schott*. Isag. § 30; *Fritzsche*, *Evang. Marci*; *Credner*, Beitr. 1, 357). The data bearing upon the question are the following:

1. The peculiar characteristics of Mark's style are not to be found in the section; and, on the other hand, it contains many expressions which Mark never employed, or for which he always made use of other terms.

2. It contains expressions borrowed from other Gospels: a description of Mary Magdalene, for example (ver. 9), which occurs in Luke (viii. 2), but nowhere else in Mark (cf. chap. xv. 40, xvi. 1).

3. Of still more importance is the whole style of the narrative in the section in question. Everything pictorial, all details—everything, in fact, which is throughout so characteristic of Mark—suddenly ceases; and we have instead a series of dry, brief notices of different occurrences, which are more fully described in other Gospels,—a string of extracts, in fact.

4. To this we have to add important external testimony. *Eusebius* (in a fragment in Mai script. Vet. nov. Coll. i. p. 61) says, τὰ γοῦν ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγραφῶν τὸ τέλος περιγράφει τῆς κατὰ τὸν Μάρκον ἱστορίας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ὀφθέντος νεανίσκου ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ εἰρηκότος αὐτοῖς (then follow the words to ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ, ver. 8), ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ σχεδὸν ἐν ᾗπασιν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίου περιγέγραπται τὸ τέλος· τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς σπανίως ἐν τισιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν φερόμενα περίττα ἂν εἴη.—The same statement occurs, with very little variation in the words, in *Gregory of Nyssa*, *Euthymius Zigabenus*, and writers of a still later date.

5. On the other hand, it must also be borne in mind, that the Gospel could not have closed with the eighth verse.

These data may furnish a basis for the three following hypotheses:

A. *That the section in question is entirely spurious and worthless, and merely a later interpolation.*—But the want of a conclusion at ver. 8 shows that this cannot be correct. The Gospel cannot have terminated with the words, "for they were afraid:" it must have had some kind of termination. Even if, as *Hug* thinks, Mark was interrupted by some occurrence which prevented him from finishing his work, he would surely have as many minutes as would suffice for adding a few words by way of conclusion. It is in any case, therefore, more probable that either Mark, for want of time, appended a brief *resumé* of what he intended to write more fully, or that this was done at the time by some other hand, before the publication of the Gospel, than that the section was added at a later period. The absence of the conclusion from certain codices, and the resemblance to other Gospels,

cannot be adduced in opposition to this. *Hug* (ii. § 75) has shown that the statement made by Eusebius must be taken with considerable limitations. There is a want of precision in his own words. In one place he says, that *nearly all* the MSS. omit the section; and in another, that it is found in some MSS., but not in all, as if it was wanting only in a few.—On examining still further, we find that *Irenæus* accepted it (hær. 3, 10, 6). Gregory of Nyssa (dial. adv. Pelag. 15) mentions a various reading in Mark xvi. 14, which occurred in *quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime græcis codicibus*; so that these codices contained the section. It is found in all the *Palestinian* MSS., in the *Byzantine* family, in the *Egyptian*, MSS. G L, in D, in the *Peshito* and *Itala*, and was supported by Hippolytus, Augustine, and Leo the Great. The Valentinians also adopted it. The only codex of importance by which it is omitted is the *Vatican*. Now which would be the more easily explained, that a later interpolation should have met with such general adoption, or that such a section as ours should have been omitted? Undoubtedly the latter. Whether the omission originated in the desire mentioned by Jerome (ad Hedib. qu. 3), to make the times mentioned by Mark square with those given by Matthew, or from suspicions excited by the sudden change of style, which is the more likely of the two, in all probability a certain copyist discerned the incongruity and made a critical mark, and another afterwards omitted the section altogether.

B. *That Mark was interrupted (probably by the same persecution to which Peter had fallen a victim); that he left the work unfinished, and another added the conclusion, either immediately or shortly afterwards.* The addition may have been made by the use of other Gospels (in which case it must have been some years afterwards), or by a brief summary of the account given by Peter. The latter is the more probable of the two.

C. *That Mark, being prevented from writing out the conclusion as fully as he had intended, himself added the brief, condensed conclusion, which we now possess.*

Against this last hypothesis seem to militate the linguistic differences from Mark's usual style; the resemblances to other Gospels; and lastly, the question, why did not Mark content himself with a few concluding words, instead of appending in so hurried a way a brief summary of the contents of several different accounts? But there is no great difficulty in disposing of this question. He was anxious to notice the most important occurrences connected with the history of the resurrection. And he could do it the more readily in this form, since the whole Gospel was merely intended as a reminiscence of what

the Roman church had heard from Peter. As long as he had time, he executed this in Peter's own words; but when something occurred to prevent him from completing the work, he gave just so much as was necessary to enable the readers to recall the Apostle's accounts, and served at the same time as a conclusion to the whole.—But the reasons which chiefly induce us to give the preference to the third hypothesis are the following:—In the first place, it is difficult to imagine that the Evangelist should have been so pressed for time as to be unable to finish his work, in however few words. And in the second place, so far from there being any want of connection between vers. 8 and 9, the clause *ἀναστὰς δὲ . . . ἐφάνη πρῶτον Μαρία*, and the word *ἐκείνη*, form an evident antithesis to *καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι ἔφυγον κ.τ.λ.* (“*they went out and fled, etc. . . . but she went and told,*” etc.).

But how are we to explain the difference in style?—This causes no real difficulty. Every man, without exception, writes in one way when taking time, and carefully elaborating, and in another when hurrying and condensing. Let any one compare, for example, a carefully written description of a journey with notes jotted down by the way. There is no greater difference in Mark. The necessity for brevity will account for all the changes in style and expression, and the genuineness of the section need not be disputed on account of them; although, on the whole, the question is of no great weight.

§ 118.

ORIGIN OF LUKE.

1. “Now that many have already endeavoured to prepare an account of the events which have occurred among us, as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and servants of the word have related (them) to us; it seemed good to me also, having thoroughly inquired into the whole from the very first, to write it to thee connectedly, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the perfect certainty of the doctrine in which thou hast been instructed.” This is the way in which Luke himself commences his Gospel; and in these words he gives us a rich fund of notices concerning its origin, provided we use them fairly and honestly, and do not introduce preconceived notions of our own. The leading questions which we have to answer in connection with the *proœmium* are the following:—

1. Does the apodosis commence with *καθώς* or *ἔδοξε*?
2. Are the *πολλοί* blamed? And in what relation does the work of Luke stand to that of the *πολλοί*?

3. Do the πολλοί include Matthew and Mark?

With regard to the *first*, a simple unprejudiced examination of the clauses leads at once to the conclusion, that the apodosis commences with ἔδοξε. This is fully confirmed by a closer investigation. It would be extremely unnatural in any case to place καθώς κ.τ.λ. before the principal verb ἔδοξε; and in this instance, where κάμοι forms a logical antithesis to πολλοί, it would be altogether impossible. Luke must then have written ἔδοξε κάμοι παρηκολουθηκότι κ.τ.λ., καθώς κ.τ.λ., καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι. No one would ever have hit upon the idea that the apodosis commenced with καθώς, if *Hug* had not seen in the clause commencing with καθώς a commendation of the πολλοί, whilst others sought to avoid this conclusion, imagining that in vers. 3, 4, the πολλοί were decidedly blamed. But we shall see that the “many” are neither praised in the clause, “even as,” etc., nor in the strict sense blamed in the words which follow.

With regard to the *second*, the word ἐπεχείρησαν proves at least that the relation in which the *diegeses* of the “many” stand to the Gospel of Luke, is that of unsatisfactory attempts to a work which (at least in Luke’s opinion) is sufficient and complete. Hence the expression certainly does contain a certain amount of blame, if you like to call it so. But the question arises, whether Luke intended to blame the individuals themselves for not accomplishing so much as they might have done, or merely to affirm that the result of their endeavours was unsatisfactory, though they did what they could, and were hindered by their position from doing more. Of the former there is not the slightest trace; of the latter, a very evident one. If we look more closely, for example, at the words καθώς παρέδοσαν κ.τ.λ., we shall soon be convinced that they do *not* contain any positive praise of the πολλοί and their *diegeses*,—for if they did, there could be no need to commence a new undertaking in order that Theophilus might possess “certainty,” and there would be no meaning in ἐπεχείρησαν; and also that καθώς cannot be referred to πεπληροφορημένων, so as to mean “the things occurred just as the eye-witnesses have informed us” (Olshausen),—for, apart from the grammatical harshness of such an addition, it would be most unmeaning. The word καθώς simply describes the manner in which the “many” had taken in hand the writing of gospels. It forms a quiet antithesis to the first clause in the following verse, “παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς.” The “many,” says Luke, have endeavoured to form a collection of facts, according to the accounts given by eye-witnesses (the Apostles) to us (viz., Christians generally who were not eye-witnesses). We have here, what we have already referred to in the previous sections, the necessity

which was felt by the newly formed churches, that what had been related to them of the life of Jesus by an Apostle or other minister of the word (Aquila or Apollos, *e.g.*) should be committed to writing after their departure. This was the case in the circle for which Luke wrote. Here also *ἰππηρέται* had preached, and many had endeavoured to collect together in a permanent form what they had related on this or the other occasion. From the very nature of the case, this could only yield imperfect results. Luke therefore said, that as the need was so strongly felt, and had not been fully provided for (however good the intention had been), he would also write a history, as he possessed ampler means than the "many," and had diligently traced out the whole life of Jesus from the very first. He would give them (primarily to Theophilus, to whom he dedicated the work, and then through him naturally to a whole church, or circle of churches) a connected work, by which they might obtain full *certainty* of the substance of Christian teaching.

Thirdly, it follows from this with the greatest certainty, that the *diegeses* referred to were neither the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, nor, in fact, any gospels which had arisen in other places than the one for which Luke was writing. The works to which he alluded were small, fragmentary compilations, which had been made within the circle of his readers, and which were naturally laid aside as soon as he had much more fully provided for their necessity. The *proœmium* does not inform us, either when and where Luke wrote, or whether the Aramæan Matthew and the Gospel of Mark were already in existence. Nor is anything said concerning the *sources* which he employed.¹ All that Luke tells us, is that he had examined everything carefully from the very beginning.

2. *What sources had Luke at his command?*—We call to mind the fact, that the composer of the third Gospel and of the Acts was a companion of the Apostle Paul (§ 110). He accompanied him from Troas (Acts xvi. 10) to Philippi. There he seems to have remained; at least it was from Philippi that he afterwards travelled again with Paul (on his third journey) through Troas, Mitylene, Samos, Miletus, etc., to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6). He then went with him from Cæsarea to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1 sqq.).—In the tradition of the Church, he is unanimously called *Luke* (Lucanus). (Cf. Eus. h. e. 5, 8; Origen in Eus. h. e. 6, 25; Iren. hæc. 3, 14, 1; Tert. Mark iv. 2; Jerome, vir. ill. 7.) This tradition has all the greater weight from the fact, that in the Pauline Epistles a Lucanus is actually mentioned, who was a faithful

¹ Evidently they were not the *diegeses* of the πολλοί, as De Wette, ex. Hdb. Einl. zu Luk., thinks.

companion of Paul (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). This Lucanus, whom tradition speaks of as the author of the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, is said by the same tradition to have been a physician. This also confirms his identity with the Lucanus mentioned in the Pauline Epistles, who bears in Col. iv. 14 the surname of *ὁ ἰατρός*. And the validity of the tradition, that Lucanus the physician was the author of the third Gospel, is sustained by the additional circumstance, that in two places in this Gospel we meet with medical terms (chap. iv. 38, xiii. 11).

From this we may easily determine, whether and whence Luke could obtain accurate information respecting the life of Jesus. Several of the Fathers supposed him to have procured this chiefly from Paul, who was an Apostle, and therefore must have been well instructed in the life of Christ (Acts ix. 19). But this was not the only source at Luke's command. He went to Jerusalem himself (Acts xx. sqq.), and appears to have accompanied the Apostle to Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 23). In short, he lived in localities where, if anywhere, he might expect to find the fullest and most precise information. Whether the accounts which he received were merely oral, whether even at that time much may not have been committed to writing (cf. Luke i.), but more particularly the discourses in the Acts of the Apostles, we shall not determine; we simply call to mind the fact, that even if the living voice at first sufficed for the instruction of new communities, it certainly appears *extremely natural* that in the case of certain teachers, especially well educated men like Paul and Luke, an occasional use should have been made of the pen (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 13), and that different circumstances should have been noted down, if only for their own convenience.

§ 119.

PLACE AND DATE OF COMPOSITION; AGE AND CREDIBILITY OF LUKE.

1. *In what land* we are to look for Theophilus and the other readers for whom Luke intended his writings, may be gathered from the fact, that he thought it necessary to add an explanation whenever he had occasion to refer to places in Palestine (Luke i. 26, iv. 31, viii. 26, xxiii. 51, xxiv. 13) or Crete (Acts xxvii. 8 and 12), in Athens (Acts xvii. 21), and even to the larger towns in Macedonia (Acts xvi. 12); whereas he assumes that in Sicily and Italy (particularly Lower and Middle Italy as far north as Rome) even the smaller places will be well known (Acts xxviii. 15). The readers of the

Epistle are to be sought for, therefore, either in *Sicily* or in *Lower Italy*.

2. When the two works were written, is not so easy to determine. From the circumstance that the Acts of the Apostles closes with the third year of Paul's imprisonment in Rome, we may draw a probable conclusion, though not an absolutely certain one. From chap. xxviii. 30 it is evident, that when Luke wrote, the circumstances of the Apostle must have changed; otherwise, instead of stating that Paul remained *two years* in his own hired house, he would have said, Paul is still living (or at the most, Paul remained) in his hired house. In any case, the readers appear to have known what happened to Paul *immediately* at the close of those two years. The ultimate issue of his trial, the *sentence of death*, cannot yet have taken effect for Luke would certainly not have omitted to mention it if it had. He must therefore have written *directly after the close of those two years* (between the autumn of 63 and the beginning of 64). But the *date* of the composition is a matter of small importance. According to tradition, and the position assigned to the Gospel as early as the time of Ammonius, Luke wrote at a later period than Matthew and Mark. But little weight can be attached to this tradition. *Clemens Alex.* does not support it; and *Irenæus* merely states that Matthew wrote first, and John last. The result to which we were brought in a previous section (§ 116) was, that Mark could not have written till a later period, viz., subsequently to the death of Peter in Rome. *The Aramæan Matthew, therefore, was written somewhere between the years 50 and 60. Luke wrote at the end of 63.¹ The Greek translation of Matthew may have been made in 68; and Mark wrote after July 64.*

3. The existence of the Gospel of Luke in the very earliest times is attested by a multitude of proofs. We have already seen that *Celsus* and *Tatian* were acquainted with our *four* Gospels. *Theodotus* quotes Luke i. 35, ii. 14, xi. 22, xiv. 16-23, xv. 11-23, xvi. 19. The *Valentinians* appealed to a fact connected with the history of the woman with an issue of blood which is only mentioned by Luke (viii. 7). *Heracleon* (Clem. Al. Strom. 4, 9) quotes Luke xii. 8; *Justin Martyr* (Tryph.), Luke i. 38, and (de resurr.) Luke xx. 34, xxiv. 32. The most important of all is the circumstance, that *Marcion* (about 140), and according to Tertullian even Marcion's teacher *Cerdo*, possessed the Gospel of Luke; that this was the only one of the four

¹ This would fully explain the fact, that Luke found no gospel in existence, which he could put into the hands of the Christians in Lower Italy, in the place of the imperfect productions which they already possessed.

which he would accept; and that he altered such passages as did not accord with his own doctrine.¹

4. But although these witnesses all agree in this, that in the Gospel of Luke we possess the carefully elaborated work of a well educated man, who was intimately acquainted with many eye-witnesses of the life of Jesus, there are not wanting persons who dispute the credibility of the work, on the ground that "Luke was not equal to a critical undertaking of such a nature" (*Credner*). In proof of this we are referred to the chronological data in Luke ii. 1, iii. 1; but, as we have already shown in § 29, 30, it is very doubtful whether the physician of Asia was not a better chronologist than the theologian of Giessen. The want of chronological order is also adduced, without the previous question being answered, whether this formed any part of the Evangelist's plan. A still further evidence is found in the many myths and legends (in plain English, the many miracles which certain theologians would be glad to get rid of). The verdict of *Credner*, properly interpreted, is really this: "Apart from the unwelcome miracles, the writings of Luke are perfectly trustworthy."

§ 120.

RELATION OF THE SYNOPTISTS TO ONE ANOTHER.

1. We now return to the problem, already mentioned at the commencement of this work (p. 19): *How are we to explain the so-called relationship of affinity between the Synoptists*,—the frequent verbal agreement in their accounts of the same events, along with very great diversities in the selection and arrangement of their subject-matter? In the course of our inquiries, we have been brought to the following conclusions, which are of great importance as aids to the solution of this problem.

a. The diversities in selection, arrangement, and even in representation, may be easily explained, on a careful and thorough examination of the *plan* which each Evangelist pursued. (*Vid.* Pt. I. Div. i. chaps. 2-4.)

b. It may be stated generally, that so long as Apostles or Evangelists were actively employed in connection with a newly formed church, their oral preaching was amply sufficient; and we can easily

¹ Epiphanius has preserved continuous extracts from Marcion's Gospel, giving only short hints of the contents where Marcion agrees with Luke, and giving those passages *in extenso* where Marcion has corrupted Luke. This circumstance has misled Löffler (disput. qua Marcionem Pauli epistolas etc. adulterasse dubitatur) and others into the opinion that Marcion's Gospel is independent of Luke.

imagine that no necessity was felt for any written document. But as soon as a church was left to itself, and to elders chosen from its own body, the want must necessarily have been felt, that what the Apostles had preached should be permanently secured, and most of all, that a life so eventful and complicated as that of Jesus, should be committed to writing without delay.

c. Such of the assistants of the Apostles as desired to undertake the writing of a Gospel, had so ample resources within their reach in the Apostles themselves and other eye-witnesses, that it must have appeared unnecessary to gather from books what they could learn much more perfectly by word of mouth. (Compare Acts xv. 27, where a written communication is confirmed by oral testimony, not *vice versa*.)

d. Not only was the employment of earlier Gospels unnecessary, it was also *impossible*.—Look at Mark, for example. Bear in mind that at that time a book was not sent out into the world at once in so many thousand copies; and was only copied when there was an absolute necessity. Is it likely that, when he was travelling with the living Peter, Mark would burden himself with an Aramæan Matthew, in order that, while in Rome, he might read in Aramæan what he could hear at any time from Peter in Greek or Latin? We could more readily imagine that he made use of Luke. But even supposing that at the end of the year 64 copies of the Gospel of Luke, which was written at the end of 63, may have been carried from Lower Italy to Rome, and that Mark had one at his command, why did he not rather distribute copies of this Gospel to the Roman church than write a separate work of his own, containing not more, but rather much less, than the Gospel of Luke? The probability here also, therefore, is, that the work of Luke had not yet spread beyond the circle of Theophilus himself; and that Mark composed his Gospel without making use of any written sources whatever. With Luke it was different. As we have already shown, we can readily imagine this physician, who accompanied an educated man like Paul, making use of written aids; but so much is certain, that he did not make use of the *diegeses* of the “many.” It is not impossible that he may have used Matthew; but it is not very probable. He cannot have become acquainted with the Gospel history for the first time when visiting Palestine (A.D. 60); for he had long before been the companion and assistant of Paul. We may think of him, therefore, as collecting and arranging from the very first, and possibly also making use of Matthew, but not as turning over the leaves of Matthew for the first time, after he had formed his own plan of composing a Gospel. Ho

had examined all carefully before he resolved to write. In fact, the knowledge he had acquired was his real motive for writing (*παρηκολουθηκὼς πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*).

2. So much having been determined, we cannot long remain in doubt respecting the leading *hypotheses*, suggested as explanations of the relationship in question. The hypothesis of an *original Gospel* is now generally given up. The principal objections to it are the following. If such a Gospel existed, as is supposed, in various editions, it is very improbable that, with the wide diffusion which it must have had, no traces whatever of its existence should remain. And from Acts xv. 27 it is evident that verbal testimony had greater weight than written. The whole hypothesis, too, presupposes a facility in writing which was altogether foreign to the age.

The copying hypothesis, besides labouring under the latter two of the three difficulties just pointed out as besetting the hypothesis of an original Gospel, is liable to these further objections (Gieseler, *Entstehung*, p. 36):—1. Arrange as you like, the later writing must always have *left out* much which was in the earlier. 2. In the arrangement of the material (which in Matt. and Luke occasionally, but not always, is determined by the subject), particularly in the varying position of lesser sayings and sentences, we must assume that the later writer turned the pages of the earlier back and forward, simply to enable him to copy those passages. 3. Still more surprising are the divergences in *words*. “Here he copies *verbatim* at the commencement; then he alters the thoughts and the words; anon he omits a thought; again he uses *synonymous* words, the thought remaining unchanged. And, amid all this embellishment, these writings bear the stamp of unpretending simplicity.” 4. Arrange as you please, the later always relates something less clearly or completely,—almost as if he wished to produce an appearance of discrepancy.

The hypothesis that the Synoptists used one another’s writings becomes still more untenable when they are supposed to quote *from memory*, after a foregoing perusal. Against every hypothesis of this kind, framed with a design to explain divergences in diction and order of sequence, these objections may be taken: (a) A minute study of written accounts in a time when there was such a rich stream of oral tradition is not probable, and a single perusal explains nothing. (b) We have to assume at least a partial knowledge of the sequence in cases where the subject-matter has been forgotten, which is inconceivable. (c) We have to assume a special attention to the study of sequence, which is incongruous with the spirit of that primitive time.

Everything leads in the most decided manner to the tradition-

hypothesis supported by Gieseler, which completely explains the existing relationship between the Synoptists.

The Apostles at the first lived together in Jerusalem. The Church there increased considerably (Acts ii. 41); and there arose at once the necessity to give the Christians (most of whom were strangers) fuller information with regard to that Jesus whom Peter had set before them as a Saviour. There was also the same want in the case of the natives of Jerusalem, who had only seen Jesus at a few of the feasts, and knew nothing of what He had done in His wanderings through Galilee. The whole of the life of Jesus was indelibly impressed upon the memory of the Apostles. The practical demands which arose, led them to give peculiar prominence to certain incidents, or particular series of incidents. The most memorable of all was the journey by the lake, in which Jesus had related the parables; and these parables were, probably, often related and expounded by one and another of the Apostles. The stilling of the storm, which occurred during the same journey, and which was connected with the history of the Gadarenes, would be described on some other occasion. The Sermon on the Mount also formed a leading topic of great importance. It was just the same with the account of the first miraculous feeding, that of the transfiguration, and others. These became *leading themes*, to which different speakers may have linked other incidents, which they remembered as occurring at the same time, or immediately before or after. Sometimes, again, incidents were connected together which were kindred in substance, though not related in time. These would be described without regard to chronological sequence; so that it was only here and there (*e.g.*, in the journey to Gadara and the last journey to Judæa) that this sequence became permanently fixed. With the same freedom, too, would each Apostle make his own selection, and connect with the principal occurrence such smaller incidents or fragments of discourses as he might recall at the time. The fact that it was chiefly to the events which occurred in Galilee that they restricted themselves, may be explained partly by the fact that Christ's work lay chiefly in Galilee, but more especially from the circumstance, that for years they continued to preach in Jerusalem, where there was no need at first to relate what had taken place there. The reasons mentioned on pp. 126-7 will also serve to explain the fact, that they pass over that portion of the life of Christ which intervened between His baptism and His removal to Capernaum.

As it thus occurred that in the oral discourses of the Apostles a certain number of peculiarly important events were placed in the foreground, while the selection of minor events and sayings, and their

arrangement, remained perfectly free, it was natural that, in connection with the events which were most frequently described, a standing form of narrative should gradually be adopted. (Compare, in addition to the Gospels, other passages of the New Testament, in which the same thing is narrated on different occasions; *e.g.*, Acts x. 10-16 and xi. 5-10, x. 3-6 and vers. 30 sqq.; ix. 2-8, xxii. 5-11, and xxvi. 12-18.) The importance of the life of Jesus was also a constant monition to *fidelity* in their accounts;¹ and apart, therefore, from the length of time during which the Apostles lived together in Jerusalem, the frequent reiteration of the same narrative, and the eagerness with which the hostility of the Jews led them to watch for discrepancies, it would be easy enough to explain the fact, that the same thing was constantly repeated in the very same words. Individual freedom was by no means precluded: one might mention only the leading features of an event, others might enter more into details; one might describe and apply an event as seen from one point of view, another as seen from a different one. But even then it would be only natural that they should involuntarily come back to particular expressions, after they had been employed a certain number of times. You may meet with perfectly analogous cases in the ordinary intercourse of people now. You have but to hear some indifferent event described again and again; and whatever variations the narrator may introduce, he is sure to return to the same groove, and introduce the very same expressions. In this way, then, we may fully explain the many similarities in the synoptical Gospels. At the same time, we must bear in mind the special results of our examination of Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

The first Gospel which we possess is the faithful (but not verbally slavish) translation of an Aramæan work of Matthew. As the entire work is a treatise rather than a history, we find the historical portion condensed into as brief a space as possible. Prominence is given to the main points alone. We might say, in fact, that the historical incidents are recalled to mind, rather than fully described. The *individual freedom* of the Evangelist is perfectly obvious, both in the selection and classification of his materials; yet in these brief historical accounts we find the very same *stereotyped expressions and phrases* which we meet with in Mark and Luke.

Mark gives us a series of pictures, just as they were originally described by the eye-witness Peter. We find here many things which actually occurred in chronological succession, placed in their proper

¹ Gieseler calls attention to the rule laid down by the Jewish Rabbis: *Verba præceptoris sine ulla immutatione, ut prolata ab illo fuerant, erant recitanda, ne diversa illi affingeretur sententia* (Schabbath, f. 15, 1).

sequence; and as Matthew also frequently adopts a chronological arrangement, it is not to be wondered at, that in many points their order is the same. The distinctive peculiarity of Mark is to be found in his pictorial description of particular events, which is quite as much in harmony with the natural characteristics of Peter, as with the plan of the Evangelist himself.

Luke has adopted a very careful *topical* arrangement. For this reason, it is but seldom that he agrees with Matthew and Mark in the position assigned to the different events. In his descriptions, on the other hand, the same stereotyped expressions and phrases naturally reappear.

The combination of the tradition-hypothesis with the *positive accounts which we possess as to the origin of the different Gospels, and with the results of our inquiry into the plan of each Synoptist*, is quite sufficient to explain their so-called *family-relationship*.¹

[*Note*.—Mr Roberts, the author of the work referred to (p. 537, note), has a theory of his own, distinct from all those discussed in the foregoing section, which, as he says, is at least distinguished by its simplicity. It is, in the words of the author, briefly this: "*The Lord Jesus spoke in Greek, and the Evangelists independently narrated His actions and reported His discourses in the same language which He had Himself employed*:" p. 438. In support of his view, Mr Roberts insists on the fact, that the resemblances in the Gospels are principally to be found in reports of *the words of Jesus*, or of others whose words are reported; whilst the differences occur chiefly in the narrative portions, where the Evangelists relate events each in his own way. He quotes a statement from Professor Norton, to the effect that about *seven-eighths* of the coincidences occur in the recital of the words of others, and only about *one-eighth* in narrative, in which the Evangelists, speaking in their own person, were unrestrained in the choice of expressions. He points out that this is what we should expect if the language of our Gospels be the same as that in which Christ spoke; but unaccountable if our Gospels contain only *translations* of Christ's words. The author regards the whole difficulties of the subject in question as re-

¹ Wieseler cannot understand how I can explain the formal connection between the Gospels from the tradition-hypothesis, and yet maintain that they were written either by eye-witnesses, or under their influence. But what I understand by the tradition-hypothesis, is not that a tradition arose after the death of the Apostles, but that a standing form of narrative was adopted at the very first, *within the circle of the eye-witnesses themselves*. This hypothesis, therefore, is by no means at variance with the positive results arrived at, as to the origin of the different Gospels.

sulting from the two assumptions—that our Lord spoke in Hebrew, so that our Gospels are translations of His words, not reports of the *ipsissima verba*; and that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew,—our Greek Matthew being a version of the original.—ED.]

CHAPTER II.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

§ 121.

ITS ORIGIN AS INDICATED BY DATA IN THE GOSPEL ITSELF.

So complicated is the inquiry as to the origin and genuineness of the fourth Gospel, that it is absolutely necessary to separate all purely objective *data* from the subjective views entertained with regard to them. We shall, therefore, inquire first of all, what light can be obtained from the Gospel itself.

1. *Data affecting the internal character of the book.*

The plan of the whole book is thoroughly different from that of the Synoptists. We have already touched upon this point, § 24; but it is necessary here to enter a little more fully into the question, whether, in connection with the Evangelists generally, it is right to speak of a *predetermined plan and pragmatism*. In direct opposition to *Baur*, who regards the Gospels as the result of a conscious *pragmatism*, and that of the worst kind that can possibly be conceived; we have the other extreme, namely, the assumption that the Evangelists did not even lay down a *plan*, but being urged by purely empirical necessity to compose their writings, worked up in the true fashion of chroniclers such written and oral materials as they happened to possess, in a thoroughly planless, inartistic, and sometimes a most unskilful manner. If it be imagined that the credibility of the Gospels is to be established by such assumptions as these, no mistake could well be greater; for a planless and inartistic work must be in an equal degree uncritical also.—There is a great distinction, it must be borne in mind, between *pragmatism* and having a *plan*—between *pragmatism* and *design*; also between a plan which originates spontaneously, and a plan formed by reflection; and lastly, between the *good* and *bad* kinds of pragmatism.—*a.* Every author has some *purpose*, unless he writes for the mere pleasure of writing, or for the sake of the pay; and neither of these was much known to antiquity. There is generally some want

which the writer hopes to supply. This simple purpose determines the *what*, the *object*; but not the *how*, the method of accomplishing the object. The *How* is an undesigned thing, determined partly by the object, partly by the author's characteristic mode of conceiving it, and partly by the purely formal arrangement. Thus in the case of Matthew. The want was felt in Jerusalem of a written work to supply the place of the oral teaching of the Apostles, who were now scattered abroad; and Matthew determined to write down the leading points of that teaching. They had sought to show that the prophecies were *fulfilled* in Jesus; that He was the seed promised to Abraham, and the predicted Son of David. Matthew proceeds to commit this to writing; and the arrangement and classification of his materials at once suggested themselves, naturally and without effort, to his mind. He writes with a *plan*, but without *pragmatism*.—So also in the case of MARK. A similar want arose in Rome after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter. Mark was only conscious of intending to write down the essential points in the preaching of Peter concerning Christ. The aim of the latter, with Gentiles before him, had naturally been to exhibit Jesus more as the Son of God than as the Messiah; in contrast with the heathen sons of the gods, and their deities generally, with their subjection to human passions in their unholy forms. Mark naturally followed the same course. Writing from memory, in the hurry and excitement of a stormy age, he also thought but little of any formal disposition of the materials at his command.—*b.* But a *plan* may also be the *result of reflection*, without being *intentional*, or in the least degree *pragmatical*. The reflection upon the subject, for example, may have taken place long before the resolution to write had been formed. This was the case with LUKE. His conscious purpose was merely the general one, to give the churches in Lower Italy a complete and orderly account of the things taught by the Apostle Paul. But long before this, the controversy between the Apostle and the false Jewish teachers, in Galatia and elsewhere, had been deeply impressed upon his mind. In this controversy he had been led to attach peculiar importance to those discourses and parables and actions of Jesus, which showed that neither all Israel, nor Israel alone, would be saved. From a very early time, too, the transition of Christianity from the Jews to the Gentiles, from Jerusalem to Rome, had presented itself in its full significance to his mind. Half involuntarily, therefore,—not without consciousness, but without any distinct external purpose, purely from inward impulse,—he depicts artistically, but not artificially, that side of Christianity in which its contrast with Judaism is most apparent. Not that we are to imagine him seeking among his

papers, and making selections among all possible parables, discourses, and narratives; but with that genial warmth which was not only natural to him, but under the sanctifying influence of Christianity had grown into a *charisma*, selecting from the materials at his command the most appropriate to his purpose, with the same facility with which a true poet can pour out his verses without the necessity of seeking for rhymes. *Pragmatism*, therefore, cannot, strictly speaking, be attributed to Luke. All that can be said is, that possibly, and even probably, while he was writing, the importance of a particular passage to *his own age* may here and there have occurred to his mind.—*c.* What is *pragmatism*? Not the natural adoption of a plan, *i.e.*, the organic representation of an object according to some principle contained in the object itself; but the intentional exhibition of some analogy supposed to exist between the reader's own times and those in which the events narrated occurred. For example, if an author were to write a history of the first French Revolution with the consciousness that it was an instructive type of all modern revolutions, and with the distinct intention to bring out its particular features as lessons to princes and peoples,—to *point out analogies, therefore, between the past and present*,—this would be writing *pragmatically*. Such pragmatism as this is both allowable and right, if the intention of the author be pure, his materials genuine, and if an actual analogy be clearly discerned and fully exhibited. Pragmatism in this good sense we find in the Gospel of John. The writer has his eye fixed, not upon the contrast between Christianity and Heathenism, or between the Jewish and Gentile forms of Christianity, but upon the opposition which afterwards arose within the Church between Christianity on the one hand, and Gnosticism and Ebionitism on the other; and here and there he brings out the bearing of particular events and discourses upon the circumstances of his own times. The *purpose* of John in writing his Gospel was twofold. He wrote, not to supply any demand for a substitute for the verbal teaching of the Apostles, as in Matthew, Mark, and Luke; but *first* to provide an external and internal *supplement* to the apostolic teaching;¹ and *secondly*, to *oppose the errors* of Gnosticism² and Ebionitism,³ and to show the evils which result from the want of love and life.

¹ See, for example, the events connected with the *journeys to the feasts* which the Synoptists pass over, and the history of Jesus from His baptism till His public appearance: cf. Euseb. 3, 24. See, too, the discourses and traits from the life of Jesus, which bring out most clearly the speculatively mystical aspect of His nature and work: cf. Clem Al. in Euseb. 6, 14.

² *Iren.* 3, 11; *Tert. præscr.* 33.

³ *Jerome*, *vir. ill.* 9; *Epiph.* 51, 12.

The lying speculation of the *Gnostics*, and the unspeculative mental destitution of the *Elbionites*, could only be overcome by true speculation. It was necessary, therefore, that John should now bring forward that view of the speculative and mystical side of the revelation of Christ which had hitherto remained peculiar to himself, and place it within the reach of the whole Christian Church. To the *Jews* it had first of all been necessary to preach that Jesus was the Messiah; but now the time had come to unfold to *Christians*, more clearly than before, the mystery that Jesus the Christ was the eternal Son of God. John had no longer to do with the earthly historical antithesis of Judaism and Heathenism, or of Jewish and Gentile Christianity; but with the speculative antithesis of eternity and time, of God and the creature, of heaven and hell, light and darkness, life and death, and with the revelation of the eternal, divine Being in the incarnate Word. Intentionally, therefore, he collected together such of the utterances of Jesus as bore upon this. And not His discourses merely, but His life, His sufferings, and His resurrection, he regards from this speculative point of view as the victory of light over darkness, through the medium of suffering love. With this is linked the *mystic* aspect of the life and living of Christ in us, the *unio mystica*, the ground of all salvation and sanctification. Thus intimately is the speculative side associated with the polemic against the want of life and love. And even his more outward purpose, to supplement the Synoptists so far as the journeys to the feasts were concerned, was closely connected with this speculative ground-plan. For it is just these journeys which mark the different epochs of the opposition of the darkness to the light. Consequently, John arranges his materials in *chronological* order, on internal grounds, and with deep and conscious wisdom.—In the Gospel of John, therefore, we do find a real pragmatism in the best sense of the word (the life and sufferings of Jesus the primitive type of that conflict which is ever going on in the whole Church, and in each individual).¹ But in the Gospel of John we have something more than mere pragmatism. The Gospel is a product of the clearest consciousness, an artistic work in the highest sense—a transparent crystal; but it is quite as true here as in the case of Luke, first, that there existed a personal predisposition and charismatical qualification for this deepest intuition of the life of Christ, and secondly, that in the life and works of the Apostle this conflict and this significance of the life

¹ The book of Revelation, which contains a description of the macrocosmical continuation of this *æonic* conflict, bears the same relation to the Gospel of John, as the Acts of the Apostles, the continuation of the historical, terrestrial conflict, to the Gospel of Luke.

of Christ arrived as it were at maturity. Even here, then, there is no intentionality arising from outward causes; the pragmatic tendency which guided the Apostle was no other than the practical aim of his whole life. And if he goes beyond Luke, it is simply in this, that the unconscious, involuntary impulse of the heart has become in him a conscious purpose of the will—the unconscious has become a distinctly conscious regard to plan.—*d.* A bad pragmatism differs from a good, such as we find in John, in this, that the analogy between past and present is looked at in a onesided manner; as if, *e.g.*, one should write the history of the French Revolution *merely* to show the exceptionableness of it, and without recognising the faults of Louis XVI., or, on the contrary, merely to read lectures to princes and to flatter the people; or as when one writes a history of the Reformation merely to frighten from Protestantism. Such a pragmatism is always morally, as well as theoretically defective; the design of the author is bad; and by it he is misled to onesided views, or even to systematic perversion of history. But it is not pragmatism at all, but sheer common deception, when an author alters or invents events, as Baur has the audacity to represent the New Testament writers doing.

2. The *plan* of the Gospel makes it easy to explain the following peculiarities. (*a.*) Many things are passed over as if sufficiently known, yet not always without a hint of them; many introduced which the Synoptists omit. The description of the life of Jesus begins nearly a year sooner than in the Synoptists; many particulars are minutely described; many things are said with evident reference to the Synoptists. (*b.*) The discourses of Jesus are very different from those related by the Synoptists, and are more speculative in their character. Jesus dwells on one deep thought. Intuition, not reflection, predominates. There is less progress in the thought than in the Synoptists. (*c.*) Where John himself is the speaker, we also find a speculative tendency and signs of philosophical culture. (*d.*) When John speaks of the *Jews* (*Ἰουδαῖοι*), he uses the word not in a geographical, but in a religious sense; not to denote the inhabitants of Judæa as distinguished from others, but all who rejected Christ, who did not become *Christians*, but continued *Jews* (in our modern sense). It is only from chap. ix., where the opposition assumes a more determined form, that the Pharisees are specially mentioned. This seems to indicate that the work was written at a time when the rent between *Jews* and *Christians* was complete, and the term *Jews* in the mouth of the latter had acquired a religious signification; in any case, therefore, after A.D. 70.

3. *Data as to the author.*—Without adducing chap. xxi., we shall

simply note such information as is afforded in chaps. i.–xx. When the writer says of the incarnate Word, “We beheld His glory” (chap. i. 14), he evidently intends to speak of himself as an *eye-witness of the life of Jesus*.¹ We are also struck with the fact, that the author appears to avoid mentioning the names of the sons of Zebedee (cf. i. 35 and 42, xiii. 23, xviii. 15, xix. 26, xx. 2).² Lastly, we also find that, whereas the two Judases are carefully distinguished (xii. 4, xiii. 26, xiv. 22), whereas Thomas always receives his surname, and Simon Peter is distinguished from Simon Zelotes, John the Baptist is never called anything but John, and not once distinguished by the appellation, *the Baptist*, from the Apostle of the same name. “This may easily be explained,” as *Credner* justly says, “on the supposition that the Apostle himself was the writer; for in the early history of Christianity these are the only two prominent characters of the name of John. And if it was the Apostle himself who was speaking, it was superfluous to use any other term to distinguish the Baptist from himself, especially as he always speaks of himself as ‘the disciple whom Jesus loved.’”

4. This is still further confirmed when we turn to the *relation between the Gospel and the first Epistle of John*. That they were written by the same author is placed beyond all doubt by the similarity in style,³ and still more by the perfect resemblance in doctrine and in the circle of ideas.⁴ It also appears as though the two were written at the same time, and the Epistle accompanied the Gospel. For not only does the opening of the letter call to mind John i. 14; but

¹ We must not appeal at present to chap. xix. 35. The author is there spoken of in the third person, and it *might* be the case that this verse was added by the editors of the book. But if it were, it would be evident that they referred to John, and spoke of him, the eye-witness of the resurrection, as the author of the book (compare vers. 26 and 35). The only *natural* interpretation, however, is that these words are to be taken as the author's own testimony to the fact that he had been an eye-witness of the scene.

² In other words, to mention *himself*; for there can be no doubt that the author refers to himself when speaking of “the disciple whom Jesus loved.” The only question is, Was it John, or some other of the twelve? From the expression itself, as well as John xiii. 23 and xix. 26, it is evident that it must have been one of the three—Peter, James, or John. Peter it cannot have been, for he is expressly distinguished in chap. xx. 2 from this disciple; it must therefore have been one of the sons of Zebedee, and James died too soon to have written the Gospel.

³ *E.g.*, the peculiar use of *περί, ἵνα, ἀλλά*; the recurrence of *θεῖσθαι* and *θεωρεῖν*; the fact that *ὁρᾶν* is only used in the perfect; the phrases *τὴν ψυχὴν τίθεναι, Θεὸς ὁ ἀληθινός, ὁ σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου ὁ Χριστός, κόσμος λαμβάνει, φαίνειν, τέκνια, παῖδια*; the repetition of the same expressions in one sentence, etc.

⁴ For example, the notions: *Φῶς, ἀλήθεια, ἀγάπη, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός, ζωὴ, ζωὴ αἰώνιος, κόσμος, σὰρξ, ἁμαρτία, θάνατος, σκότος* and *σκοτία, ὁ οὐρανός, ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὸν κόσμον, γεννηθῆναι ἄνωθεν, τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

when we read 1 John i. 1-3, the question arises, whether it really is the case that in the *Epistle* the author declares what he has *seen*, and *heard*, and *looked upon*—the Life, the appearance of the incarnate Word. And how, again, are we to explain the expressions ἔγραψα γράφω, which occur twelve times in the *Epistle*? Is the author constantly reflecting upon what he has already written in the letter which he has in hand, and repeating that, and why he is writing? Is it not more natural to suppose that this ἔγραψα or γράφω refers to the composition of the Gospel, which the author sends at the same time as the *Epistle*, and the design and purport of which he still further expounds in the *Epistle* itself?¹ In addition to this, in the *Epistle* we find the same false teachers directly referred to, who are noticed indirectly in chap. xx. 31 of the Gospel. The whole argument of the *Epistle* is directed against those who either deny that Jesus is the Christ (compare John xx. 31 and 1 John iv. 2, 3), or are destitute of love (cf. John xx. 31 and 1 John iii. 10).—The following *external* testimony has not so much weight. In the Cambridge MS., just before the commencement of the Acts of the Apostles, we find the last line of the third *Epistle* of John, and the words, *Epistolæ Johannis III. explicit incipit Actus Apostolorum*,—a sign that in the mother of the Cambridge MS. the *Epistles* of John followed immediately upon the Gospel, which they would not have done if they had not at a very early period been regarded as closely connected.—Assuming the probability, then, that the Gospel and the *Epistle* were written together, we are brought to the still further conclusion, that the Gospel was written for a circle of readers from whom the author was separated, and towards whom he stood in the relation of a spiritual father,—in other words, for a church.

5. *Data with regard to chap. xxi.*—This chapter is not wanting in any MS. or translation; it has, in general, the peculiar style of the rest of the Gospel, and most decidedly the tone and spirit of John,—the same inward, thoughtful absorption in the person and words of Jesus. At the same time, this chapter cannot have belonged to the Gospel originally; for the Gospel is formally concluded in chap. xx. 31. In chap. xxi. 24, on the other hand, the author is spoken of in the third person; not merely as in chap. xix. 35, but the writer here distinguishes himself from the author: “This is the disciple which testifieth of these things (περὶ τούτων) and wrote these things (ταῦτα); and we know that his testimony is true.” The writer, who speaks of the author in the third person, bears his testimony to the fact that the

¹ See Ebrard's Commentary on the First *Epistle* of John. Foreign Theol. Library.

author has spoken the truth. Chap. xxi. 24, 25, therefore, must have been written, not by John, but by a man who stood in so close a relation to John as to be able to strengthen his testimony by his own.

The question arises, whether the words *περὶ τούτων* and *ταῦτα* refer to the whole Gospel, or merely to chap. xxi. I formerly thought that they referred to chap. xxi. alone. In that case, ver. 24 would be simply a guarantee that chap. xxi. was an appendix written by John himse'f. But it is certainly not easy to imagine why John should have written down these facts separately from the rest, and not have embraced them in his general plan. The expressions, "the sons of Zebedee" (ver. 2), *ἔρχεσθαι σὺν τινι* (instead of *ἀκολουθεῖν*), and *ἐπενδύτης* (instead of *χίτων*), are also foreign to John's usual style.

But as chap. xxi. is not wanting in any MS., and is thoroughly inwoven into one book with the Gospel itself (compare ver. 14 with chap. xx.), it is evident that when the Gospel, which was written by John for the church at Ephesus, began to be more widely circulated after the Apostle's death, chap. xxi. must have been already connected with it. *The chapter, therefore, contains a testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel of John from the mouth of those who were contemporaries and disciples of the Apostle.*

§ 122.

DATA FROM THE FATHERS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE GOSPEL.

1. *Quotations.*—We distinguish here between *indirect quotations*,—where an author, for example, makes use of words which we find in John, but without stating that they are quoted from him or from any one else,—and *literal quotations*, where the author states that "John says so and so."

Indirect quotations we find even in the *apostolic Fathers*. Turn first of all to *Ignatius*. In *Philad.* 7 he writes: *εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα μέ τινες ἠθέλησαν πλανῆσαι ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλανᾶται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ὃν οἶδεν γὰρ, πόθεν ἔρχεται, καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἐλέγχει* (compare John iii. 8). This passage is only intelligible in connection with that of John. You may say of the wind, it comes and goes; but no one would say this of the Holy Spirit without some special reason. Ignatius might speak in this way, however, of the Holy Spirit, if he had that passage in his mind, in which the expression is used of the *wind*, and the wind employed as a simile of the Holy Spirit.—In *Philad.* 9 he says: *αὐτὸς (ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς) ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς*. The reference here, as the previous chapter shows, is to Christ. Compare John x. 1 sqq. "I am the door." Here, too, there is not only the

most obvious *resemblance* between the words of Ignatius and the passage in John, but apart from the latter the former are obscure, and the abrupt and unexpanded comparison, "the high priest is the door of the Father," perfectly inexplicable; whereas it is quite intelligible if we suppose Ignatius to have had John x. 7-9 in his mind, where the simile is *carried out*.—In Rom. 7: ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν (cf. John iv. 10) καὶ λαλοῦν ἐν ἐμοί. . . . "Ἄρτον Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃς ἐστιν σὰρξ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ καὶ πόμα Θεοῦ θέλω, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστιν ἀγάπη ἀφθαρτος καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆς. Compare John vi. 48, 50, 51, 55.—We look next at *Polycarp*. In Phil. 7 he writes: πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστος ἐστι. Compare 1 John iv. 2, 3. The first Epistle of John, which, as we have shown, had the same author as the Gospel, appears therefore to have been known to Polycarp.—In the Epistle of *Barnabas*, which, although in my opinion not the work of the Barnabas mentioned in the Acts, was written by another Barnabas of the same age, we also find an apparent allusion to the Gospel of John. In chap. xii. he says: πέρας γέ τοι αὐτὸς Μωσῆς ἐντειλάμενος· οὐκ ἔσται ὑμῖν οὔτε γλυπτὸν οὔτε χωνευτὸν εἰς Θεὸν ὑμῖν, ποιεῖ, ἵνα τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ δείξῃ· ποιεῖ οὖν Μωσῆς χαλκοῦν ὄφιν, καὶ τίθησιν ἐνδόξως, καὶ κηρύγματι καλεῖ τὸν λαόν. . . . "Ἐχεις καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν. Compare John iii. 14.—It must be admitted, however, that the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, in his constant pursuit of types, might have discovered by himself so obvious a parallel as that between the brazen serpent and the cross.

In *Justin Martyr* we find the doctrine of the Logos, along with other of John's ideas (ζῶν ὕδωρ, μονογενής, σαρκοποιηθῆναι, *regeneration*), and also the following passages: In *Dial. c. Tryph.*, "For when John was by the Jordan preaching the baptism of repentance, and wearing only a leathern girdle and a garment of camel's hair, and eating nothing but locusts and wild honey, the men supposed him to be the Christ; but he cried to them, '*I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying: for there shall come a stronger than I, whose sandals I am not able to bear;*'" we have a combination of Matt. iii. 11 and John i. 19. It must be admitted, however, that the whole account might have been derived from oral tradition.—Again, in p. 251, we have the same train of thought with reference to the *brazen serpent* as in the passage from Barnabas. Whether one borrowed from the other, or both hit upon the thought independently, or it was suggested by John iii. 14, it is impossible to determine.—Again, in the fragment of his book, *περὶ ἀναστάσεως*, chap. ix., *Justin* has a passage which

calls to mind Luke xxiv. and John xiv. 2. After following the account of the appearance of Christ to His disciples, as related in Luke xxiv. 37-42, he says, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδείξας αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀληθῶς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις ἐστὶ, βουλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι καὶ τοῦτο (καθὼς εἶρηκεν, ἐν οὐρανῷ τὴν κατοίκησιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν) ὅτι οὐκ ἀδύνατον καὶ σαρκὶ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνελθεῖν, ἀνελήφθη βλέπόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῇ σαρκί. The words καθὼς εἶρηκεν evidently allude to John xiv. 2, 3.

The indirect allusions of the *earliest heretics* are quite as important as those of the apostolic Fathers. Tertullian says,¹ that *Marcion* made use of Gal. ii. 4 ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum, quæ propria et sub apostolorum nomine eduntur vel etiam apostolicorum; so that he directed the arrows of his worthless criticism against the Gospels of Matthew and *John*, as well as against Mark and Luke. These Gospels must have been in existence, therefore, and received by the orthodox Church. He also says² of *Valentine*, that he did not mutilate the Gospels like Marcion, but used a perfect "*instrumentum*."—Of the *Valentinians* (100-150) *Irenæus* says (3, 11, 7): "Qui a Valentino sunt, eo, quod est secundum Johannem, plerissime utentes ad ostentionem conjugationum suarum." That this is no mere conjecture is evident from the fact, that he states distinctly they employed the Gospel *very fully*. And this course which he took in his controversy with them is a guarantee of its correctness. What trouble he takes (3, 11) to answer them from *the Gospel of John*! a proof that he argued *e concessis*. And, as has often been observed, the Valentinian doctrine of the *Æons*, as described by *Irenæus* from the writings of *Ptolomæus*, appears to have been worked out with distinct reference to the Gospel of John. And this simple fact, that a gnostic system should be based upon the Gospel of John, presupposes that this Gospel (which contains so much that is antignostic, and consequently was not *willingly* made the ground of his system by Valentine) possessed in Valentine's own day so much *external authority*, that the Gnostics could no longer evade it (either by denying its genuineness or corrupting the text).—*Heracleon*, a disciple of Valentine, even wrote a Commentary on the Gospel of John, from which he deduced the Valentinian system (*Origen*, Comm. in Joh., Huet, ii. 60 sqq.). *Theodotus* quotes John i. 9, vi. 51, viii. 56, and others.—*Ptolomæus ad Floram* quotes John i. 3. So much is therefore indubitably established: not only was the Valentinian school acquainted with the Gospel of John, but it appears as though the origin of the Valentinian system must be attributed, to a great extent, to the existence and authority of that Gospel.

¹ Adv. Marc. 6, 3.

² De Præscr. hæc. 38.

That the *Montanists* also were acquainted with the Gospel of John, has been inferred from the manner in which they speak of the *παράκλητος*. So much is certain, that *Tatian* (orat. c. Græcos, cap. 13) uses words which are *verbatim* the same as those in John i. 3 and 5. And the same *Tatian* (c. 170) prepared a *Diatessaron*, or harmony of four Gospels (a work which can only be understood on the supposition that there were four received Gospels in the Church), commencing with John i. 1, according to the testimony of Barsalibi, who knew the Syriac translation of it, and Ephrem's comm. thereon.—*Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch from 169, also wrote a commentary on the four Gospels, which Jerome himself had read (Ep. 53, de vir. ill. 25). And we shall see that he quotes the Gospel of John in another work.—Celsus also must have known the Gospel of John. We saw, § 115, that he knew four Gospels. He also refers, ii. 59, to the fact, that Christ showed the prints of the nails to His disciples. He might have learned this, however, from oral tradition.

The *direct quotations* commence with *Theophilus* (ad Autolyc. 2, 22): "John says, In the beginning was the Word." *Irenæus* (Bishop of Lyons from 178–202) not only makes the definite statement, "Postea et Joannes discipulus domini—edidit Evangelium Ephesi Asiæ commorans," but he quotes the Gospel marginally, or rather, to speak more correctly, he goes through the whole of the Gospel for the purpose of selecting all the passages which can be used against the Valentinians.—The most distinct statement as to the genuineness of the Gospel of John is also given word for word from *Irenæus* in *Euseb.* h. e. 5, 8: ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.—On the assumption that the Gospel and the first Epistle of John were written by the same author, the statement of *Euseb.* h. e. (3, 39), that *Papias* used the first Epistle of John, is also of importance: κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίας ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς. The author of both writings must have lived so early that one of them could be known to *Papias*.

§ 123.

DATA AS TO THE LIFE OF JOHN. HIS BANISHMENT. THE APOCALYPSE.

The accounts of the origin and date of the Gospel are closely interwoven with those as to the *residence of John in Patmos*; and the latter again with the question as to the *genuineness* of the book of Revelation. We shall give first of all the data which we possess as to

his life in general; secondly, as to his exile; and lastly, as to the genuineness of the Apocalypse.

1. A somewhat uncertain statement of *Clemens Alex.*, to the effect that John left Jerusalem twelve years after the death of Christ, coincides with Acts xxi. 18, from which it would appear that in the year 58 he was no longer in Jerusalem. That he cannot have proceeded at once to *Ephesus*, is very justly inferred by *Credner* from Acts xx. 17 sqq., where no mention is made of John. Nor can he have been in Ephesus at the time when Paul wrote the Epistle to the Ephesians; for the Epistle contains neither a salutation nor any other allusion to him. We have the testimony of *Irenæus* to the fact that he was in Ephesus (at a later period): *vid. hæc.* 3, 3, 4 (comp. *Eus. h. e.* 3, 23): ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων, μάρτυς ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.—*Ignatius Ant.*,¹ *Polycarp*,² and *Papias*³ saw the Apostle John (*Irenæus* also knew *Polycarp*; *Eus. h. e.* 5, 20). The death of John is said by *Jerome* (*vir. ill.* 9) to have taken place 68 years after the death of Christ (c. 100 A.D.). *Irenæus* places the death of John in the time of Trajan (99–117); *Eusebius* in the year 100 (100 A.D. may be taken, therefore, as approximately the correct date). This is in perfect harmony with the statement that *Polycarp* knew John and some other Apostles; for, according to *Eusebius* (*h. e.* 4, 15), he died in the year 170, rejoicing that he had been a Christian for 80 years.

2. *Clemens Alex.* (*quis dives*, cap. 42) says: ἄκουσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον, ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμη πεφυλαγμένον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήσαντος ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῴληθεν (Ἰωάννης) ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον, ἀπῆει κ.τ.λ. Then follows the well-known account (truly worthy of John) of the conversion of the young man who had so degenerated as to become a robber. *Clemens* calls this a μῦθος (an anecdote), but immediately adds, “οὐ μῦθος;” and states positively, that although not committed to writing, it is nevertheless true, and handed down by John himself. It must also be observed that the expression μῦθον οὐ μῦθον relates merely to the account of the robber, and neither has nor can have any reference to the statement of time, ἐπειδὴ . . . τὴν Ἐφεσον. That John had been in Patmos, and returned after the death of the tyrant, is noticed by *Clement*, not as needing any confirmation, but as a well-known and acknowledged fact; and to this, as supplying an unquestionable date, he proceeds to link his anecdote. “There is no ground

¹ *Euseb. h. e.* 3, 22. ² *Iren. hæc.* 3, 3; *Euseb. h. e.* 5, 24. ³ *Euseb. h. e.* 3, 39.

whatever for *Credner's* assertion, that the whole of this inexact account is apparently borrowed from Rev. i. 9, and therefore of no value." Inexact it is not; for the way in which *Clement* speaks of the "tyrant" is a proof that he took for granted that his readers knew to whom he referred. And for the same reason, it cannot be a private conjecture of *Clement's* resting on Rev. i. 9, that we have here, but a historical *datum* already well known and received without question by his readers. No one who had merely conjectured the probability of the author of the Revelation, who was banished to Patmos according to chap. i. 9, being the Apostle John, would write to persons who had no idea of such a thing as *Clement* has written here. *With the readers of Clement, therefore, it was regarded as an established fact, that the Apostle John was banished to Patmos, and afterwards returned to Ephesus.*

Origen (Comm. in Matt. opp. iii. p. 720) says: ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἡ παράδοσις διδάσκει, κατεδίκασε τὸν Ἰωάννην μαρτυροῦντα διὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον, εἰς Πάτμον τὴν νῆσον διδάσκει δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἑαυτοῦ Ἰωάννης, μὴ λέγων, τίς αὐτὸν κατεδίκασε, φάσκων ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ταῦτα (then follows Rev. i. 9). The word *παράδοσις*, as used by the Fathers, denotes *oral* tradition as distinguished from *written*. *Origen*, therefore, before quoting Rev. i. 9, appeals not to this passage, but to tradition, in support of the account of John's exile in Patmos. So that, at any rate, *he* did not derive the idea by mere conjecture from the passage in Revelation.

Tertullian, widely separated from *Clement* and *Origen* geographically, and by spiritual tendency, says: "Felix ecclesia Romana . . . ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatus, ubi apostolus Joannes, posteaquam in oleum igneum demersus nihil passus est, in insulam religatur" (præscr. hæc. cap. 36). From the fact that *Tertullian* mentions the boiling oil, some have sought to draw the inference, that the account of the exile of John is just as mythical as that of his intended martyrdom. Now, so far as the latter is concerned, I do not see why such an event may not have occurred in the reign of a Nero or a Domitian, nor, assuming the reality of the miraculous power of Christ and His Apostles, why John may not have been *rescued* by a miracle. The question may even be raised, whether John xxi. 22, 23, was not written with reference to that event. According to the testimony of a companion at the time, Paul was rescued twice by a miracle (Acts xvi. 26, xxviii. 5). And the miraculous deliverance of John, in order that he might be preserved alive until *the Lord came*, to show him in a vision the end of all things and His own future coming, might very justly be regarded as a fulfilment of the prophetic words of Christ in John xxi. 22, 23. The positive prediction was then made, that John

should not, like Peter, die a martyr's death, but wait till the Lord came to him in vision, and then came to him again to call him away at the appointed time. But even supposing that there were really good ground for regarding the account as mythical, it would by no means follow that his account of the banishment was also a myth. Tertullian is not relating a continuous narrative, but noticing all the different incidents which occurred to his mind connected with Paul, John, and the Church at Rome. One may be true, and others may be false.

Eusebius (h. c. 3, 23) repeats *Clement's* words, and also states in 3, 18–21, that, according to the testimony of heathen writers, a persecution took place under Domitian, in which proscription and banishment played an important part; and that there was an ancient tradition in Asia, not only of the banishment of John to Patmos, but also of the time at which it occurred: “The ancients say (ὁ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀρχαίων παραδίδωσι λόγος) that John returned at that time.”

Jerome (vir. ill. c. 9): quarto decimo igitur anno, secundam post Neronem persecutionem movente Domitiano, in Patmos insulam relegatus, scripsit apocalypsin.—Interfecto autem Domitiano, et actis ejus ob nimiam crudelitatem a senatu rescissis, sub Nerva principe redit Ephesum.

From these authorities, then, we may regard it as fully established, that in the time of *Clement* it was an *old*, unquestioned, and general tradition, that John had been banished to Patmos; and that, long before the time of *Eusebius* and *Jerome*, the view was a prevalent one, that his banishment coincided with the persecution under Domitian. The question then arises,—*Did the tradition of the banishment of John to Patmos arise in the course of the second century, independently of the belief that the book of the Revelation was written by John, or not?* We can hardly conceive that it did. The credibility of the tradition, therefore, would have to be given up, if it could be proved that the still earlier tradition of the apostolic authorship of the *Apocalypse* was based upon an error. This is the point which we have now to examine.

3. *Origin of the book of Revelation.*—At the commencement of Rationalism, the contents of the book of Revelation were regarded as objectionable, and it was assumed that an Apostle could not have written anything which the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries could not look upon as rational and enlightened. But when it was found impossible to adapt the contents of the book to the prevailing mode of thinking, the only alternative was to show that the *Apocalypse* was spurious, and thus free the Apostle from the reproach of writing so

unworthy a book. But the *external* evidences for the apostolic origin of the Apocalypse were strong, and not easily assailed. In spite of these, however, De Wette, Credner, Lücke, Ewald, maintained that the *book of Revelation* cannot have been written by the same author as the *Gospel* and *first Epistle of John*; and as they accept the two latter as genuine, in spite of the external testimonies to the apostolic authorship of the Revelation, they resort to the untenable hypothesis, that the name of the Apostle was confounded with that of John the Presbyter.—Later critics of the negative school maintain that the contracted Jewish spirit of the Apocalypse is an evidence of its apostolic origin; and, on the ground that the Gospel cannot have been written by the same author, deny the genuineness of the latter.

a. The *external evidence* is as follows. *Eusebius* (h. e. 4, 26) states that Melito (c. 190) wrote a book on the Revelation of John. This only shows, of course, that it was in existence in the time of Melito, not that *he* regarded it as a work of the *Apostle* John. The same thing must be said of Theophilus Ant., and Apollonius, the opponent of Montanism, who both quote John (Eus. 4, 24; 5, 28). *Clemens Alex.*, however, refers to the Revelation as ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, and as an *apostolical* message of mercy (Strom. 6 and pædag. 2). *Origen* (Eus. h. e. 6, 25) says that John, who lay in Jesus' breast, not only left one Gospel, but *also wrote the Revelation* (ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν). But *Justin Martyr*, who lived much earlier, writes thus in his dial. c. Typh. c. 81.: καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε. And according to Andr. Cæsar., who lived about the year 500, Papias made use of the Revelation.—*Irenæus* speaks in the most decided manner (Hær. 5, 30, 1 and 3, cf. Eus. h. e. 3, 18): ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς σπουδαίοις καὶ ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τούτου κειμένον, καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων. . . . Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦτομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐβρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχέδον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.—Even in opposing the *Montanists*, who founded their chiliasm upon the book of Revelation, not a single antichilastic teacher ventured to assert that the book itself was not genuine. It was only by the *Alogi*, who were rejected by the Church, that the Apocalypse was regarded as a work of *Cerinthus*. And *Dionysius Alex.* ventured, on purely internal grounds (specially the dissimilarity between the Apocalypse and the Gospel), to suggest the *hypothesis*, that the John by whom the

book was written was not the Apostle; but he could adduce no external testimony, not even that of tradition. For a time the apostolical rank of the Apocalypse rose and fell with the fluctuations of the Montanistic creed; but eventually, even when the latter had entirely passed away, it gained and kept the upper hand.

b. Can the book of Revelation have had the same author as the Gospel and the first Epistle?—The first two verses of the Apocalypse will suffice to lead any unprejudiced reader to the conclusion, that the author intends to designate himself as the writer of the Gospel also. “The Revelation of Jesus Christ . . . unto His servant John, who bare record (ὁς ἐμαρτύρησε) of the Word of God and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things which he saw (ὅσα εἶδεν). If the author was merely referring here to the things which he was about to communicate, why should he use the Aorist? It would be perfectly unnatural. And why, again, should he apply two new terms, the *Word of God* and the *testimony of Christ*, to what he had just before described as “the revelation”? But the whole is simple and natural, if he is really alluding to something already past, viz., the writing of the Gospel, in which he had borne record of the *Word of God* and of the testimony of Jesus Christ. But the *range of ideas* and the *language* itself are both said to be at variance with the supposition that the Gospel and the Revelation were written by the same hand. It is quite out of place, however, to speak of the range of ideas in connection with such a book as the Revelation, assuming, that is, that it contains actual visions. If this be the case, no conclusion is warranted which rests upon the supposition that we have in the Apocalypse the author’s own ideas. Even in the Gospel of John, too, we have not the ideas of John himself, but rather those of Christ,—presented, no doubt, as modified by the personality of John, with a preference for the contemplative and comparative neglect of the dialectic. The range of ideas in the book of Revelation, however, is most intimately related to that in the Gospel of John.¹ The leading theme of the Gospel—the conflict between the darkness and Christ—is also the leading theme of the Revelation.—The divinity of Christ is placed in the same prominence in the one as in the other (Rev. i. 5, 6, 13, 17, 18: cf. Isa. xli. 4).—The Gospel of John distinguishes the time of internal development, in which Christianity unfolds itself in the world by its own inward power (xvii. 11), and is opposed by the world (xv. 19, 20, xvi. 8), which only accelerates its own judgment in consequence (xvi. 11, xii. 31), from the time of the visible resurrection and re-establishment of the kingdom of Christ in glory (v. 28). It even hints at the

¹ Vid. Ebrard, *das Evangel. Johannis*, Zurich 1845.

double resurrection (vers. 25 and 28). And the *whole construction of the Apocalypse* is based upon the same distinction.¹

Thus we find in the Apocalypse the same things revealed by the glorified Lord, in relation to the development of the Church, which He had already hinted at to His disciples during His humiliation, and which John had already recorded in the Gospel. A band of disciples in the world, having to fight with it both within and without,—a world hardened against the light, and seeking to annihilate the kingdom of Christ by force and bloody deeds, but only succeeding in preparing judgment for itself. The difference pointed out between the Gospel and the Apocalypse arises simply from spiritualizing the Gospel, and putting too material a construction upon the Revelation. In the *vision*, Israel, with its temple and holy of holies, must be the symbol of the

¹ In the second vision (Rev. vi. sqq., the seven seals, and the seven trumpets into which the last seal is resolved), the war of Christ with the *world outside the Church* is described. The subjugation of Heathenism and Judaism is linked to this (chaps. xi. and xii.). In chap. xiii. we have the *growth of falsehood within the Church*, set forth under the figure of a beast with seven heads, which we find, on comparing chap. xvii. 9 sqq., to represent seven hills, on which the city is established, and at the same time the seven monarchies which preceded it and were absorbed into it. The last head has ten horns, *i.e.* (xvii. 16), ten kings who rule at the same time, and as vassals of the last imperial monarchy. The monarchies are Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, Syria (Antiochus Epiph.), Rome (which was still in existence, chap. xvii. 10), a seventh unknown monarchy,—in fact, one of the other six, which rises again after they have passed away (*viz.*, the sixth power, which then combines all the power of the rest). So far, the whole points merely to a purely *earthly power*. But in chap. xiii. 11 this earthly power is said to be helped by another beast, which *looks like a lamb and speaks like a dragon*. Now, as surely as the lamb and dragon are perfect opposites, so surely can we think here of nothing else than a diabolical power assuming the garb of Christianity; in other words, a lie within the Church. The mystic number 666 is used to distinguish the beast, the meaning of which may be gathered from the numerical value of the Hebrew letters אבכל בת זנונים (cf. chap. ii. 20), or the Greek letters of Λατίνος (therefore Rome). The beast in chap. xiii., therefore, is the imperial power of Rome (cf. the seven hills), as raised again by the Papacy; and this imperial power is one which extends throughout the whole duration of time. In chap. xiii. 5 it is said that it will continue forty and two months.

An explanation of this may be found in chaps. xi. and xii. In chap. xi. it is said, that the two witnesses, whom the description given in vers. 5, 6, shows to be Moses and Elias (νόμος and ἐπαγγελία), will deliver their testimony 1260 days, or just forty-two months; they will then be overcome, and their dead bodies lie for three days and a half. The 1260 days, or forty-two months, or three and a half years, are evidently not the same as the three days and a half which follow. What two periods are meant may be gathered from chap. xii. The virgin, the daughter of Zion, who bears the child (in other words, the people of Israel), is in the *desert* (a standing phrase for captivity, Hos. i. ii.), from the time that her son is taken up to God (the ascension), 1260 days (= forty-two months or three and a half years).

New Testament Israel. In the *Gospel*, Ἰουδαῖοι means the Jews, and μαθηταὶ the disciples of Christ. Is it not foolish, then, to infer from the former that the writer of the Revelation saw in Christianity merely a higher form of Judaism? He sees in it not *merely* a higher form, but the *true Israel* of God (Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9); just as Paul does in Gal. iv. 26–28, though, when speaking of simple facts, he also calls the people of Israel “Jews.” Lastly, who can fail to recognise in such passages as Rev. i. 4–8, ii., iii., iv. 8–11, v. 9–14, etc., the crystal tones of the voice of that disciple, who reflects with such diamond brilliancy the discourses of Jesus which he had treasured up in the depths of his soul,—of that disciple whose highest delight it was in holy contemplation to sink down into the light-sea of the divine glory?

But after that, Michael, the guardian angel of Israel, strives with Satan and overcomes him, and (ver. 11) Israel overcomes him by the blood of the Lamb. But *converted Israel* is threatened with a fresh persecution for *three days and a half*, but is sheltered from it.—The forty-two months, therefore, are the second half of the last week of years mentioned by Daniel, in the middle of which (Dan. ix. 27) an end is put to the Old Testament sacrifices by the death of Christ, and throughout the whole extent of which Christ was to confirm the covenant to His chosen, viz., the period from the death of Christ to His return, which is called in the New Testament χρόνοι ἑσχατοὶ or ὥρα ἑσχάτη. The three days and a half, on the other hand, are the ensuing period of the *last conflict*, the συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος; when the antichristian kingdom, properly so called, with the personal Antichrist at its head, crucifies the Church of Christ.

If the beast in chap. xiii. represents the Roman power strengthened by the Papacy, in chaps. xv.–xix. we find an apparent repetition of chaps. viii.–xiv., but with the same features depicted in their most grievous aspects. The seven vials are in general identical with the seven trumpets, and the beast in chap. xvii. with that in chap. xiii. Nevertheless they differ in some respects. One is spotted, the other scarlet (blood-red); one continues through the whole forty-two months, the other forms a last, eighth kingdom, after seven have passed away. One rises from the sea (i.e., from the great mass of heathen nations, Acts xvii. 15), the other from hell. One is called, and is, great Babylon; the other carries it (chap. xvii. 1–5), is distinct from it, in fact rises against it with the help of ten kings (xvii. 13–17), overthrows it, and is in turn overthrown by the coming of Christ (xix. 19 sqq.). The beast in chap. xvii., therefore, is a final exaltation of the Roman power, not now identical with the *Papacy*, but uniting the terrors of *infidelity* with those of superstition, and borrowing nothing from the Papacy but its form. Formerly the supporter and political foundation of the Papacy, it has now not the great Babylon but Antichrist at its head, assumes a hostile attitude to the Papacy and overthrows it. Chaps. xviii. xix. depict the victory achieved over this kingdom by Christ at His coming. Then follows the first awakening, namely, of those who have died in the Lord, and now in glorified bodies live upon the earth, and maintain a spiritual rule over so much of humanity as is not yet glorified (just as Christ after His resurrection lived for forty days upon the earth in a glorified body). Then, after this last offer of salvation, follows the second resurrection to judgment.

With regard to the *differences in the language*. Most of these can be easily explained from the total difference in the character of the two works, from the different circumstances in which the author was placed, and the consequent state of his mind. He who writes a treatise or a letter has time to select expressions and regulate his style. But he who sees and describes visions is passive all the while. He is not master of his subject, but his subject of him. Now he is carried away by the glory of his vision to the loftiest flight of poetic discourse; now, again, the unyielding words fall far behind the unapproachable subject. In either case the writer is carried far away from his accustomed style. When, *e.g.*, we find in the book of Revelation ἰδοὺ instead of ἰδὲ, εἴ τις instead of εἰάν τις, it signifies nothing alongside of the much greater similarities (μετὰ ταῦτα, use of ἴνα, μαρτυρία, negative and positive exhibition of a thought, ὅψις, ὁ νικῶν, τηρεῖν τὸν λόγον, τὰς ἐντολάς). Of as little importance is the different usage of verbs signifying to see. In the Gospel and the first Epistle the author had his readers in view; in the vision he had no regard to readers. Apart from the fact that the prophecies contained in the Apocalypse—the subject of the book—linked themselves on to the Old Testament prophecy, the passive relation of the seer led him to give himself free scope, and to fall back into the Aramaic style which was natural to him.

The Hebraisms, from which, on account of their similarity to those in Mark's Gospel, Hitzig has inferred that Mark was the author of the book of Revelations, form no ground for such a conclusion. Most of them are due to the natural mode of speaking of any Jew born in Palestine, who spoke Greek, but thought in Hebrew; and hence they appear in the Aramaic speeches in the Acts, and *also in the Gospel of John itself*.¹ As to the remaining Hebraisms, they are not unde-

¹ Nomin. with art. for vocat., Rev. xvi. 7, xviii. 20; Mark often; John xiii. 13, etc.;—ἐρχεσθαι for ἔσσεσθαι, Rev. i. 4, etc.; Mark x. 30; John iv. 21. *Apposition for the genitive or an adjective*, Rev. i. 6; Mark vi. 43; Acts ii. 37; John xii. 3. *Omission of a substantive*, Rev. ii. 4; Mark xiv. 51; John xx. 12. *Expression of gen. part. by ἐκ*, Rev. vii. 13; Mark ix. 17; Acts i. 18; John i. 35. *Repetition of the possessive pronoun*, Rev. vi. 11; Mark iii. 31-35; Acts ii. 17; John ii. 12. *Instrument expressed by ἐν*, in Rev. often; Mark xv. 1; Acts i. 5, etc., etc.; John i. 26, 33; 1 John ii. 3. *Apposition in nom. with an oblique case*, Rev. i. 5; Mark vii. 19; John i. 14. φοβεῖσθαι φόβον, and similar expressions, Rev. xvii. 6; Mark iv. 41; Acts ii. 17, 30; John v. 32. *Præs. histor. aor. prophet.*, often in Rev. and John. *Fut. instead of conj.* with ἴνα, often in Rev.; Mark iii. 2; John xv. 16. *Frequent use of ἴνα, ὅπως* rare. *Double negation* in Apoc. and John constantly, Acts iv. 12. *Attributes in a different case from the noun*, Rev. ii. 27, iii. 4; John vi. 9 (παιδάριον ὅς, ὃ is a correction). *Omission of the copula*. Καὶ instead of δὲ

signed, but proceed from half intentional imitation of Old Testament language.¹ The author *wishes* to write in a Hebrew style: the style of the Hebrew prophets, in its grand simplicity, could alone adequately express the monstrous objects of his vision. As a historical narrator, on the other hand, the author of the Gospel takes all possible pains to write as good Greek as he can, for the sake of his readers in Asia Minor.² The whole difference between the Gospel and the Revelation is thus explained, and therefore there is no necessity for assuming different authors. The peculiarities which are alleged to be common to Revelation with the Gospel of Mark are not of a decisive kind, as we have seen; and what weight they have, is neutralized by the dissimilarities: whilst the Gospel of John, besides the points in which the Rev. resembles both it and Mark, resembles the former in other more important peculiarities of style, modes of expression, and ideas, in which Mark entirely differs from it.

The result of these careful inquiries (given in greater detail in Ebrard's *Das Ev. John*, Zurich 1845) into the style of the two books, so far from proving a difference of authorship, is such, that if we knew nothing of the author of the Revelation, and had to decide *a priori* which of the New Testament writers was most likely to have composed it, we should think first, not of Mark, as *Hitzig* does, but of the Evangelist John.

§ 124.

STATEMENTS OF THE FATHERS AS TO THE ORIGIN AND DESIGN OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

At first sight the Fathers seem to differ in their statements. *Irenæus* (hær. 3, 1) says that John composed it while living in *Ephesus*: And in this he is followed by *Chrysostom* and *Theodorus Mopsuest.* *Theophylact*, on the contrary, says that he wrote it in the island of *Patmos*. In addition to this, which is confirmed by *Pseudo-Hippolytus* and others, we have a large number of MSS. which contain the same statement; and their number, added to the agreement of so many or *ὄν*, almost constantly in Rev., Mark, and John. Verb placed before the subject, John ii. 4, vii. 11, etc.

¹ *Apposition in gen. with a noun in nom.*, with a peculiar harshness, in Rev. i. 5. ii. 20, ix. 13, xx. 2.—'Ἀπὸ ὁ ὦν, i. 4. 'Ο ὦν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.—The frequent use of *ἰδοὺ*, xiv. 19, xix. 6.

² Whilst he makes use of externally good Greek constructions, it is yet evident that all is thought in Aramæan; and often enough he falls out of his good Greek unawares into the more familiar Hebrew style of expression: see vi. 40, where the construction gradually passes from the conj. to the indic.

writers, are proofs of great antiquity, and a wide-spread opinion at a very early period.

Which of the two is the more trustworthy? In my opinion, they are not contradictory; but the author of the synopsis attached to the works of Athanasius is probably correct in his statement, which *Dorotheus of Tyre* confirms, that the Gospel was written by John when he was in the island of Patmos, and published in Ephesus by Gaius the host. If we bear in mind, that so long as an Apostle was present, there was no such necessity for a written Gospel; that in all probability the first Epistle of John accompanied the Gospel, in which case the writer must have been separated from his readers; the supposition is very natural, that he wrote the Gospel at Patmos, and sent it to Ephesus, where it was copied and circulated. And we can also understand how Irenæus might state in general terms that John wrote it while living in Ephesus. He mentions his stay in Ephesus, of which the time spent in Patmos was merely an episode, in distinction from the first period of the Apostle's life, which was spent in Judæa, and the second in other parts.

On the *purpose* of the author, we have the following statement in *Clemens Alex.* (Eus. h. e. 6, 14): ἐν ταῖς ὑποτυπώσειςι . . . ὁ κλήμης . . . παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνεκάρθην τέθειται . . . τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον συνιδόντα, ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον.

According to this, there were two different reasons: first, because he did not find in the other Gospels the glory of Christ—the splendour of which had so enraptured him—displayed in all its fulness; the second, a wish expressed by his friends. The former is by no means improbable. And if, in addition to this, there came a request from others, the composition of the work is fully explained. According to Clement, this was the case: “*friends entreated him.*” This does not warrant the conclusion, that the Gospel was written simply for the *private use of such friends*, and that they were the only readers; nor that they made the request for their own pleasure, rather than from any particular *need*. It may rather be taken for granted that they wished for the Gospel, not for their own sakes merely, but to meet the wants of the churches. And this is expressly stated by *Jerome*, and in the *Muratorian Canon*. This is also in perfect harmony with the *data* contained in the Gospel. The author takes his own course, absorbed in the person and glory of Christ. But he has regard to certain defects in the churches for which he writes (want of faith in the true deity or true humanity of Christ, and want of love); and in his formal arrangement, to the synoptical Gospels also.

The *date* of composition can hardly be determined with precision. The Apostle's exile in Patmos terminated in the year 96; but we cannot tell when it commenced. We may conclude from the necessities of the Church, which called for the writing of a Gospel, that he must have left Ephesus some time before it was composed. And as the Gospel was written before the Revelation (Rev. i. 1),—and probably not immediately before, as he seems to assume acquaintance with it on the part of his readers; for he describes himself as the person who wrote the Gospel,—in all probability his exile continued several years, and the Gospel may have been written in the year 93 or 94. The Fathers state nothing more definite than this. *Irenæus* and others merely say that it was written last of the four Gospels. In any case it cannot have been written in the reign of Nerva, after John's return from Patmos. And the fact that certain MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries mention the year 32 after Christ's ascension as the year in which it was written, has no weight whatever.

§ 125.

ATTACKS UPON THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

A Gospel which had met with such general reception by the middle of the second century, that even the heretics could do nothing but expound it in harmony with their own views, and on which *Heracleon* the heretic had written a commentary by the end of the century, must certainly have been in existence at its commencement. A Gospel containing in the appendix an assurance that it was written by John, which assurance the writer was able to give in the name of his contemporaries or colleagues, must surely have had John for its author. A Gospel, apart from which certain passages of Ignatius are unintelligible, written by the author of a letter which is quoted by Polycarp and Papias, referred to unquestionably in a fragment of Justin,—a Gospel, in reference to which we have the assurance of the pupil of Polycarp, that it was written by the teacher of the latter,—a Gospel, which the author of a work attributed to John by a unanimous tradition evidently affirms that he wrote (Rev. i. 1, 2), ought certainly to be accepted as genuine. At all events, there is no profane writing whose authenticity is attested by half so many witnesses.

Yet the genuineness of the fourth Gospel has often been disputed, notwithstanding the abundance of the evidence. The history of the modern attacks may be divided into three periods. The first embraced merely scattered objections of little weight. In the second these were

all combined, and there arose a sharp conflict, from which the view of those who defended the authenticity, though shaken, came forth victorious. In the third, the attack is being carried on with entirely new weapons. Not only is internal evidence brought *against* the genuineness, and the external proofs in *its favour* invalidated, but external evidence is brought *against* it in great abundance and with great confidence; and in addition to the genuineness of the Gospel, the historical credibility of the account of John's life, and even the Church history of the first two centuries, are all thrown overboard.—The conflict of the *first period* was commenced in England by *Evanson* in the year 1792; but he was vigorously opposed by *Priestley* and *Simpson*. In Germany it was carried on by *Eckermann*, *Schmidt*, and others; but such a phalanx arose in defence of the genuineness of the Gospel, that the contest, after it had lasted twenty years, slept for about ten years.—In the year 1820, *Bretschneider* commenced a *second* attack. But he was so completely answered, that he revoked his objections.¹ This attack, however, had this effect, that though theologians like De Wette could not deny the genuineness of the Gospel, they despaired of a stringent proof of its genuineness.—The *third* period commenced with *Strauss's Leben Jesu*. Since that work appeared, two classes of opponents have arisen: some (Schenkel, Weisse, Schweitzer) disputing the integrity rather than the authenticity of the Gospel, accepting part as genuine, and regarding the rest as interpolated; others (Lützelberger and Schwegler) maintaining that the fourth Gospel was not written till the middle or end of the second century.

Our remaining task, therefore, is to examine, *first*, the *internal evidence* against the genuineness adduced by different opponents (*viz.*, the impossibility of reconciling the speculative culture apparent in the Gospel of John with the position of a Galilean fisherman, the doctrine of the Logos, the impossibility of remembering such discourses as the fourth Gospel contains, together with geographical and other difficulties); and *secondly*, the *external evidence* brought forward in *disproof* of its genuineness.

§ 126.

INTERNAL OBJECTIONS TO THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL.

1. "The Gospel of John is written throughout in a speculative spirit; nay, the first chapter contains a philosopheme of Platonic origin, which belongs to the theosophic school of Philo;—how could a Galilean fisherman possess the culture requisite to write such a work?"—

¹ Tschirner's Mag. ii. 2, pp. 154, 155.

We might, with Credner, ask in reply, how John the Galilean could maintain his position in Ephesus without such wisdom and philosophical speculation. But as some dispute the fact of his being there, we simply ask, whence *Jakob Böhm* the shoemaker derived his speculations? Is speculative talent a monopoly of the learned? The *form* of the speculations of John is not scientifically dialectic or abstract, but simple and thoroughly concrete; and even in the present day is far better understood, in all its depth of meaning, by many a believing shoemaker and fisherman, than it is by some of the learned. One Father and God, pure light and truth, by whom the world was created; darkness which exalts itself against the light in sin, and an apology for sin; and the Son of God, God's own essence, who appears, becomes man, and overcomes the power of darkness by laying down His life, and who now sanctifies and saves those whom the Father has given Him:—these are clear and simple ideas.

2. But how did the Galilean fisherman arrive at the doctrine of the *Logos*?

It is commonly supposed that he derived it from Philo, on the ground that Philo was the first to introduce the term λόγος into the Hebrew theology. But we have already shown that in the oldest Targums, even in the time of Christ, the expression מִמְרָא דִּיהוָה was a very common one; and the history of the expression shows that it was taken up by the theology of the Targums just where it was left by that of Sirach. The idea proceeds in an unbroken course from the Proverbs to the latest Targums, independently of the Alexandrian school. This expression, the only Greek rendering of which is ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, was found by John in his own native land.

The question therefore is simply this: Does the *Logos* of John correspond to that of the Targum, or to that of Philo? And there can be no doubt about the answer. All that is peculiar to the *Logos* of Philo, as distinguished from that of Sirach and the Targum, viz., the distinction between a κόσμος νοητός and κόσμος αἰσθητός, is entirely wanting in John. But the *Logos* of John is by no means identical with the מִמְרָא of the Targum. The latter is only used with reference to the *creature* already formed or about to be so; the *Logos* of John, on the contrary, is “with God” *before* the creature is formed, and it is by His works and incarnation that God is manifested to the creature. The most that can be said is, that the popular theology, based upon the Targums, furnished John with the term *Logos*. But the *doctrine* of the *Logos* belongs exclusively to Christianity:¹ the identity of the

¹ [See on this point *Dorner on the Person of Christ*, vol. i., Introduction. *Clarks' Foreign Theological Library*.—ED.]

Logos and the *Messiah* he learned from personal intercourse with Christ, and from His teaching; and the pre-existence of the *Logos*, and its hypostatic relation to the Father, from the Old Testament prophecy, the key of which was given in Christ. In the use of the expression *Logos*, John not only adopted a term current among his contemporaries, but took up an idea which was perfectly *true*, and owed its origin to the Old Testament; but in the fulness and depth of *Christian* wisdom, he went far beyond all that this expression conveyed to the mind of a Jew, and whilst the O. T. idea of the "Wisdom" which was with God received its actual realization in Christ, its theoretical development is due to John. In this plainness of speech, this choice of words—involving the deepest mysteries, yet intelligible to a child—we recognise the evident footsteps of *inspiration*, the work of the Holy Spirit, which did not exclude or suppress human thought and speech by supernatural gifts, but *loosened* the tongue which sin and error had tied, and enabled the writer to find on every occasion the fitting expression for the thought to be conveyed, whether one newly coined or one drawn from the author's memory or knowledge (as here the word *מִימָר*).

3. "The *discourses in John* are so entirely different from those reported by the Synoptists, that if Christ was in the habit of speaking as the Synoptists represent, He cannot have been also accustomed to deliver such discourses as those given by John. Moreover, the latter are so discursive, so full of repetitions, that even if Christ had actually delivered such discourses, John would not have been able to remember them word for word for such a length of time."

The *first* objection is confessedly overthrown by one single passage, Matt. xi. 25–30 (Luke x. 21, 22), and also by what has been already pointed out at pp. 224–5. With regard to the *second*, we have already proved, in connection with the different discourses, that they were both pointed and practical. And to remember them would by no means surpass the power of a memory naturally strong, and not yet injured by much writing, especially in the case of a man to whom these favourite discourses of Jesus were the costliest treasure, the dearest jewel which he had to keep.—*Baur* indeed raises another objection here, that "discourses could not be historical which were essentially nothing more than an explanation of the *Logos* idea put forth by John." This would be true if the *Logos* idea had been the product of gnostic speculations. But if Jesus was really the Son of God, and so manifested Himself to all the Apostles, this necessarily presupposes that He must have made Himself known by such words and deeds as those described by John. And the oft repeated remark

has its full force here, that as John never puts into the mouth of Jesus Himself the category and form under which he sets forth the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, and which are really peculiar to himself, we have here a strong proof that he has reported the discourses of Jesus with perfect fidelity, and without additions of his own.

§ 127.

EXTERNAL OBJECTIONS TO THE GENUINENESS OF THE GOSPEL.

1. John can never have been in Ephesus; for (a) if he had been there, Luke would have consulted him when writing his own Gospel; (b) it is evident from Gal. ii. 6, that in the year 60 John was already dead; (c) *Clemens Romanus* would not have written to Corinthians, or, at all events, not in the way he did; (d) *Hegesippus* would have related something about Ephesus and John's stay there, and *Eusebius* would have quoted his statements.

a. We have already shown that in the year 60, when Luke left the East, John had *not yet* come to Ephesus.

b. Gal. ii. 6 proves nothing at all. Paul merely says, "The leaders of the Church in Jerusalem, whatsoever they *were* it maketh no matter to me, in conference added nothing to me." From the imperfect "*were*" (*ἦσαν*), Lützelberger infers that, when Paul wrote, they could not have been all alive; and as Peter and James were still living, John is made a sacrifice to the fatal imperfect. But all that Paul's words imply is this, "Whatever distinction they *once* possessed is a matter of no importance to me (*now*)."

c. *Clemens Romanus* was bishop at Rome from 92 to 101. He wrote his Epistle to the Corinthian church during the Domitian persecution, in consequence of the contentions in the Corinthian presbytery. The argument is, that if John had been living at Ephesus or Patmos, the Corinthians would have sent to him, and not to Clement. But it is evident from Clement's letter, that the church at Corinth had fallen into a state in which all spiritual life was stagnant. In this condition the church was not likely to seek for help, as it might have done in the case of some particular dispute. But, with the constant intercourse between Rome and Corinth, it was perfectly natural for some one to write to Clement, describing the condition of the church, and for Clement to write his letter in consequence. There is nothing in this to show that John was not in Patmos at the time. Moreover, it is very absurd for any one to argue *a priori*, that "if this and that happened, the other *must* have taken place." In how many cases now do we find things occurring which we should by no means have ex-

pected? And he who seeks to prove what must necessarily have happened thousands of years ago, is building no very splendid memorial to his own understanding.

d. That *Hegesippus* did not refer to John's life in Ephesus is more than any one can venture to state; and the reason why *Eusebius* does not quote him is, that he quotes *Clemens Alex.*, and considers his testimony sufficient.

There is nothing in these objections, therefore. The fact of John's stay in Ephesus and banishment to Patmos, as supported by the unanimous voice of tradition, is still undisturbed from this point of view.

2. *Ignatius* is adduced as proving that the Gospel of John cannot have existed in his day. If it had, says Lützelberger, Ignatius must have seen it when visiting Polycarp on his journey to Rome, before writing his Epistle to Smyrna: yet he cannot have done so; for, in those passages in which he would have been sure to quote the Gospel, there is not the slightest allusion to it.—Let us look at the passages referred to.

In chap. ix. he praises the church for not listening to the false teachers. Why should he have mentioned the teaching of John here? In chap. xvii. he speaks of the anointing of Jesus, and follows Mark's account, not that of John, who merely mentions the anointing of the *feet*. This is perfectly natural. He represents the anointing as a solemn consecration; and in that light the anointing of the *head* was the important feature. In the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, Judaists are opposed. The Epistle is Pauline in its tone, but Ignatius does not refer either to Paul or John. "It was natural," says Lützelberg, "that he should not mention Paul, for the Judaists would not have recognised his authority; but he would certainly have appealed to John." By no means; he had the same reason in both instances. He himself, the apostolical Father and the friend of the Apostles, was quite authority enough.

In the Epistle to *Tralles*, *Ignatius* tells his readers to adhere to the ἐπισκόπους and the διατάγματα τῶν ἀποστόλων. Here we are told that it was unnatural to refer to the bishops, and not to the writings of the Apostles. But the question in hand was not the fundamental articles of the *faith* of the whole Christian Church, but questions relating to the *life* of each particular church. It was also perfectly natural for *Ignatius* to refer them to the bishops. There is no trace whatever in his epistles of a *hierarchical system*, such as some find in them; no trace of a violent exaltation of a monarchico-episcopal power in opposition to presbyteries or the freedom of the churches. These epistles are simply the faithful memorials of an age, in which no

Apostles remained alive, the churches had become more numerous, and persecutions had broken out. To far-seeing Christians, like *Ignatius*, it was then for the first time fully apparent how important to each church was the pastor by whom it was kept together. His fraternal advice, therefore, was to continue thoroughly faithful, to adhere firmly, to *him*. It was not till long after the importance of the pastors had been thus deeply felt in relation to the *life* of the Church, that the importance of the New Testament canon was also discovered in connection with the *doctrine* of the Church.

3. *Polycarp* wrote his Epistle to the Philippians soon after the departure of *Ignatius*, at the request of the Philippians themselves, but not on account of the errors which he refers to so lightly and occasionally at the close of the epistle. How does *Polycarp* show his ignorance of *John's* writings? "There are two allusions to the Syn.," says *Lütz.*, "but none to *John*, even when writing against the Docetæ." But in this very passage he quotes 1 John iv. 3 *verbatim*; and it is folly to say that *John* copied the words from *Polycarp*. The conclusion to which we are brought is, that *Polycarp* was acquainted with the writings of *John*.

4. It is said to be quite certain that *Papias* had not seen them. *Rettig* appeals to *Euseb.* 3, 39, as showing that *Papias* positively affirms that he has read everything of apostolic origin, and yet does not mention the Gospel of *John*. But if we examine the passage carefully, we find that *Papias* is mentioning the sources from which he has drawn his history; that he says he did *not* draw it from *apostolical writings*, but from oral tradition (with careful criticism). How can it possibly be maintained, then, that *Papias* would surely have mentioned or quoted the Gospel of *John*, when *Papias* himself says that he did not refer to *writings* at all? Moreover, we have still the fact that *Papias* has actually quoted the first Epistle of *John* (*Euseb.* 3, 39).

5. *Lastly*, *Baur* maintains that in the time of *Irenæus* there was a larger party within the orthodox Church which did not accept the Gospel of *John*; and that it is evident from this how late it was before it commenced its career. He says, that from the time when the Gospel of *John* began "more and more" to be accepted as *John's* (*i.e.*, when the custom became more general of quoting the names of the writers of the different Gospels and Epistles), there was never wanting a certain amount of opposition, founded upon reasons more worthy of notice than is commonly supposed. The traces of this opposition are to be found in the people, of whom *Irenæus* (iii. 11) says, that they "*illam speciem non admittunt, quæ et secundum Joannis evan-*

gelium, in quo Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit, sed simul et evangelium et propheticum repellant spiritum." He speaks of them as "infelices qui pseudo-prophetæ esse volunt, prophetiæ vero gratiam ab ecclesia repellunt, similia patientes his, qui propter eos, qui in hypocrisi veniunt, etiam a fratrum communione se abstinent." He says that they reject the Gospel of John, because the Paraclete is mentioned there; and he answers them by saying that Paul also speaks of "gifts" in 1 Cor. xii. sqq., and among others, of that of prophecy; and, consequently, that they should also reject the Epistles of Paul. It is evident from this, that certain of the opponents of the Montanists could think of no other way of meeting them than by throwing doubts upon the whole of the Gospel of John. And *Baur* argues that they would hardly have ventured to do this, if it had been confidently accepted for any length of time as a genuine production of the Apostle, and that doctrinal reasons may just as well have led to its acceptance as to its rejection. But he forgets that the question in dispute throughout was not the authorship, but the canonical or apocryphal character of the Gospel; not its authenticity, but its ecclesiastical authority. And it is perfectly certain that the ecclesiastical authority of the fourth Gospel was firmly established by the middle of the second century. With regard to the "infelices" of whom *Irenæus* speaks, he expresses himself still more strongly afterwards: "*Per hæc omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei in irremissibile incidunt peccatum*,"—an expression which he would surely not have used, if one entire half of the Christian Church, the anti-Montanistic, or even a considerable portion of that half, had held the opinion which he condemns.—Look again at the connection in which he places these men. He is speaking in the very same chapter of the *heretics* who accept, some more, some less, than the four canonical Gospels. He ridicules them, because one sect declares one Gospel to be genuine, another another,—and thus between them they establish the genuineness of the whole. In this connection he places the anti-Montanistic opponents of the Gospel of John. Can they have formed a widespread, unheretical sect within the Church? Surely, if they had, *Irenæus* would not have placed them in such company, and charged them so harshly with the sin against the Holy Ghost. A man must have read but little of the Fathers, to imagine such a tone of polemics against orthodox Christians to have been possible, at that time of persecution without, and affectionate union within. If anything is clear, it is this, that *Irenæus* is alluding to a certain heretical people, who allowed their opposition to Montanism to carry them to this extreme. There were many other opponents of Montanism, who saw no necessity

to give up a Gospel which had hitherto been accepted by them as apostolic. This *Baur* himself has admitted. And the persons alluded to by *Irenæus*, we have doubtless to seek either in the sect of the Ebionites, or in that of the Marcionites. But whoever they may be, so much is certain, that they are not to be sought in the bosom of the Church, to say nothing of being regarded as an important party there.

The *Alogi* of *Epiphanius* are also brought forward as a second party within the Church, who denied the genuineness of the Gospel of John. Who these people were, is not very well known. *Baur* says that *Epiphanius* is to be "used with great caution;" though he himself shows so little caution as to add—" *Epiphanius* says expressly, that apart from their rejection of the writings of John, they did not forsake the orthodox faith." All that *Epiphanius* says is this: *Δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἴσα ἡμῖν πιστεύειν*; by which he shows (if *δοκοῦσι* means *they appear*), that he did not know much about them. And if *δοκοῦσι* means *they pretend*, he regarded it as a mere pretension when the *Alogi* professed to be orthodox. It is pure romance to maintain, as *Baur* does, that they were no heretics, but a party within the Church. If anything can be inferred from what *Epiphanius* says, it is that he had heard a very faint report of the *Alogi* mentioned by *Irenæus*. And the indefinite way in which he speaks of them, is one of the best proofs that they were an insignificant sect, having but little influence, and very soon extinct. The very little information, however, which he gives, shows that their objections to the Gospel were purely *internal* (contradictions between it and the Syn.), and had no bearing upon criticism, or the history of the Gospel in its relation to the canon. Now, one would think that if the authorship of the fourth Gospel was still so partially admitted in the second century, the *Alogi* would have brought forward not merely internal objections, but outward facts as well,—such as the novelty of the opinion that the Gospel was written by John, the want of outward testimony, and the silence of the early Fathers and general tradition. *Baur* says they did; and in proof of his assertion quotes the words, *οὐκ ἄξια αὐτὰ φασιν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, which he renders, "they object, that they were not sufficiently attested or accredited in the Church!" *Difficile est satyram non scribere.*

§ 128.

THE EASTER CONTROVERSY.

There is a fragment of *Apolinarius* connected with the Easter Controversy of the latter half of the second century, in which he tells

his opponents, that according to their view (that Christ died on the 15th Nisan), "there must be a discrepancy between the Evangelists." This fragment is of considerable importance in relation to the genuineness of the Gospel of John. It shows, (1) that Apolinarius was aware that there was an apparent discrepancy in the Gospels with regard to the time of the Saviour's last meal; so that, as the Synoptists all agree, he must have been acquainted with the Gospel of John; and (2) that he was convinced that this apparent discrepancy could only be removed by adopting the account given by John, as the standard with which the others must be made to accord. Once maintain that Jesus died on the 15th, and a discrepancy, in his opinion, would immediately arise.

Baur, however, has given a totally different explanation of this passage; and as his interpretation is closely connected with his general opinion of the Easter Controversy, we must give a brief sketch of the latter. To do this, however, is no easy task. The fragments are so scanty, that the controversy, and all the points of it, have been very differently conceived of by different authors. It does not come within the scope of our plan to give a comprehensive history of opinion on the Easter Controversy. We require only to make ourselves acquainted with those views which have lately become important in connection with New Testament criticism. There are as it were two opposite branches, which have sprung, as from their root, out of the earlier, somewhat confused inquiries of Mosheim, Neander, and Gieseler,—one branch being the view of Dr Baur of Tübingen, the other that of Weitzel.

1. In Baur's opinion (similarly Mosheim, Neander, Rettberg, and Niedner) the three Easter Controversies (in 162, between Polycarp and Anicetus of Rome; in 168, between Melito of Sardis and Apolinarius; in 198, between Polycrates of Asia Minor and Victor of Rome) all turned upon the same point. In Asia Minor the Christian Passover was kept on the 14th Nisan; in the West, on the Saturday. In the former it was believed that Jesus instituted the Supper on the 14th, and died on the 15th; in the latter, that He instituted the Supper on the 13th, and died on the 14th. This disagreement in reference to the day of Christ's death was, however, by no means the ground of the difference, but rather a secondary result thereof. The inner ground of the difference lay in this, that the Asiatics, infected with *Petrine Ebonitism*, adhered to the outward Jewish element and to the synoptical tradition, and regarded the rite of the Lord's Supper as the Christian substitute for the rite of the Passover; whilst those in the West, following the Pauline tendency, had the resolution of Judaism into Christianity in their eye, and in Christ the crucified saw the New

Testament Paschal Lamb (and therefore the time of Christ's death was placed by the author of John's Gospel, in the second century, on the afternoon of the day on which the lamb was slain).

2. From this view of the Easter Controversy Baur makes the following conclusion:—In Asia Minor, the sphere of John's labour, Ebionite views prevailed. Consequently John must have held these views, and cannot have been the author of a Gospel setting forth the very opposite view.

But, unfortunately for Baur, it so happens that Asia Minor was one of the principal spheres of *Paul's* labours; and further, it so happens that Paul, the supposed opponent of Ebionitism—which fixed its view of the day of Christ's death in the Synoptists—in his account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, agrees word for word with the *Synoptist Luke*. This Synoptist Luke sides, not with the Petrine, but decidedly with the Pauline tendency. On Baur's hypothesis all this is inexplicable. Even if his account of the Easter Controversy were correct, it would be better to regard the difference as originating in the discrepancy between the synoptical Gospels and the Gospel of John, than to invent a dogmatic reason which is irreconcilable with Paul's labours in Asia Minor, or with the relation of Luke to Paul.

But Baur's view on the Easter Controversy is itself untenable. The opponents of Clemens, etc., were not gentle, christianized Ebionites, but coarse, heretical Judaists; whereas the opponents of Anicetus and Victor were not heretics at all, but worthy Catholics, in whose country there was a slight difference from the East, in a *ritual point alone*. The two controversies in 162 and 198 on the one hand, and 168 on the other, were entirely distinct.

3. This view has been carried out by *Weitzel*; and, after the most careful examination, I am convinced that it is essentially correct. Apart from the discussion at the Nicæan Synod in 325, when the question was, Whether the next full moon after the spring equinox should be the rule for the Christian Passover, or whether the paschal feast should be reckoned so as to fall before the 21st of March (it was already a settled point, that the Easter feast should not coincide with the full moon, but should be observed on the Sunday after it), the controversy may be divided into three leading epochs. In 198 (between *Victor* and *Polycrates*) the question turned upon the relation between the day of the *week* and the day of the month. In Asia Minor it had been customary to observe *the day of Christ's death* (the 14th Nisan), on whatever day of the week it fell, and to keep it as a day of *rejoicing*, the day of complete redemption. In the West, the *Sunday*, the day of the week upon which Christ arose, was kept as

the day of gladness, and the *Friday*, the day on which His death was commemorated, was kept with mourning and fasting. The same difference was the subject of a friendly discussion in 162 between *Polycarp* and *Anicetus*. The other controversy, about 170, in which *Apolinarius*, *Clemens Alex.*, and *Hippolytus* took the leading part, was very different in its character. The opponents were *heretics*, who were distinguished by the *manner* in which the 14th Nisan was kept by them. The other Christians of Asia Minor kept it, as the day on which Christ died, with the Lord's Supper; but *they* kept it as a Jewish Passover, by eating a paschal lamb. The obligation to do this they founded upon the fact, that Christ Himself observed the Jewish Passover. But the orthodox Christians replied, that Christ did not eat a ritual paschal meal at the last Passover; that, on the contrary, His last supper was held on the 13th Nisan, and that the Mosaic law was fulfilled in His dying as the true Lamb of God at the very hour when the lambs had to be slain. The opinion held by these Ebionitish heretics did away with the absolute fulfilment of the Mosaic law and its demands, and introduced a discrepancy between the Synoptists and the Gospel of John.

4. Let us now test the truth of Weitzel's view from the historical sources. With regard to the controversy in 198, it is stated in plain words, in different passages, that it turned upon the question, Whether the fast should end with the 14th Nisan, or the day of the Lord's resurrection. From the first fragment of Polycrates, in Eus. h. e. 5, 24, 25, it appears, *a.* that the mode of observance in Asia Minor was a uniform original tradition, undisturbed by any dispute between the followers of Peter and of Paul; *b.* that the question was not concerning the celebration of a *festive week*, but of a *feast day*; *c.* that there was a lively consciousness that this feast day had an altogether different meaning for Christians than for the Jews; *d.* that Melito adhered to the prevailing mode of observance; and *e.* that the church of Asia Minor did not in the least admit Victor's right to find anything *heretical* in that observance. The same thing appears from the second fragment, Eus. h. e. 5, 24. When Victor wished to declare the Asiatics heterodox, on the ground of the letters of Polycrates, many bishops objected; among others, Irenæus. We see here, therefore, plainly, what was the difference between the East and the West. It was not, as *Baur* pretends, that in the former the Lord's Supper, in the latter the death of Christ, was regarded as taking the place of the Jewish Passover; but that in the former a certain day of the *month* was kept, the 14th Nisan (as the day on which Jesus *died*), and that in the latter the *Sunday* which fell in the Easter week was kept with

the Lord's Supper, in honour of the resurrection.—Eusebius gives next the first fragment of *Irenæus* (Eus. h. e. 5, 24, 25), in which he reminds *Victor*, that in other *ritual points*, not affecting the *faith* of the churches, no such controversy had ever been raised; thus showing that the difference had respect to ritual points alone. A *second fragment* from *Irenæus* still further establishes this, viz., the account of the friendly correspondence which had once taken place between Anicetus and Polycarp. From this we learn, that about 162 the very same point was discussed by Polycarp and Anicetus as in 198 by Polycrates and Victor, viz., the *ritual difference* between Asia Minor and the West.—Let us hear, in the last place, what Eusebius himself says. The Asiatics, says he, believed that it was their duty to observe the 14th day of the month: ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα ἑορτῆς.—We see, therefore, the Asiatics celebrated an Easter feast which fell on a certain day of the month—a feast day. On this day, continues Eusebius, the Asiatics considered it their duty to *end the fast* (τὰς τῶν ἀσιτιῶν ἐπιλύσεις ποιῆσθαι), whilst the Church elsewhere ended their fast only on the day of the resurrection. Eusebius could not have written so if the feast day of the Church in Asia Minor had been the feast of the Resurrection, which, besides, it could not have been, as it was held on the 14th Nisan. It is nowhere hinted that that day assumed the character of a day of joy, because of the *institution of the Lord's Supper*. From what follows, it is evident, no doubt, that they commenced the feast with a communion, and therewith ended the fast; but there is no indication that this was done to commemorate the original institution of the Lord's Supper. There is nothing to preclude the supposition, that “on the 14th Nisan they commenced a joyous festival with the communion, *in commemoration of the redeeming death of Christ*.” Not only is this not precluded, it is the only natural conclusion. The day which commemorated the death of Christ, by which His sufferings were ended, formed the natural limit between the fast commemorative of Christ's sufferings and the festive season after His passion was past; the day commemorative of the institution of the Supper could not rationally form the limit.

The result therefore is, that in Asia Minor the 14th Nisan was kept as the day on which Jesus died, not as the day on which the Lord's Supper was instituted; which was perfectly in accordance with the Gospel of John. And the very idea of looking at the day of Christ's death as a day of redemption, and therefore as a day of rejoicing, is essentially in harmony with both Paul and John (cf. John xix. 30). Polycrates therefore could very properly say, that in Asia Minor the 14th Nisan was kept κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

4. Let us now inquire whether the *dispute at Laodicea* in the year 170 had reference to the same controversy. *Melito* says, in a fragment preserved by *Eusebius*, "When *Servilius Paulus* was proconsul of Asia, there arose a great dispute (ζήτησις πολλή) in Laodicea about the Passover" (*Eus. h. e.* 4, 26). *Eusebius* then proceeds to add, that *Clemens Alex.* mentions this writing of *Melito* in his own work upon the Passover. The relation in which the two stood to one another is not given by *Eusebius* with exactness. He merely says that *Melito's* work was the occasion of *Clement* writing (ὃν ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς τοῦ Μελίτωνος γραφῆς). It cannot, however, have been against *Melito*; for in that case *Eusebius* would have expressed himself more clearly. But we get light on the subject from these facts: that *Apolinarius* and *Hippolytus* both wrote upon the same question, both agreed with *Clement*, and evidently had the same opponents in view. *Hippolytus* introduces his remarks into his work, πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις; so that at the very outset it seems probable that his opponents were heretics. And as both *Clement* and *Apolinarius* are seeking to refute the same error as *Hippolytus*, they must also have had to do with heretical errors. But that the Church in Asia Minor was not heretical, we have seen from the fragments of *Polycrates* and *Irenæus*; so that it cannot have been against *Melito* that *Clement* wrote. In all probability, both *Clement* and *Melito* wrote against a third opponent who was really heretical. The meaning of the ἐξ αἰτίας is, that after the heretical opponent had been refuted by a pastor who followed the mode of observance in Asia Minor, it seemed good to *Clement* to refute him from the standpoint of the mode of observance in Palestine, Alexandria, and the West.

This may seem a somewhat bold conclusion from the mere fact that the title of *Hippolytus's* book is πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις. But it is confirmed by weighty evidence from other quarters. In fact, we know these heretics, and the nature of their heresy, even from the fragments of *Clement*, *Hippolytus*, and *Apolinarius*. The controversy is altogether different from that between *Victor* and *Polycrates*, or *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*. It is decidedly doctrinal. The point constantly maintained in opposition to these opponents is, that the death of Christ upon the cross has put an end to the eating of the lamb—that Christ died upon the 14th, not upon the 15th Nisan. *Clement*, *Hippolytus*, and *Apolinarius* (and, consequently, *Melito* also) had to do with gross Judaizing heretics. For proof of this, we shall now refer to the fragments themselves.

In the *Chron. pasch.* (i. 13, 14), these fragments are introduced with the remark, that "during His lifetime, Christ ate the typical

paschal lamb according to the Mosaic law; but after He had called Himself the true Passover (in the year of His death), He did not eat the legal Passover, but was Himself slain as the true Lamb on the feast of the typical Passover." Then follow the fragments. The first of the two from Apolinarius, as the weightiest for the genuineness of John's Gospel, we reserve to the last. The second fragment is as follows: ἡ ἰδ' τὸ ἀληθινὸν τοῦ κυρίου πάσχα, ἡ θυσία ἡ μεγάλη, ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀμνοῦ παῖς Θεοῦ, ὁ δεθείς ὁ δῆσας τὸν ἰσχυρὸν, καὶ ὁ κριθεὶς κριτῆς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὁ παραδοθεὶς εἰς χεῖρας ἀμαρτωλῶν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ, ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐπὶ κεράτων μονοκέρωτος ὁ τὴν ἀγίαν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντηθεὶς, ὁ ἐκχέας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ τὰ δύο πάλιν καθάρσια, ὕδωρ καὶ αἷμα, λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα, καὶ ὁ ταφεὶς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τοῦ πάσχα, ἐπιτεθέντος τῷ μνήματι τοῦ λίθου. *Apolinarius*, here, not merely states, (a) that Jesus died on the 14th Nisan, but he adds with the strongest emphasis, (b) that by His death as the Paschal Lamb Jesus put an end to the Old Testament Passover, and provided once for all the means of sanctification; and (c) he also puts this in such a form as to show that to him the Christian Passover was the *day of the year on which Jesus died*. In this he agreed with the Christians in Asia Minor, who observed the 14th Nisan. From b it is evident that the opponents of Apolinarius differed from him not only with regard to the *day* of Christ's death, but also with reference to the significance of His death as bringing the Passover of the Old Testament to an end.—This is confirmed by the *two fragments of Clement*.¹—The second refers solely to the chronological question; and, judging from the recapitulation, must have contained a proof, (a) that the Lord, to be a true Paschal Lamb, behoved to die on the 14th; and (b) that Matthew, expounded according to the views of those whom he controverts, would contradict the Gospel of John. The conclusion of the latter argument forms the commencement of the fragment. We are curious to know

¹ I. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν παρεληλυθούσις ἔτισι τὸ θυόμενον πρὸς Ἰουδαίων ἡσθien ἑσπέρᾳ ζῶν ὁ κύριος πάσχα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκφυξεν αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ πάσχα ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ (*Johannine expression*) ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἀγόμενος, αὐτίκα ἰδὶδαξεν μὲν τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ τύπου τοῦ μυστήριον τῇ ἰγ', ἐν ᾗ καὶ πυνθάνονται αὐτοῦ· τοῦ θελήσει ἱτοιμάσασθαι οὖν τὸ πάσχα Φαγεῖν; ταυτῇ οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ ἀγιασμός τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ ἡ προετοιμασία τῆς ἑσπέρης ἐγίνετο, Ὅθεν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκνίας ὡς ἐν προετοιμαζομένους ᾗδον ἀπονύψασθαι τοὺς πόδας πρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀναγκαζόντι πίπουνθιν δὲ τῇ ἐπιουσῇ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τοῦ πάσχα, καλλικροθεῖς ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων.—II. Ἀκολουθῶνς ἄρα τῇ ἰδ' ὅτε καὶ ἔπαθεν ἔωθεν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῷ Πιλάτῳ προαγαγόντες οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πραιτώριον ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλ' ἀκωλύτως ἐσπέρας τὸ πάσχα Φαγῶσιν. Ταύτῃ των ἡμερῶν τῇ ἀκριβοῦς καὶ αἱ γραφαὶ πᾶσαι συμφαινόνται καὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια συνφθὰ· ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις· τῇ γοῦν τρίτῃ ἀνάστη ἡμέρᾳ ἣτις ἦν πρώτη τῶν ἑβδομαδῶν τοῦ θρισμοῦ ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὸ δράγμα νομοθετήτο πρὸς ἐνεργεῖν τὸν ἱερεῖα.

how the orthodox Christians of Asia Minor and elsewhere explained the Gospel of Matthew in opposition to these Judaists, and how they brought it into harmony with John. We may learn this from the first fragment from *Clement*. The day on which, according to the Synoptists, the Passover was prepared, he interprets as being the 13th Nisan; so that the last supper took place in the evening following the 13th and commencing the 14th Nisan. Whether this be exegetically correct or not, it is of *critical* importance that the orthodox Christians of the East agreed with those of the West in the belief that it was on the 14th Nisan that Jesus died. The opponents of Clement and Apolinarius regarded the 14th Nisan as the day on which Jesus instituted the last supper, and Clement's words (beginning of first fragment) imply that they kept it as a Jewish Passover. It is more and more apparent, therefore, that they were Judaizing Ebionitish heretics. And, on the other hand, we find that the general tradition and general observance of the orthodox Christians in the East rested upon that chronology of the Passion week which is found in *the Gospel of John alone*; that it was generally agreed, that the chronology of the Synoptists should be interpreted by that of John; and, lastly, that the idea associated with the day of Christ's death, as the happy day upon which the prophecies were fulfilled and the work of redemption finished, was founded upon the account which John has given of the sufferings and death of Christ.

This is fully confirmed by the *two fragments of Hippolytus*.¹ There are three things which we learn from them. *First*, that Luke xxii. 15, 16, was regarded by the orthodox Christians of the East as containing a slight indication of the fact that, even *according to the Synoptists*, Jesus died on the 14th Nisan. *Secondly*, that the opponents of Hippolytus maintained that Jesus ate the Passover on the legally appointed day (the evening after the 14th), and *then* suffered. Hippolytus, who was firmly assured from the Gospel of John that Jesus died on the 14th, replies that He could not have suffered and then kept the Passover. *Thirdly* (from the words διὸ καὶ με δεῖ, etc.), that his opponents argued thus: "Because, and just as, Jesus ate the paschal lamb, it is our duty to do so too." They must therefore have been Judaizing heretics.

¹ I. 'Ὁρῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι Φιλονεικείας τὸ ἔργον' λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· "ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἔπαθεν· διὸ καὶ με δεῖ ὃν τρόπον ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησεν, οὕτως ποιεῖν." Πεπλανηταὶ δὲ μὴ γινώσκων ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἔπασχεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἔφαγε τὸ κατὰ νόμον πάσχα· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τὸ πάσχα τὸ προκεκηρυγμένον καὶ τὸ τελειούμενον τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.—II. Οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔσχατοις ὡς οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, προῆλθεν ὅτι ὁ πάλαι προεῖπεν "ὅτι οὐκέτι φάγομαι τὸ πάσχα" εἰκότως τὸ μὲν δεῖπνον ἐδείπνησεν πρὸ τοῦ πάσχα τὸ δὲ πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγεν ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ καιρὸς ἦν τῆς βρώσεως αὐτοῦ.

5. Having thus been brought to the conclusion that the *whole Church*, both East and West, was unanimous in its opinion that Jesus died on the 14th Nisan, and that this general opinion, but more especially the observance of the 14th Nisan in Asia Minor as the day of Christ's death, rested essentially upon the *authority* and *canonical character of the Gospel of John*, we may now pass to the *first fragment of Apolinarius*, in which the Gospel of John is expressly referred to. Εἰςὶ τοίνυν οἱ δι' ἄγνοίαν φιλονεικοῦσι περὶ τούτων, συγγνωστὸν πρᾶγμα πεπονθότες· ἄγνοια γὰρ οὐ κατηγορίαν ἀναδέχεται, ἀλλὰ διδασχῆς προσδεύεται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῇ ιδ' τὸ πρόβατον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφαγεν ὁ κύριος τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων αὐτὸς ἔπαθεν, καὶ διηγοῦνται Ματθαῖον οὕτω λέγειν ὡς νενοήκασιν ὅθεν ἀσύμφωνος τε νόμῳ ἢ νόησις αὐτῶν καὶ στασιάζειν δοκεῖ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὰ εὐαγγέλια. The meaning of the conclusion of this fragment is, that the opponents appealed to Matthew; to which Apolinarius urges two objections: first, that if Jesus had eaten the Passover with the Jews in the evening of the 14th Nisan, and had been put to death in the afternoon of the 15th, this would not have answered to the law, *i.e.*, He would not have been a true Paschal Lamb; and secondly, that there would then be a discrepancy between Matthew and John.¹ Here, therefore, the Gospel of John is mentioned, not merely in a general manner, but as the source from which the general opinion of the orthodox Christians with reference to the period of Christ's passion was derived.

The result to which we are brought, then, is the following:—

a. The controversy in which *Clement*, *Hippolytus*, and *Apolinarius* engaged, was a *totally different* one from that between Victor and the churches of Asia Minor. Not a syllable is mentioned in the former about the time at which the fast should end; and in the latter there is no desire manifested to search for proofs that Christ abrogated the Jewish custom of eating the paschal lamb and instituted the Lord's Supper on the 13th Nisan.

b. There is not the slightest indication that the Christians of Asia Minor believed that Jesus had died on the 15th Nisan, but everything leads to the conclusion that they kept the 14th, the *έόρτη τοῦ σωτηρίου πάσχα*, as the day of Christ's death.

c. Both East and West were therefore agreed in holding that view with regard to the day of Christ's death, which is clearly derived from the *Gospel of John*; *Apolinarius mentions this Gospel*; and the Chris-

¹ Apolinarius, as well as Clement and all Catholics, held it possible to reconcile Matthew with the supposition that Christ ate the feast with His disciples on the 13th, but impossible to reconcile John with the supposition that He ate the feast on the 14th.

tians of Asia Minor traced their own custom, which was founded upon that view, to the authority of the Apostles Philip and John.

§ 129.

CONCLUSION.

If we pass in review the results of our inquiry, we shall find that, with the exception of some of Paul's Epistles, no book can be found throughout the whole of the ancient literature, both Christian and profane, which can show such numerous and reliable proofs of its genuineness as the Gospel of John.

Baur himself has lately shown, though quite against his own intention and will, how strong a proof is to be found in *the relation of the Gospel to the first Epistle of John*. He is "obliged to confess that the identity of the two writings (*i.e.*, of their author), though not a necessary assumption, has *overwhelming probability in its favour* on the supposition of the genuineness of the Gospel."¹ He adds very naively, however, "But from the standpoint of the latest criticism, we must ask, in what relation do the two writings stand to each other, if the genuineness of the Gospel cannot be established?" Naturally enough this identity of authorship is very *inconvenient* to the latest critics; and they must get rid of the idea as quickly as possible. But the latest school of criticism is never at a loss for proofs. The great similarity in style, tone, notions, and idioms, is changed from an evidence of identity of authorship into a proof that the writer of the Epistle intentionally imitated the Evangelist. This proof is strengthened by the want, in the Epistle, of originality and force. It is unfortunate for *Baur* that he should have commenced so incautiously by stating that, assuming the genuineness of the Gospel, the identity of the Evangelist and the author of the Epistle has *overwhelming probability in its favour*.

There is no necessity to follow *Baur's* argument into detail: he so completely answers himself. When trying to prove that the two works had not the same author, he denies that there is any originality in the contents of the Epistle, or any possibility of discovering a leading idea (pp. 295-314); but when seeking to show that the Epistle was written in the time of the Montanistic controversy with the West, he himself brings out *the leading idea*. "The leading thought, from which the writer of the Epistle starts, is that so long as a man has sin, fellowship with God is impossible, because sin, as darkness, is opposed to God the light.—The true Christian must, as the child of God, be

¹ *Die Johann. Briefe*. Zeller's Jahrb. 1848.

absolutely free from sin, must be like God.—But how is this *ὅχι ἀμαρτάνειν* possible, if by saying that we have no sin, we make God a liar? In two ways: 1. By the blood of Christ, which cleanses us from all sin; 2. by our loving one another, and through the intercession founded in brotherly love.”—Is this “want of meaning”? or is there any “trouble in finding the leading idea”? To bring out this idea, *Baur* himself had nothing to do but to *copy* half a chapter from the Epistle.

Again, *Baur* has also disproved the assertion, that there is a similarity between the leading idea of the Epistle and Montanism. The division of *peccata* into *remissibilia* and *irremissibilia*, he says, is Montanistic. In fact, Tertullian mentions it (*de bapt.* 7). But *Tertullian* expressly appeals, both there and in chap. 19, to the 1st Ep. of John, from which he obtains this division. Consequently the “overwhelming probability” is certainly this, that the division passed from the 1st Ep. of John to Montanism (where it is caricatured), and not from Montanism to John.—Not so, says *Baur*; “the 1st Ep. of John shares in the doctrinal errors of Montanism. The unevangelical character of the distinction between venial and mortal sins is this, that the possibility of the forgiveness of sins is determined, not by anything subjective, but by something objective; . . . and that moral guilt is judged, not by the *moral character*, but without any regard to the subjective condition of the sinner, by the outward action alone.” This error *Baur* maintains (p. 326) that he can find in the 1st Ep. of John. Two pages before, he writes: “The author of the Epistle has *homicide* especially in his mind; but as he understands by idolatry, *not* an apostasy from the true religion by some particular *outward act*, but that idolatrous character which is manifested in sin of every kind, so to the sin of murder he gives a more general signification, embracing not merely the outward act, but the *inward disposition* also.”

Thus Professor *Baur* has taken upon himself the trouble of showing to the theological public into what absurdities a man is sure to wander, if he attempts to run through all the stops of the latest critical organ the “assumption of the spuriousness of the Gospel of John.” The most absurd result of all is this, that it is necessary to assume that there is a *gross deception*. “In the whole of the introduction to the Epistle,” says *Baur*, “and in every point in which the author refers to himself, how difficult it is to overlook the intentional and most careful effort to lead the reader to the conclusion that he is no other than the Evangelist!” But whoever is not altogether insensible to the spirit of virgin purity, to the *holy spirit* which pervades both the Epistle and Gospel of John, will turn away with horror from such a thought. It is con-

ceivable that a man might write with an honourable intention under the assumed name of a deceased author,—that a “Wisdom of Solomon,” for example, might be written long after Solomon’s death. In this case the name Solomon is used simply to denote that the work is written and the speculation is carried on in Solomon’s spirit, and there is no necessity to suppose that there has been any *pia fraus*. But that an author in the second century should have written a historical book, like the Gospel of John, with the clear consciousness and obvious intention of relating what never took place as having actually occurred, and of perverting what really happened to the doctrinal purposes of a party, and that he should do all in his power to induce his readers, who would have placed no credit in the real author, to take him for the Apostle John, would have been a gross and abominable fraud, of which none but a man of the most corrupt mind would have been capable, and which is in most perfect contrast with the spirit which pervades the Gospel and Epistle of John. Till figs grow upon thistles, the genuineness of the Gospel of John will continue firm and impregnable in the estimation of all who do not rank with the thistles themselves.

We are far from denying that there are men to whom no one could demonstrate the genuineness of the New Testament writings. He who *will* not believe in the *Risen One*, will seek with unwearied diligence for loopholes by which he may escape from the positive proofs of the genuineness of the Gospel writings and the truth of the Gospel history. The Gospel still remains to the Jews a stumblingblock, and to the Greeks foolishness; and conversion and regeneration still form the porch to the understanding, even to the literary understanding, of the Scriptures. The Gospel, as *Lange* has well said, is so inexorably negative a critic to everything that springs from the flesh, that the flesh is stimulated to bring its negative criticism to bear against the Gospel in return. We neither can, nor would attempt to, demonstrate the laws of optics to those who have no eyes. But to those who have eyes to see, we believe that we have been able to produce scientific proofs that it is only dogmatic grounds which give the least plausibility to any objection which has been offered to the credibility of the Gospel history; that as soon as the doctrinal prejudices of a criticism, whose proud boast it is to be “without prejudice,” are set aside, its *historical* arguments fall to the ground; in a word, that apart from dogmatical questions, which it is not the province of criticism to entertain, the Gospel writings and Gospel history are sustained by all the proofs of their genuineness and truth that could possibly be desired.

There was a time when Teller’s Lexicon was admired and

esteemed by many contemporaries, as much as Zeller's annuals are now. There was a time when the way in which *Paulus* endeavoured to bring the consciousness of the age into harmony with the writings of the New Test. was lauded as unparalleled in its acuteness. There was a time when *Strauss's* mythical hypothesis appeared to shake the foundations of the world. But now *Teller* is laughed at; at the name of *Paulus* men shrug their shoulders; *Strauss's* mythical hypothesis has been quietly laid aside as useless by the most kindred spirit, to make room for the hypothesis of a *pious fraud*. The time will come when men will not merely laugh, but shudder at such a hypothesis as this.

The absurdity of the last has been scientifically proved. A comparison of the Epistle to the Galatians with the Acts of the Apostles has shown us, that so long as grammar has a voice in scientific criticism, the whole foundation upon which the artificial structure of these hypotheses rests, will be null and void. An examination of the "We" passages in the Acts furnished the most conclusive evidence that the third Gospel, as well as the Acts, was written by a friend and contemporary of the Apostles. But apart from Luke and John, we find in those Epistles of Paul which Baur himself accepts as genuine, the clearest testimony to the historical character of that kingdom of the supernatural, which the "latest school of criticism" has made such earnest and futile exertions to evade. Whilst, therefore, on the one hand, we firmly maintain in the interest of truth, that historical criticism and modest scientific research will never be sufficient by themselves to produce a mathematical demonstration of the positively historical character of the facts of the Gospel, which will satisfy a man whose heart is hostile to the Gospel,—and whilst, still further, we maintain that historical criticism must be content with proving that the only obstacles to the recognition of the Gospel history are dogmatical and not historical, and that even they lie in the path of the natural man alone,—we are prepared, on the other hand, to affirm most positively, that the hypotheses built up by negative criticism, most especially the last, can be exhibited in their entire worthlessness and impossibility, without resorting to the weapons of doctrinal controversy, simply by those of *historical criticism*, and are content to make our appeal to a *sound understanding alone*.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE EVENTS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE.¹

| Year of the Dionysian Era. | Events. | Date of New Test. writings. |
|---|---|---|
| 33. 37 (end). 38 (beginning). 38-40. 40. 40-43. 43, 44. 44. 45. 46-51. 51. 51-54, after Easter. 54. | <i>Death and Resurrection of Jesus.</i> <i>Conversion of Paul.</i> His flight from Damascus (Acts ix. 25). Journey to Arabia; second visit to Damascus (Gal. i. 17). First journey to Jerusalem (Acts ix. 26; Gal. i. 18). Stay in Tarsus. Stay in Antioch (Acts xi. 26). Collections for the poor. Paul does not go to Jerusalem himself (Acts xi. 30). Death of Agrippa I. Commencement of the famine. * John leaves Jerusalem (?), and the Apostles are dispersed (?). Paul's first missionary journey. <i>Apostolic Council.</i> Paul's second visit to Jerusalem (Acts xv.; Gal. ii. 1 sqq.). Paul's second missionary journey. Paul's third visit to Jerusalem (Acts xviii. 22). | <i>The Aramæan Matthew.</i> Epistle to the Thessalonians. |
| Autumn of 54 to May 58. | Paul's third missionary journey. | 55. Ep. to Gal. 56. 1 Tim. 57. 1 Cor., Titus, and 2 Cor. 58. Romans. |
| 58 (May). 58-60. 61 (Spring) to the beginning of 64. | Paul's fourth visit to Jerusalem. Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea. Paul's imprisonment in Rome. | Philemon, Col., Eph., Phil.— Gospel of Luke, Acts, 2 Tim., 1 Peter. |
| 64 (beginning). July 64. After 64. | Death of Paul. Death of Peter. <i>John goes to Ephesus.</i> | End of 64., the Gospel of Mark. Before 70, the Gospel of Matthew. |
| 95, 96. | Banishment of John to Patmos. | Gospel of John, 1st Epistle of John, Apocalypse. |
| 96. 100. | Return to Ephesus. Death of John. | |

¹ For a table of the events of the life of Jesus, see above, pp. 132-4.

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